



KIRSI HASANEN

Narrating Care and Entrepreneurship



ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

To be presented, with the permission of
the board of the School of Social Sciences and Humanities
of the University of Tampere,
for public discussion in the Väinö Linna-Auditorium K104,
Kalevantie 5, Tampere,
on March 1st, 2013, at 12 o'clock.

UNIVERSITY OF TAMPERE

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION
University of Tampere
School of Social Sciences and Humanities
Finland

Copyright ©2013 Tampere University Press and the author

Distribution
Bookshop TAJU
P.O. Box 617
33014 University of Tampere
Finland

Tel. +358 40 190 9800
taju@uta.fi
www.uta.fi/taju
<http://granum.uta.fi>

Cover design by
Mikko Reinikka

Acta Universitatis Tamperensis 1808
ISBN 978-951-44-9057-6 (print)
ISSN-L 1455-1616
ISSN 1455-1616

Acta Electronica Universitatis Tamperensis 1284
ISBN 978-951-44-9058-3 (pdf)
ISSN 1456-954X
<http://acta.uta.fi>

Acknowledgements

Although it is mostly an independent process, it is impossible to write a PhD thesis without other people – without their input and support. I have had the opportunity and pleasure to get to know and work with many people on different occasions at the University of Tampere, and it is impossible to thank everyone individually. However, many thanks are now in order, and it is my great pleasure to finally be able to give them.

Most of all, I wish to give my warmest thanks to my supervisor, Professor Päivi Korvajärvi, who has guided me, helped me and pushed me forwards with determination and appreciation all these years. Thank you, Päivi, for always being willing and available, whether to comment on my papers or to write recommendations. Most importantly, I have always known I can count on your continual attention, support and advice.

Additionally, I am forever grateful to my other supervisor, Tarja Aaltonen, for the time and energy she has given to me and my texts. You have been an important and much-needed link to my roots in social psychology, and your expertise was truly needed when I was bogged down and struggling to get to grips with narrative research. Thank you also for your warm attitude and kind words, your encouragement, and for being my friend.

A considerable influence on this study has been a study circle called Narratiivipiiri, run by Professor Matti Hyvärinen. Thank you, Matti, for teaching, guiding and sharing your expertise, and also Tarja Aaltonen, Tiina Tiilikka, Anna Leimumäki, Sanna Seppänen, Heli Vihottula, Liisa Marttila and others for the ever-so-challenging but educational discussions over the years.

I would also like to offer special thanks to Professor Antti Saloniemi, who has read my texts at different phases of my work, at the beginning and the end. Thank you, Antti, for your comments and always good-humoured discussions.

I want to thank Professor Katri Komulainen and Professor Vilma Hänninen for the pre-examination of this study. My regards for your careful reading and insightful and detailed comments, which have helped me to improve this work.

Furthermore, warm thanks to Merl Storr for proofreading my work, which has made my English significantly better and more fluent.

I also want to express my deep gratitude and appreciation to all the people in gender studies who have provided me with a “safe haven” inside the university. It has been inspiring and educative to be part of this group of people. Thanks to Päivi Korvajärvi, Jaana Vuori, Kirsti Lempiäinen, Marja Vehviläinen, Tuula Juvonen, Minna Nikunen, Arto Jokinen, Suvi Keskinen, Anu Hirsiaho, Laura Tohka and others.

For the extremely important peer support, I wish to acknowledge the other postgraduate students at the University of Tampere I have come to know over the years. A special appreciation to all my fellow women in gender studies and in the group called Jatke: Teija Hautanen, Johanna Hiitola, Riikka Homanen, Hanna-Mari Ikonen, Marjo Kolehmainen, Tuija Koivunen, Emmi Lattu, Hanna Ojala, Katariina Mäkinen, Sanna Rikala and Miia Toivo.

As well as for their support, I thank the former residents of the second floor of Virta and my current colleagues on the fifth floor of Linna for the encouraging and relaxed atmosphere, and for enlightening conversations on doorsteps and in coffee rooms. Without naming everyone individually, I thank you all.

I must make special mention of my colleague Teija Hautanen, for your cheerful and caring friendship. Thanks for always lifting my spirits, for your encouragement and sharing, and also for lending an ear to those non-academic issues in life.

For financial support, my thanks to the Academy of Finland for funding this thesis for four years on the research programme Social Capital, Conflicts and Trust. The Jenny and Antti Wihuri Foundation, Yksityisyrittäjien säätiö, Liikesivistysrahasto and the University of Tampere Foundation have also supported my work with grants. I would also like to thank the city of Tampere for the grant to publish this study.

Before running out of English adjectives, I will use this opportunity to thank my parents, Matti and Eira, for your financial support during the years of my everlasting studies, as well as for your endless encouragement to carry on studying. My multilingual sister Reetta helped with the translation of the research material, for which I am very grateful. Thanks, sis, for your help and support.

Above all, thanks to my other half, Jussi, for sharing a life with our girls and me, and for your ability to always make me laugh.

This book is dedicated to two strong and resilient women and care entrepreneurs, my mother Eira and my sister Katja, whose trials and triumphs I have been able to follow from up close.

On a clear day in January 2013,

Kirsi Hasanen

Abstract

This is a study of entrepreneurial care services in Finland, guided by an interest in foregrounding the societal and cultural context in which care entrepreneurs are operating through their personal accounts. The ongoing reconstruction of the Finnish social service structure forms the background of this study. The study therefore addresses private care providers' narrated and experienced cultural expectations and positions in the conflicting context of care and market logics.

In particular, this is a narrative study situated in the fields of social psychology, gender studies and social policy. The intertwining theoretical and methodological framework is based on cognitive narratology. Moreover, narratives are understood as performances, and as comments on the expected and ordinary. The empirical material in this study consists of 33 written narratives collected by written request from care entrepreneurs who provide different kinds of social service around Finland.

This study analyses how care entrepreneurs perform, make, do and comment on care, entrepreneurship, gender and class when they write about their lives. To be more precise, the study explores the narrative means deployed when the writers combine care and entrepreneurship. As well as the evident individual meanings and experiences attached to care entrepreneurship, this study also examines the ongoing negotiation and reproduction of cultural expectations, and their gendered and classed nature, on the basis of the narrative resources embedded in the narrative environments around this issue.

The narrative analysis illustrates the narrative resources used for reconciliation and accommodation of care and entrepreneurship, in the hope to become understood and accepted as entrepreneurs in care work. The writers draw contrasts between private and public care in terms of quality, but the study also shows that the opportunity to draw on alternative or "new" openings in the narrative environments shapes the writers' experiences and their ways of telling about themselves, as do the unfamiliarity of entrepreneurship and the non-institutionalised status of care entrepreneurs.

Overall, the study is a contribution to discussions of neoliberal ideals and the feminisation of work. The study indicates that although the abstracted narrative environments in question reject the middle-class and masculine entrepreneurial ideal because it is in contradiction with the values and traditions of care work, at the same time they are open to the neoliberal ideals of self-branding, the commodification of services, and the blurring of the line between waged work and entrepreneurship. Neoliberal ideals are deployed, however, only when they accentuate a good quality of care based on femininities. In addition, the study addresses the current and future vocational positions of care workers – who are predominantly women – in a field that has become more diverse.

Keywords: private social services, narrative analysis, cultural expectations, gender, class

Tiivistelmä

Hoiva, yrittäjyys ja kerronnan keinot

Tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan kuinka yksityisiä sosiaalipalveluja tuottavat naisyrittäjät jäsentävät ja sovittavat yhteen omaelämäkerrallisissa kirjoituksissaan hoivaan ja yrittäjyyteen liittyviä ristiriitaisia kulttuurisia käsityksiä ja odotuksia. Tutkimuksessa kysytään lisäksi minkälaisia sukupuoleen ja yhteiskuntaluokkaan liittyviä merkityksiä hoivaa ja yrittäjyyttä koskevat kulttuuriset odotukset ilmentävät.

Tutkimus sijoittuu sosiaalipsykologian, kertomuksen tutkimuksen ja sukupuolen tutkimuksen kentille. Tutkimus kytkeytyy myös feministiseen ja sosiaalipoliittiseen hyvinvointivaltio- ja hoivatutkimukseen. Yhteiskunnallisen taustan muodostavat siirtymä suomalaisesta hyvinvointivaltiosta kohti uusliberalistista kilpailuyhteiskuntaa sekä ajankohtainen keskustelu hoivapalveluiden yksityistämistä ja työurien luonteen muutoksista.

Tutkimusaihetta lähestytään kertomuksen tutkimuksen näkökulmasta. Työn teoreettis-metodologinen tausta pohjautuu kognitiiviseen narratologiaan, jonka pohjalta kertomuksia lähestytään performatiivisesta näkökulmasta ja kommentteina odotettuun ja tavanomaiseen. Tutkimuksen aineiston muodostaa 33 hoivayrittäjyyttä käsittelevää omaelämäkertaa, jotka on kerätty kirjoituspyynnön avulla erilaisia sosiaalipalveluja tuottavilta yrittäjiltä ympäri Suomea.

Tutkimuksessa analysoidaan, kuinka hoiva, yrittäjyys, sukupuoli ja luokka ova esillä yrittäjäelämäkertoissa. Erityisesti tarkastellaan niitä keinoja, joilla kirjoittajat yhdistävät hoivaa ja yrittäjyyttä kertoessaan itsestään. Analyysin kohteena ovat paitsi yksilölliset merkityksenannot myös kerronnallisen ympäristön tarjoamat sukupuoleen ja yhteiskuntaluokkaan kytkeytyvät kerronnalliset resurssit ja kulttuuriset odotukset.

Analyysin tuloksena osoitetaan kerronnallisia keinoja, joilla hoivan ja yrittäjyyden yhdistelmä esitetään ymmärrettävänä ja hyväksyttävänä. Kertomuksissa korostuu hoivan pysyvyys ja luonnollisuus sekä vastakohtana yrittäjyyden vieraus. Tulosten perusteella keskeisen kerronnallisen ympäristön muodostaa hoivan laadun määrittely yksityinen ja julkinen – akselilla. Hoivayrittäjyyden kerronnallista ympäristöä ja resursseja luonnehtii myös hoivan palkkatyölle ja yrittäjyyden keskiluokkaiselle maskuliinisuudelle sekä kasvuhakuisuudelle rakentuvat odotukset, joihin hoivayrittäjät suhteuttavat itseään ja toimintaansa.

Kertomuksista on tulkittavissa uusliberalististen ideaalien mukainen hoivan ja feminiinisyyksien tuotteistamisen tunnistaminen ja hyödyntäminen laadukkaan hoivan nimissä. Kertomusten perusteella voidaan nähdä myös viitteitä yrittäjyyden ja palkkatyön rajojen hämärtymisestä, jolla on oletettavia seurauksia tarkasteltaessa hoivatyön jakautuvia ammatillisia asemia.

Avainsanat: yksityiset sosiaalipalvelut, kertomuksen tutkimus, kulttuuriset odotukset, sukupuoli, yhteiskuntaluokka

Table of content

1. Introduction and research questions.....	9
2. Contextualising care entrepreneurship.....	17
2.1 Care and entrepreneurship: gendered and classed meanings and values.....	17
2.1.1 Indefinable but unavoidable care	18
2.1.2 “Love” and bodies.....	21
2.1.3 The invisible and particular women’s entrepreneurship	24
2.1.4 Described, experienced and shared entrepreneurial discourses	29
2.2 Restructuring Finnish welfare services	35
2.2.1 The profile of care entrepreneurs in Finland	39
2.2.2 Commercialising care	42
2.3 Prevailing frameworks and concerns	45
2.3.1 The renegotiation of care work and professionalisation.....	46
2.3.2 The emerging picture of care entrepreneurs	50
2.4 The enabling and constraining environment	55
2.4.1 Positions and hierarchies	57
2.4.2 Institutionalisation and trust	61
2.5 Summary: distinctions and uncertainties.....	65
3. Narratives as performances	68
3.1 Understanding and defining narrative.....	68
3.1.1 Storied minds and folk psychology.....	71
3.1.2 Blueprinted storyworlds	75
3.2 Written narratives of care entrepreneurship as research material.....	78
3.3 Entwining with narrative environments	84
3.3.1 Institutional environments: cultural expectations and naturalisations.....	86
3.3.2 Interactional environments: the writing occasion and interpersonal positions	92
3.3.3 Cueing the reader	99

3.3.4	Disruptive or non-canonical events	103
3.3.5	Experience as a core element of narrative	105
3.4	Summary: performing care entrepreneurship	107
4.	Suggesting storyworlds of care entrepreneurship.....	109
4.1	Time and again.....	111
4.1.1	Exactitude	111
4.1.2	Solicitude	122
4.1.3	Practicality.....	128
4.2	Breaking ground	133
4.2.1	Odd vocational dreams.....	134
4.2.2	The school of entrepreneurship	141
4.2.3	Adapting	148
4.3	Signed but unsealed	153
4.3.1	The drifting idealist	154
4.3.2	The rolling stone	161
4.3.3	The independent annoyance.....	167
4.4	Summary: deploying narrative elements	171
5.	Disharmonious environments and expectations.....	176
5.1	Entrepreneurship: expected and unexpected careers	177
5.1.1	A professional person.....	178
5.1.2	A child from a working-class family	185
5.1.3	Guiding novices	195
5.2	Care: public versus private?	198
5.2.1	Confusion about entrepreneurial ideal and care	199
5.2.2	Naturalised femininities of care	208
5.2.3	Enlightening and defending.....	216
5.3	Summary: shared, contested and reconciled expectations.....	222
6.	Concluding remarks	225
6.1	Summary	225
6.2	Discussion	233
	References.....	242
	Appendix	265

1. Introduction and research questions

Inspiring work giving good-quality care to the elderly and secure employment in the public sector hangs in the balance. There are risks in becoming an entrepreneur. I believe that it is a good place for people who keep elderly care close to their heart.

Chief shop steward of Super (Finnish union of state enrolled nurses)

You need extremely aware people in this kind of business, in fact a “dream team” who have the attitudes and values in place. They need to put themselves out there. There are not many of those.

Chief shop steward of Tehy (Finnish union of health- and social-care professionals)

These excerpts are from an article in the regional newspaper *Aamulehti* (3.6.2010) and highlight the responses of the chief shop stewards of the two major trade unions in the health and social care sector to the privatisation of a care department in the public care facility for the elderly (*Koukkuniemi*) in Tampere. It has been suggested that some of the staff will become entrepreneurs in order to guide the troubled facility towards a future in which the services of the whole unit will be produced by multiple providers. According to the chief shop steward of Super, who supports the idea, the juxtaposition of public-sector employment with entrepreneurship has its pros and cons, but it can be made to work by “keeping care close to heart”. Thus entrepreneurship has the potential to provide “good-quality care”, but at the same time, care is a matter of the heart that needs to be retained in combination with entrepreneurship. According to chief shop steward of Tehy, who has a more cautious view, as well as requiring the right “attitudes and

values”, becoming an entrepreneur demands the right kind of awareness, and the courage necessary to take on the responsibility – something not commonly possessed by care workers, who are predominantly women.

The focus of this study is the institutional context and cultural expectations that are embedded in and reproduce the narrative environments that are available – coming forward also in these newspaper excerpts – when analysing personal accounts of care entrepreneurship in Finland. The ways in which gender and class are entangled and intertwined with these discussions and expectations of care entrepreneurship are also examined in this study. Therefore the aim of this study is to analyse storytelling and to deconstruct the dominant cultural expectations and conventions attached to this topic, as well as to reveal their connections and effects.

Thus this is a study of entrepreneurship in the Finnish care sector, focusing on social services as distinct from privately produced health services – although the division is somewhat arbitrary if one thinks, for example, of home care services. Private social services however include supported living for the elderly, the disabled, and patients with mental disorders or problems with substance abuse; home care services; children’s day care; child protection; and other social services. According to Statistics Finland (SVT, 2011), the social and health service industry has seen one of the biggest increases of all business sectors in Finland during recent years. Moreover, although the number of private health services is greater, the growth has been more pronounced in social services: the growth in social-service revenue and personnel was 15% in 2009, compared with 7% in health services. Overall, privately produced social services comprise one third of all such services (Yksityinen palvelutuotanto sosiaali- ja terveystalveissa 2009, 4). The sector is female-dominated – 84.5% of private care firms were owned by women in 2007 (Sosiaalipalvelut 2010, 60) – and there were 3,301 for-profit firms operating in 2010, of which 80% were subcontracting for municipalities (Sosiaalipalvelut 2012, 11, 24). It is this particular form of business activity that is explored in this study.

The private provision of social services is not a new concept for Finnish municipalities – in 2010, 88.6% of municipalities were using such services (Yksityiset sosiaalipalvelut 2010, 3) – but it seems to be a growing sector.

Although 84% of firms in the social sector (including those taking part to this study) are still small, operating locally and subcontracting for municipalities, international companies have also arrived on the Finnish care market, with inevitable effects on current and future markets (Sosiaalipalvelut 2012, 40).¹ Business in social services is therefore a hot topic, not only for researchers but also from the perspective of the state, ministries and municipal officials, as well as for those doing care work, those who are cared for, and citizens of the municipalities in general.

When referring to private social services produced by for-profit firms, I prefer to use the simplifying and illustrative term *care entrepreneurship*. By analysing the combination of care and entrepreneurship, and the cultural values, ideals and expectations attached to them, from the perspective of the social sciences, this study situates itself in the fields of social psychology, narrative research, gender studies and social policy.

As the relations between the subject and society, or between the agent and social structures, are at the centre of social psychology (e.g. Burr 2004), in this study individual accounts are understood as socially and culturally produced. My research is therefore connected to broader social-psychological discussions of the nature of self. I understand the notion of the self as ongoing action – as socially produced in interactions with others in particular contexts and situations. While I lean on G. H. Mead’s symbolic interactionist argument (1934) that the individual (and society) can only be understood in relation to others and that experiences are socially formed (also Gergen 2009), I have adopted the view that there is also agency within structures (e.g. Davies and Harré 1990). Based on postmodern views of “doing self” and experience through language in everyday interaction, the theoretical and methodological framework of this research draws particularly on cognitive narratology, and emphasises the sociocultural premises and use of interactional telling and retelling to organise experience and memory (Herman 2007; 2009a; 2009b;

¹ In 2008, 20% of the revenue and share of labor in the whole sector was covered by ten largest firms operating in the field (Sosiaalipalvelut 2010, 10).

2012). In addition to the ways in which they do self, I will also focus on how the writers comment on and do care, entrepreneurship, gender and class.

The focus is therefore on individual sense-making and doing the self, particularly in the context of working life in Finland, in a social service sector characterised by a tension between the logic of care and that of the market. While I approach this topic as a social-psychological phenomenon that entails juxtapositions between care and entrepreneurship, I also take up a viewpoint adopted from gender studies to analyse the gendered and classed nature of the cultural expectations – embedded in this case in narrative environments – that are significant for telling about oneself.

Care is a markedly gendered area of research, to which entrepreneurship adds somewhat distinctive dimensions. I am contributing to the discussion of feminist social policy on care, as well as drawing on the studies of women's entrepreneurship that have been conducted in various fields. In this study the focus is on care as (paid) work, which has been noted as work mostly done by women. The general focus of research on women's work has shifted during recent decades, from structural conditions to women's activities and experiences at work, and to the reassessment of the link between agency and social structure from a gender perspective, particularly from the perspective of doing gender (Korvajärvi 2004, 291). I therefore understand gender as process, an activity and performance (e.g. Butler 1990) that is lived, experienced and produced in social relations, and that shapes our access to resources to represent ourselves. The shared, produced and reproduced duality of women and men, particularly in terms of femininity and masculinity, constitutes the source of these resources.

As well as being intertwined with differences such as race, sexuality and age, gender is also entwined with class. Despite the underlying connection to economics and labour markets, new theories and frameworks for understanding class see it in terms of cultural practices, positions and resources, rather than as a category solely based on income or economic inequality (Adkins & Skeggs 2004; Skeggs 2004b; Tolonen 2008, 10). Instead of being something permanent, class is produced and reproduced through conflict and struggle at the level of the symbolic, and the analysis of class must

therefore “capture the ambiguity” of this struggle (Skeggs 2004b, 5). I therefore refer to class as a symbolic representation – not usually directly spoken – based on moral values and specific dispositions that are not equally accessible to everyone, nor similarly valued. In the particular context of care entrepreneurship, class emerges as a cultural property and resource that is used according to the value attached to it in those markets that can realise its potential value (Skeggs 2004a, 91; 2004b, 99; 2005).

The understanding of gender and class as significant conditions, and as positioned between subjective experiences and social structures, differentiates this study from previous work on care entrepreneurship in Finland. As well as being interested in the pull and push factors involved in starting one’s own business, previous studies have focused primarily on identifying and overcoming the obstacles women face, and on making comparisons with entrepreneurship in other sectors. The special nature of doing business by giving care has been addressed, but the acknowledgement of care entrepreneurship as a gendered and classed activity has not been the focus of previous research on this topic. In this study, care, entrepreneurship, gender and class are understood as intertwined and as defining one another. Moreover, unlike survey research on the subject, this study provides insight into the role of narrative in the constitution of care, gender and class in this particular entrepreneurial context.

I take the view that narratives are performances, emphasising the continuity of narration and experience, instead of seeing narrative as something that is fixed in our minds. As well as being attractive to feminist research for the light it has shed on women hidden in history and the access it can provide to women’s voices (Byrne 2003, 31), narrative research has been one of the prominent methodological perspectives practised in social psychology, and has been of interest to social scientists in general. In order to be understood, experiences need to be reviewed in relation to wider contexts. In this study the focus is therefore on analysing narrative environments (Gubrium & Holstein 2008) as gendered and classed, asking both what kinds of environment particular and individual stories arise from, and what kinds of environment those stories reproduce. For the analysis of narrative environments I draw on

Matti Hyvärinen's (2010a, 111) view of narratives as comments on something expected and ordinary: "analysing narratives is asking what expectations the teller is responding to with this story or this expression" (my translation). Emphasising the situatedness of narratives, as a coordinate concept, the idea of narrative environments comprises the central concept of this study, as elaborated by the following research questions:

- ❖ **How is the intertwining of care and entrepreneurship perceived and told?**
- ❖ **What kinds of gendered and classed expectations are embedded and reproduced in narratives about care entrepreneurship?**

Subsequently, my focus is on how the autobiographical accounts about care entrepreneurship are produced while assuming there is some adjusting to be done between care and entrepreneurship. To be more precise, I am interested in the narrative means deployed when combining care and entrepreneurship. How care entrepreneurship is performed; made and done, as well as experienced? What kind of storytelling possibilities narrativity offers to these entrepreneurs and how is narrativity as a cognitive tool used in this particular context when telling about themselves? In particular, what kind of temporalities, change and consequences entrepreneurs suggest while simultaneously shedding light on the alternative and competing versions of what could have happened and what it could have meant?

In addition, I am curious about the societal and cultural context in which these narratives are produced in. That is, while gathering care and entrepreneurship as gendered and classed activity, my interest focuses on the recognised, used and re-produced cultural expectations connected to care entrepreneurship in current Finland. Gender and class as differences are chosen as perspectives since they are essentially and undeniably built inside care and entrepreneurship as vocations. Nevertheless, there are other differences like for example ethnicity which in the future will become more and more notable and significant in the context of care becoming even more global.

The empirical material in this study consists of 33 written narratives by care entrepreneurs who provide different kinds of care service around Finland. I collected the narratives by sending written requests to female (and a few male) care entrepreneurs during 2004 and 2005.

In order to answer the research questions, this thesis is organised as follows. In chapter 2 I will introduce the contextual features of the activity that forms the background on which the narrative environments draw. In particular, I will describe care entrepreneurship in the Finnish context, outlining the social, cultural and institutional frameworks and traditions of the action. I will concentrate on the structure, the changes to welfare services, and how those developments have been addressed by different research projects and in debates from different perspectives. Above all, as well as defining the obvious and recognised cultural expectations relating to care and entrepreneurship, I will describe the frameworks and situations in which care entrepreneurs operate, and the meanings, expectations and concerns attached to them. I will approach these issues from the perspectives of feminist social policy on care.

In chapter 3 I will outline the theoretical and methodological approaches used in this study and present the empirical material collected. In narrative research the theoretical and methodological elements are inevitably intertwined, as the methodological solutions delineate the theoretical background of the study. Thus by understanding narratives as performative and seeing storytelling in context, I take on the perspectives of cognitive narratology (e.g. Herman 2009b). Chapter 3 will also lay out the methodological influences of literary research, mainly from David Herman (2009a; 2009b), on the type of narrative analysis applied in this study. In a nutshell, the analysis is explorative, and applies the idea of the prototypical narrative to the analysis of non-fiction empirical material.

Thus in chapter 4, in order to answer the first research question, I will analyse how the narratives of care entrepreneurs depict their worldmaking and experiences while suggesting certain storyworlds to the reader(s). The first research question encompasses not just the form but also the content of the narratives, and the intertwining of the two. In chapter 5 I will focus on the gendered and classed features of cultural expectations of care

entrepreneurship, as raised by the second research question. In chapter 6 I will return to the social nature of narratives and their communicative purpose by making suggestions about what the narratives are commenting on in relation to abstracted narrative environments. I will also draw conclusions about my findings in the light of discussions of neoliberal ideals and the feminisation of work (e.g. Adkins 2005; Skeggs 2005; Veijola and Jokinen 2008). One might assume that care entrepreneurs represent the ideal neoliberal subject, taking charge of their lives as ongoing projects while utilising their femininities and embracing their own inventiveness. Finally in this chapter I will make some suggestions for future research on this topic.

2. Contextualising care entrepreneurship

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the contextual features of this study, and particularly to describe care entrepreneurship in the national context. The context of discourses about care entrepreneurship – to which I refer as the narrative environment for storytelling – is inevitably connected to social, cultural and institutional frameworks and traditions. I therefore will focus on the gendered and classed features of the ideals, values and practices of care and entrepreneurship. I will also concentrate on the structure of and changes to welfare services, and on how those developments have been addressed in different research projects and in debates from different perspectives. In particular, in addition to defining the obvious and recognised cultural expectations relating to care and entrepreneurship, I will also describe the frameworks and situations in which care entrepreneurs operate, and the meanings, expectations and concerns attached to them.

2.1 Care and entrepreneurship: gendered and classed meanings and values

In this subchapter I will touch upon the gendered and classed understandings and definitions of care and entrepreneurship. In particular, I will explicate how the attributes of femininity and masculinity, as well as notions of class, are attached to care and entrepreneurship as both occupations and vocations. In addition, I will also consider care and entrepreneurship in relation to the values and virtues attached to them.

2.1.1 Indefinable but unavoidable care

When attempting to define care, one should start with the feminist research on care that was done mainly in Britain and the Nordic countries from the 1970s onwards. It was this research that made the definition of care a theoretical and political question. Feminist research wanted to make visible the unpaid domestic work done by women, and to define it as a vocation that required an education and a salary. Women's entry into paid work made care, which had previously been done at home, into an important social-political question (Anttonen & Zechner 2009, 16-19). There were differences between the research conducted in Britain and that conducted in Nordic countries: the British research concentrated on informal care work as a site of women's submission, while in Nordic countries the focus was on issues around formal – meaning paid – care work (Ungerson 1990, 9–16).

However, in the 1980s, in her classic work *In a Different Voice*, Carol Gilligan (1982) provided a psychological and developmental account of women's moral statements about caring that had a significant impact on care research in general. Her views were based on the notion that women's care relationships are both natural and positive. Not surprisingly, her work, and other psychological theories of women as naturally caring, were criticised by feminists like Hillary Graham (1983). Instead of defining care in terms of specifically female qualities, Graham wrote of "a labor of love", in which she depicted care as work combined with love. Also in the 1980s, Arlie Russell Hochschild introduced the concept of emotional labour, referring to the performance of required emotions during job-specific interactions. According to Hochschild, "the emotional style of offering services is part of the service itself" (2003, 5). Subsequently, in a Nordic version of these connections between labour and love, there was the discussion of the rationality of caring (Waerness 1987) or the rationality of responsibility (Anttonen 1997, 130–134), which was seen as an attribute shared by women. Instead of being depicted as passive victims of domestic work, women were characterised as active agents deriving pride and fulfilment from care work. Research on care at that time

tended to produce a somewhat romanticised and glorified view of women's care work (Anttonen & Zechner 2009, 24). Furthermore, there was also a problem with care research's middle-class orientation, as it was mainly interested in the care experiences of white middle-class women; Graham later (1993) pointed out the need to take notice of other differences, like class and race, as well as gender.

In her contribution to the critique of female essentialism in research on care, Joan Tronto (1993) argued that instead of just being defined as work, care should be considered a moral and political question (also Baier 1994). Thus she depicted care as an ethical principle and moral activity, concerned with right and wrong, while seeking to avoid the problems inherent in seeing care as necessarily linked to the female gender. Drawing on the work of Tronto, Selma Sevenhuysen (1998, 19–22) also emphasised the need for a public ethic of care as an important element of citizenship. According to her, care as a practice is socially based, embedded with different sorts of moral considerations and vocabularies, and organised as well as maintained by formal or informal institutions or their combinations

Thus from the feminist perspective care has been depicted as a general moral principle, and also as an everyday practice (Julkunen 2001, 250). As well as being a moral attitude, care can be defined as a physically and emotionally demanding activity in which emotional labour is combined with body work (Fine 2007, 4). Although care is essentially about helpless, deficient and frail bodies, as well as about the bodies that undertake caring tasks, the theories of care have not centred on embodiment. However, according to Silva Tedre (1999; 2004a) care is deeply connected to local, concrete and embodied everyday practices that are often described as repetitive and routine, and that evoke intimacy as well as disgust. Thus care is so ordinary and common that it often remains invisible until it is made visible – or until it is absent. Work that cannot be recorded, measured or standardised, as is the case with body work, often remains unseen (e.g. Wolkowitz 2002).

Care work is essentially based on work done at home. Accordingly, there are the so-called three Cs of women's work: cleaning, cooking and caring (Julkunen 2006, 241). Linda McDowell (2009, 82) categorises domestic work done by

women into two types. The first consists of the repetitive and basic unskilled tasks of keeping the house clean, and the second includes the more affective embodied work involved in caring for others. Consequently, care work carries with it a powerful normativity based on its necessity (Sipilä 2003, 26).

As an activity, care can be produced as unpaid, paid or voluntary work, and it can be based on contract, professionalism, voluntarism or moral obligation (ibid. 24). Accordingly, care providers are often divided into four sectors – the family, the state, the for-profit market and the non-profit market – separated by distinct modes of social regulation. While the family is assumed to operate through moral obligation and reciprocity, and the state through formal rights and hierarchy, for-profit providers are understood as being guided by market values and as striving for profit, while the non-profit sector is assumed to be guided by values-based voluntarism (Bahle 2003, 7). Overall, the concept of care is broad, contested and ambiguous. Thus according to Michael Fine (2007, 2):

Care can be understood as a form of meaningful work, as social solidarity, as an expression of interpersonal relationships and as a source of personal meaning. But it can also be reduced to a set of household duties for women, recast as a form of custodial protection, or fashioned as a product to be packaged and sold for corporate profit. A single definition of care remains elusive because it refers at once to an ideal set of values and a series of concrete practices.

In light of the broadness of the concept, which includes a varying combination of values and practices (interaction, interdependency, power relations and embodiment, at both global and local levels), in this study I will focus specifically on care as an embodied social activity produced in the specific institutional context of entrepreneurship and guided by cultural and moral values and traditions relating to care and entrepreneurship. Those receiving care therefore fall outside the scope of this study. As care comes to the fore in the written narratives of care entrepreneurs, I will abstract from

them the societal and cultural meanings and definitions of care, including existing and shared expectations of care as well as of gender and class.

2.1.2 “Love” and bodies

A good illustration of cultural expectations and values relating to care is what Julia Twigg’s (2000, ix) calls its “schizophrenic” nature, referring to the double-sided attitude that sees care simultaneously as low-level work and as involving the virtues of “love” and “care”. Since the time of Florence Nightingale, care has been associated with the typically feminine skills or attributes of empathy, love and care. The relationship between the caregiver and the person being cared for has been based on affection and love, rather than on monetary exchange (McDowell 2009, 163). Furthermore, according to Jorma Sipilä (2003, 27–28), a certain amount of care work will remain informal and inside the home, for example in childcare. This means that care work can always be replaced or compensated for by informal care; hence it has low status in society and the labour market. This informal aspect of care lives inside the formal one, and is the source of the norms attached to it: good care service is defined as homelike, is apparently based on feminine attributes, and can be done for free. As early as 1993, Leila Simonen (1993, 93) wrote of the tendency to make care institutions more homelike as part of a rhetoric of better care in Finland that simultaneously emphasises the feminine values and attributes of care work. This – still very current – rhetoric also stresses the importance of the elderly being able to live at home for as long as possible, indirectly pushing the responsibility for providing care back onto family members (e.g. Sointu, 2009; Zechner 2010), specifically women.

According to Raija Julkunen (2006, 241), care workers would rather use the term “nurse” than “care”, as the latter’s connotations are too sweet and emotional and do not correspond sufficiently to practical care work. One reason for this could be that the vocational qualifications required for nursing are clearer than is the case with care work. Nurses have been described as

salaried professionals, or as educated workers who perform a semi-professional office (Etzioni 1969; Kinnunen 2001, 117). Although nursing requires education and specialist skills, the reliance on female labour reduces the status of the work. There is a general notion that everyone can give care, or at least that every woman can, to which Paula England (2005) refers to as the devaluation perspective on care work. McDowell (2009, 162) similarly defines care work as feminised, as it is associated with women's "natural" empathy and skills. Assumptions about these intrinsic motives mean that care work is poorly paid and care workers are prisoners of love (England 2005, 389). Additionally, strenuous physical labour and intimate tasks have been associated with lower-class women's work. It follows that, care work is "high touch" and low status.

As a consequence, there have been efforts to "cleanse" care work of the dirty aspects of body work in order to elevate its status. Cleaning work in general represents working-class values and practices (Käyhkö 2006; 2007). Thus there has been continual discussion of whether cleaning (e.g. in the Finnish context Tedre 2004a; 2004b; Kuronen 2007), such as bathing (Twigg 2000), is a part of care work or should be distinguished from care. Yet it has been difficult to draw the line between cleaning and care, as it is arbitrary to define where cleaning ends and care begins.

This kind of cleansing has included the definitions of care referred to earlier, and has also extended to care practices. Embodiment and especially dirty work have prevented care from being taken seriously as work and a vocation. The dirtier the work, the lower the status in the hierarchy of care professions (Tedre 2004b, 71–74; Wolkowitz 2006, 153–154). As an example, bathing was dropped from medical or nursing work and shifted to care work when it was defined as something that did not demand much medical expertise (Twigg 2000). Dirty work on bodies can also place nurses in different positions within the nursing profession. For example, according to Sharon Bolton (2005, 176), gynaecology nurses have described themselves as being in a socially tainted position because of their involvement with bodies, even though as nurses they have higher status compared to other care workers.

Similarly, cleaning has been excluded from care work because it is depicted as lower-status and secondary work that requires few professional qualifications. Consequently, since cleaning has been excluded from home care services in Finland, it has become a private matter again, and has been naturalised back into the home. As a result, not only gender but also class and ethnicity have positioned women as cleaners, and this has affected the hierarchical ordering among professional cleaners (Tedre 2004b, 74–81). Moreover, during recent years in Finland there has been a growing argument that close relatives should take more responsibility for the care of their loved ones, because of municipalities' decreasing ability to provide public services. The number of those taking care of their elderly parents or parents-in-law, as well as of stay-at-home mothers with children under the age of three, has risen in Finland. Thus there is a valid concern regarding a return to the labour of love that is done at home – which is not just gendered but also classed, since most of those who stay at home are working-class women (Repo 2009, 220).

As well as being depicted as women' work, care intersects with class and race to construct a hierarchy of careers (Dyer & al. 2008, 2032). In Finnish care research there is little discussion of class or ethnicity (Anttonen & Zechner 2009, 45), and the Finnish labour force in general was assumed to be homogeneous in terms of ethnicity and nationality for a long, but has since become more heterogeneous (Korvajärvi 2004, 302; Haapakorpi 2007). During recent years there has been some discussion of ethnicity, as there have been more migrant nurses, for example from the Philippines, arriving on the Finnish care market. Nevertheless, the number of foreign nurses arriving in the Finnish care sector so far has been marginal (Nieminen 2010, 147). There has also been a discussion of transnational issues in care, particularly of the “global care chain” in which migrant workers from poorer countries move to richer countries to provide domestic services, leaving their own families behind. Thus care as attached to women has become part of the global trade in women (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; see Precarias a la Deriva 2009).

Moreover, while hierarchical differences have been built inside care vocations by the drawing of boundaries, at the same time there has been an emphasis on “multi-talenting” in the care professions, such as by introducing

ideals of entrepreneurship and underlining the importance of language and social skills as well as innovation and adaptability (Julkunen 2004, 174; see also Korhonen & al. 2001). As well as a call for internationality and flexibility in changing employment situations, Sirpa Lappalainen and others (2010, 205) argue that the curriculum followed by state enrolled nurses² (in Finnish: lähihoitaja) highlights characteristics traditionally associated with the middle class, such as accepting the market as part of the care sector and adopting the employer's point of view. Thus from the perspective of the changing structures of care professions and services, one might ask who will do the everyday, embodied, lower-status care work in the future, and in what circumstances will that work be done (Tedre 2004b, 81)?

There have been big changes in relation to care in Finland, to which I shall return later; nonetheless, for decade after decade, the distribution and value of paid and unpaid care work seems to have remained gendered. Vocational identities are still built on gendered assumptions about women and men, and there are therefore gendered lines in the structures and cultural meanings of care work (Rantalaiho 2004, 236–237). Moreover, there are also class distinctions and separations within the care professions: the dirtier the work, the lower status. And now, apparently, becoming an employer can raise the status of a care worker. It has therefore become important to ask what kinds of possibilities and positions are available for people to do care work or receive care, now or in the future – one of those positions being entrepreneurship.

2.1.3 The invisible and particular women's entrepreneurship

Besides being an obviously economic phenomenon, entrepreneurship is also a cultural one, with values and symbols attached to it that are culturally produced and reproduced in social practices (Bruni, Gherardi & Poggio 2004b,

² Definition: a nurse enrolled on a state register and having a qualification lower than that of a State Registered Nurse (Oxford Dictionaries).

406). Thus I view entrepreneurship as a context-bound activity, but more importantly as a cultural construction that is learned and enacted as well as constantly borrowed and repeated in social situations, in different institutional and everyday practices (Korhonen & al. 2008, 161).

When defining entrepreneurship one should first take note of *when* it is occurring: what kinds of action have started to be called entrepreneurial, and why? Entrepreneurial activity has been considered the opposite of waged work, even though the line between the two has inconsistently been both emphasised and dissolved. However, what seems to have remained consistent is the selling and buying aspect of entrepreneurial action. Additionally, “the capitalist spirit” attached to entrepreneurship, with notions like independence, financial gain and a rise in socio-economic position, has existed across time (Peltomäki 2002, 11–15, 25).

As with definitions of care, I refer to Tarja Pietiläinen (2002, 9) to argue that definitions of entrepreneurship simultaneously define expectations relating to gender, as gender constructs entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship is also intertwined with notions of class (e.g. Komulainen & al. 2008; Keskitalo-Foley & al. 2007; Keskitalo-Foley & al. 2010). However, John O. Ogbor (2000, 621) has stated that in entrepreneurial research, issues referring to class as well as ethnicity have been addressed only in terms of how they can be adapted to the dominant entrepreneurial paradigm so as to accrue the proper masculine entrepreneurial traits, while women’s entrepreneurship has been taken as the antithesis of the norm. Masculine middle-class entrepreneurship has been taken as the ideal from which the predominantly working-class entrepreneurship of women is supposed to diverge (Komulainen & al. 2008, 192). This is not to say that all men’s entrepreneurship should be depicted as masculine and middle classed. However and in particular, middle-class values like striving to succeed and raising one’s status have been attached to entrepreneurship in general (Keskitalo-Foley & al. 2007, 114; Keskitalo-Foley & al. 2010).

Accordingly, the traditional and ideal image of the entrepreneur has been that of a male risk-taker in search of personal profit and benefit. The conventional discourse of entrepreneurship has relied on the heroic myth of

the European or North American white, heterosexual and independent male with a capacity for innovation and naturalised psychological traits and characteristics. This can be attributed to the wide-ranging effect and lasting influence of Schumpeter's (1934) contribution to entrepreneurial studies, with its emphasis on psychological traits. Moreover, entrepreneurship has been attached to leadership and management through portrayals of leaders and managers as archetypal figures (Bruni & al. 2004b, 408–410; Ahl 2002, 57; Ogbor 2000, 609–610, 615).

Having been an invisible category for decades, women's entrepreneurship came into focus in scientific research in the late 1980s (e.g. Buttner & Moore 1997). However, this research focused on the differences between male and female entrepreneurs, and the dependent variable was often performance in terms of size, profit, growth and employment, according to which women were portrayed as lacking and lagging behind men. Furthermore, while women entrepreneurs were being compared to men in relation to these qualities, they were simultaneously regarded as exceptional rather than ordinary women. This view of women as different and lesser has since been understood as a way to "other" women as entrepreneurs, in research as well as in entrepreneurial practices (Ahl 2002, 52–58).

Thus according to Attila Bruni, Silvia Gherardi and Barbara Poggio (2004a, 260–261; also 2005), a gendered entrepreneur mentality is constructed through discursive practices in the media and scientific texts that "other" women entrepreneurs. This othering occurs by locating women in business ghettos that are based on naturally learned skills, are easy to enter, and have little value, while at the same time urging the women to internalise the values of efficiency, orientation to results, control and competition.

While women are encouraged to "go through a process of masculinization" (Ogbor 2000, 626) or adopt male values and behaviours (Ahl 2002, 58), female gender has also been treated as a natural resource that can be put to use, albeit with a limited capacity and bearing specific "female" leadership and management styles. It is therefore no surprise that, according to Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen (2002, 144), women entrepreneurs in Finland have historically operated in the fields of the three Cs, cleaning, cooking and caring, already

mentioned before. Nonetheless, instrumental arguments have been made that women are unused resources for job creation, especially in the rural regions (Ikonen 2003; 2008), and also in response to the ongoing privatisation of public services, the argument being that women should take on the task of producing services in new ways (e.g. Ahl 2002, 60–61; Sinkkonen & Rissanen 2004, 225–226).

Typologies of women entrepreneurs have also been constructed by emphasising the differences between the public and private spheres, placing entrepreneurship in the public and women in the private. As part of the entrepreneurial ideal, entrepreneurial activity has been portrayed as free of the private sphere, implying that women entrepreneurs perform a balancing act between their reproductive life-course and entrepreneurship (Bruni & al. 2004a, 262). Hence age, marital status, and number of children as well as class have historically dictated the entrepreneurial careers of women in Finland (Vainio-Korhonen 2002, 126). By focusing on women's specific actions, research on entrepreneurship has also attached gender to women, depicting them primarily as advocates for their gender, and making generalisations about women by unifying female experience – thus reproducing the duality between women and men (Pietiläinen 2002, 46; Komulainen 2005, 28).

Alongside the emphasis on the particularity of women's entrepreneurship, there has also been an equality perspective on women's entrepreneurship (Ahl 2002; Bruni & al. 2004a; Pietiläinen 2002). Equality arguments have been circulated to promote women's entrepreneurship as a form of support against structural discrimination, and as encouragement for women. Centres for enhancing women's entrepreneurship have depicted women as in need of support and encouragement because of their insecurities as entrepreneurs (see Kauppa- ja teollisuusministeriö 2005). By concentrating on the barriers to women's entrepreneurship, such as family obligations or discrimination in access to start-up capital, these discursive practices have simultaneously portrayed women as lacking in status, networks and credibility (Bruni & al. 2004a, 263). However, although it brings women's entrepreneurship to the fore, equality research is still based on the juxtaposition of genders, and sees women and men as unified groups (Pietiläinen 2002, 39).

Patricia Lewis (2006, 466) has argued that as research has come to focus on the gendered nature of entrepreneurship, entrepreneurs themselves have become increasingly gender-blind. Drawing on interviews, Lewis notes that women entrepreneurs often emphasise that gender has no place in business and should be kept out of it. Characteristically, there is an underlying idea that everyone has an equal chance to succeed, regardless of gender, if they are sufficiently ambitious and hard working to gain access to mainstream entrepreneurial culture. According to her study, those who do not take their own entrepreneurship seriously are regarded as a threat to those who want to be seen as business people to be reckoned with.

Similarly, according to Bruni and others' (2004b) ethnographic fieldwork in two different fields, welding-machine manufacturing and magazine publishing, gender and entrepreneurship are performed through a constant movement between symbolic spaces (such as home/business, housewife/working woman) that crosses, blurs and denies the boundaries, according to the requirements of the situation at hand. Bruni and others found that in situations where the entrepreneur's position is threatened, traditional gender order is re-established; there were examples of rituals in which the distinctions between the male and female spheres, for example, were sanctioned. They also identified situations where gender is used as the basis of entrepreneurship through practices of "boundary-keeping" and "footing". Thus, while women entrepreneurs draw on the traditional gender order or present themselves as gender-blind, there are obvious differences and divisions among women entrepreneurs on which entrepreneurial research has not focused.

Consequently, in entrepreneurial research, entrepreneurship comes across as a cultural barrier that has been erected against women's entrepreneurship, as well as against other forms of masculinity (Bruni & al. 2005, 32; also Lewis 2006). Although there are currently fewer formal barriers obstructing women's entrepreneurship, the gendered structures around entrepreneurship appear rigid. For example, it has long been noted that in Finland entrepreneurship does not take place in a vacuum outside the waged labour market and its gendered structures (Kovalainen 1993). The connections between home, care work and entrepreneurship have been evident since women entered the

private sector in ways that have been both helped and restricted by their role at home (Vainio-Korhonen 2002, 147). According to statistics from TEM (the Ministry of Employment and the Economy) collected in 2011, the proportions of female entrepreneurs were highest in the retail trade, hotels and catering, health and social services, education, and other personal services such as hairdressing (2012, 131).

To put it briefly, Katri Komulainen (2005, 28) has summarised women's entrepreneurship as biologised, psychologised, privatised, familialised, marginalised and gendered. Moreover, it has been noted that academic and public discourses on entrepreneurship go hand in hand (Ahl 2002, 63). I therefore take the view that these discourses on entrepreneurship create cultural expectations with masculine and feminine features on the basis of gendered differences, affecting the ways in which entrepreneurship is depicted, addressed, explained and narrated. These discourses and expectations are also taken to have classed features, since they are influenced by the middle-class ideal (Keskitalo-Foley et al. 2010), and by the predominantly working-class entrepreneurship of the women who shape the model of and for female entrepreneurs, especially for female entrepreneurs in the care services.

2.1.4 Described, experienced and shared entrepreneurial discourses

Thanks to the emergence of private social services and the long tradition of public services in Finland, private services are usually conceived in reference to public services. Although private provision is perceived as an addition to public services, it is also a form of business activity. However, a business based on providing social-care services does not fit well with the ideal image of entrepreneurship outlined above. In a study based on the analysis of entrepreneurial writings, Komulainen and others (2008, 191) write that care entrepreneurs, who emphasise the needs of others, call into question the masculine meanings attached to entrepreneurship. In addition, in the light of

previous research, I would suggest that they also question the classed features attached to both entrepreneurship and care as work. Questions about morals and ethics also emerge from the contradiction between care and profit-making.

Current occupational education follows the old traditions of waged work, even though education for entrepreneurship has increased (see Lappalainen & al. 2010). Despite the egalitarian effort to phase out the class differences associated with gender in entrepreneurial training, those differences have been strengthened through the reproduction of differences between working-class waged workers and middle-class entrepreneurs (Keskitalo-Foley & al. 2007, 113–114).

A few decades ago, being an entrepreneur or business owner was not regarded as a socially desirable position, as it was associated with egoism, greed, fraud and the exploitation of others. It was considered more honourable to join a large company or work in the public sector (Ahl 2002, 64). Since then the status of entrepreneur has changed somewhat, and entrepreneurship is now promoted as the engine of the economy. Ulla Hytti (2003, 608) has also argued that entrepreneurship as a way to earn a living has become a more secure alternative in changing societies with increasing labour market insecurity. In particular, while the public sector as a workplace is now portrayed more or less as a dead end, entrepreneurship has become associated with innovation, bravery and challenge. This kind of neoliberal rhetoric, which promotes entrepreneurship for working-class waged workers as a way of taking personal responsibility for one's own life, is presented as gender- and class-neutral, and is assumed to eradicate existing differences (Komulainen & al. 2008, 176; Keskitalo-Foley & al. 2007, 111; 2010, 16).

According to Beverly Skeggs (2004a; 2004b; Adkins 2005), in the neoliberal economy or contemporary capitalism (Adkins & Jokinen 2008) the process of becoming someone – a subject – has been turned into a project of becoming an asset-acquiring self who is capitalizing properties of symbolic economy. The characteristics and values of this “someone” are assumed to be middle class, and are intertwined with gender. Accordingly, class does not only intervene, it constitutes this process (Skeggs 2004b, 75). An example of this project of self-constitution is “the entrepreneurial self” as a citizen-consumer that invests in

itself through self-presentation and self-branding, rather than relying on the welfare model of the state. This investment-oriented view requires personal risk calculations, as well as an acceptance of the uncertainty that the investment will pay off (Skeggs 2004b, 75; Peters 2005, 134–135). This middle-class version of the self seems to be erasing differences of class and gender while simultaneously also reproducing them: according to Skeggs (2004a, 90–91), the value given to this kind of middle-class self does not provide any adequate means to interpret working-class experiences. Instead of seeing the failure to be enterprising as a moral failing of the working-class person, for example, research should focus on access to resources for self-making in order to understand contemporary class relations (also 2005).

Katri Komulainen, Maija Korhonen and Hannu Rätty (2008; also Komulainen 2005; Komulainen & al. 2008; Komulainen & al. 2010) have analysed existing gendered and classed definitions of entrepreneurship by using different kinds of research material, consisting of newspaper articles, entrepreneurial writings and interviews. On the basis of an analysis of newspaper articles about women's entrepreneurship in Finland, Komulainen (2005, 24–25) has argued that men have been presented as innovative actors in the national and global context, while women are presented in the local context. Men's entrepreneurship is thus depicted as profit-seeking and unethical activity, while women's work is depicted as the opposite – as representing local traditions, ecological and ethical development, nature, humane activity, and women's know-how and abilities, including the communication and service skills that men supposedly lack. In addition, Hanna-Mari Ikonen (2008, 73) has stated that enterprise discourse in Finland has emphasised the idea that entrepreneurship will save the countryside in the context of globalisation (also Keskitalo-Foley & al. 2007; Keskitalo-Foley 2010), highlighting the distinctiveness of women's entrepreneurship in rural areas by drawing on discourses of women's traditional skills in relation to the concrete and everyday practices of women's entrepreneurship.

Korhonen and others (2008, 168–170, 180–182) have reviewed the social repertoire of stories (Hänninen 1999) related to entrepreneurship by analysing entries in a competition for 14- and 15-year-old Finnish school pupils, who

were invited to write about entrepreneurship. Despite the prevalence of heroic entrepreneurial stories in the pupil's texts, the stories also portrayed a modest entrepreneurial type, and did so regardless of the author's gender. Entrepreneurship was mostly associated with modesty, caution and stability as work-related ideals, with inner qualities and as a way to live one's life, despite what the social repertoire of stories might associate with entrepreneurship in general. The entrepreneurial self was detached from elements regarded as negative in our culture, such as competitiveness and seeking financial profit; instead, the emphasis was more on Protestant ethics, modesty and hard work. Mikko Peltomäki (2002, 208–210) has stated that Finland has been a troublesome site for the construction of entrepreneurship because of the ideal of the common reserve of wealth, which has remained in the public consciousness. According to him, entrepreneurs should be aware of this, and should accordingly keep a low profile in order to prevent jealousy and avoid being regarded as exploitative and greedy upstarts. Entrepreneurship is culturally permitted, but success is not.

According to reports by the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) (Stenholm & al. 2011), which assesses entrepreneurial activity cross-nationally in order to develop policies to enhance such activity, early-stage entrepreneurial activity was low in Finland because the level of personal desire to start a business was initially also low, but it rose significantly between 2005 and 2010. However, according to GEM, those Finns who had the encourage to start a business survived the difficult first few years better than their counterparts in many other countries, leading to a relatively high number of business owners in general in Finland. Nevertheless, growth expectations for Finnish firms are still modest compared to other countries, and high-potential entrepreneurial activity also seems to be very low. According to these and other statistics, entrepreneurship is not considered a very tempting career alternative in Finland (also Heinonen & al. 2006b; Heinonen & Hytti 2008, 10).

To return to Korhonen and others's (2008, 166) research, what appears to have changed during the years the writing competition was organised were the themes connected to the societal situation: entries written after the turn of the century tended to emphasise globalisation and social and ethical responsibility

more than those written during and after the 1990s recession. However, what seems to have remained is the gendered division of entrepreneurial fields, as well as the division between passivity and activity associated with entrepreneurship. According to Komulainen and others (2008, 186–188), middle-class entrepreneurship has been built on working-class entrepreneurship by drawing a distinction between activity and passivity. They found that in entrepreneurial writings in general, representations that referred to independence and a drive for success were recognised and shared; however, risk-taking and the desire to expand seemed to mark a separation between middle- and working-class entrepreneurship.

Although women's entrepreneurship has been regarded as more working-class, with associations of passivity and an unwillingness to expand, as well as being concentrated in female-dominated sectors, Komulainen and others (*ibid.*) found nonetheless that some interesting class differences between women entrepreneurs were constructed in girls' writings. The pupils' texts gave descriptions of "high-touch" businesses that are based on the commodification of women's skills and qualities, such as empathy and social skills, as counterparts of men's "high-tech" businesses (McDowell 2009, 45). Thus so-called gender commodification as the exploitation of one's own symbolic space can be used as a productive factor (Bruni & al. 2004b). This kind of self-fulfilment, based on caregiving, was situated in the home and family, with the emphasis on feminine diligence, altruism, and the combination of family responsibilities with work. Although these kinds of business description were based on the idea of care as something for which working-class women are socialised and which they are willing to nurture (Ungerson 2003, 382), Komulainen and others (2008, 189–191) suggest that the ideas of "high-touch" business still followed the middle-class, heterosexual and patriarchal family ideal. Consequently, the elevation of working-class care workers' socioeconomic positions through entrepreneurship can in fact be connected to characteristics associated with femininity, characteristics considered as favorable and requisite to succeed (Keskitalo-Foley & al. 2007, 115).

Similarly, Ikonen's (2008, 209, 230–238) analysis of interviews with women entrepreneurs in rural areas of Finland points out that these entrepreneurs

situate themselves in conventional and heterosexual gendered structures, referring to everyday practicalities done at home, like domestic work and childcare, and intertwining them with entrepreneurship (also Koski & Tedre 2004, 131; Anderson & Hughes 2010). However, when looking for connections between entrepreneurial discourse and the interviews, Ikonen also found variations: sometimes there were elements of traditional speech emphasising family and gender in entrepreneurship, and sometimes the interviews gave an individualist view, referring to the psychological traits of inner entrepreneurs, or drew on the discourse of rural development. She concludes that entrepreneurship is a meta-discourse that connects different discourses by bringing together different ways to discuss it. Having recognised a discourse, entrepreneurs either depart from or follow it.

I therefore take the view that women entrepreneurs interpret their entrepreneurship in terms of their particular circumstances and experiences. They most likely recognise the available possibilities and “the right kind” of entrepreneurial model, but they portray their own businesses as particular and different from that model, often departing from its masculine and abstract forms (Ikonen 2008, 237–238). Consequently, entrepreneurial discourse is also to be understood in relation to sectorised and situational contexts, since it is neither unitary nor unchangeable (Cohen & Musson 2000, 45–46). The context of care entrepreneurship is particular, both because of the long history of the public care services and because the public sector is regarded as the direct opposite of entrepreneurship. In order to further explore entrepreneurship in the care services and its related cultural expectations abstracted in the research questions, we therefore need to lay out the context of care entrepreneurship in the changing Finnish service structure.

2.2 Restructuring Finnish welfare services

The development of the Finnish welfare state, i.e. the expansion of social services starting from the 1960s and lasting until the end of the 1980s, was tightly linked to women's increased labour market activity. This development provided women with the opportunity to work outside the home with the support of public childcare, as stated earlier. Social and other services were of great importance in making women full and autonomous citizens. From the feminist point of view, equal access to welfare services has been seen as a guarantee of women's right to waged work, and as a way of reconciling home and work. Thus it has been stated that the state is women's ally, in that it is supportive of women's equality (Julkunen 1992; 2010, 93–99; Sipilä 1997; Anttonen 2002; Eräsaari 2010). According to Julkunen (2006, 242), the Nordic countries have distinguished themselves by taking on public responsibility for care services, which has had beneficial consequences for social and gender equality as well as for reproduction.

However, the economic recession in Finland in the 1990s put pressure on the relationship between women and the state. Full-time paid employment had been the norm for women in Finland, but after the 1990s this changed to various forms of atypical employment, such as part-time work, fixed-term employment and entrepreneurship (Julkunen & Nätti 1999, 30; Lehto & Sutela 2008, 30–39). Women started to enter different employment positions in growing numbers, which forced the contract between women and the state to change. At the beginning of the 1990s it had looked as if women's position in the labour market was guaranteed, especially in typically female-dominated occupations. However, the decrease in jobs in the public sector affected women above all, and the working conditions of those who still had work weakened as a result of cuts and shrinkage (Lehto 1999, 103; Julkunen 2010, 126–130).

Simultaneously, while social factors, i.e. the role of women and changing norms surrounding family and kin responsibilities, have effectively decreased the supply of care, demographic and financial factors have increased the demand for it. Care work is not a new form of work – there has always been

care work – but its significance has risen, for a number of reasons. According to Fine (2007, 14), dilemmas connected to changes in care arise from two main sources: from demographic changes, and from the shift from industrialised national societies to market capitalism in a globalised economic order. It has been said that there is a crisis of care in practically all welfare states as a result of the ageing population and the decreasing availability of private unpaid care (Daly & Lewis 2000, 288, 291; Luoma 2003, 80).

At the national level, the ageing population and the financial difficulties of municipalities have created concern about how to meet the increasing need for services. The discussion of the crisis in Finnish welfare services and the need for new solutions in their provision expanded in the 1990s during the economic recession. The Finnish welfare state model was said to be too expensive and bureaucratic; concepts such as “welfare pluralism” and “welfare mix” entered the vocabulary of the welfare state discourse. Pluralists have criticised the state-centred doctrine and the inefficiency of public services, and have argued for alternative – meaning more local – ways of organising the delivery, financing and control of social services. Thus the concept of the mixed economy of care was introduced to emphasise the importance of additional ways of organising services, such as entrepreneurship, the voluntary sector, families and self-help groups. The idea has been to enhance the cooperation, responsibility and division of tasks between these sectors (e.g. Julkunen 2006; Anttonen 2009, 94; Kröger 2009, 112; Anttonen & Häikiö 2011).

Characteristically, the adoption of New Public Management (NPM) ideology can be found in the background of these changes. It is thus derived from the neo-liberal views that “human well-being can be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade” (Harvey 2005, 2). Accordingly, valuing market exchange neoliberalism seeks to bring all human action into the domain of the market; in relation to welfare services this leads to deregulations, privatization and withdrawal of the state. To this end, in NPM discourse there is an underlying assumption that public services are outdated, and that markets guide the use of resources more effectively and productively. The privatisation of public services is therefore

favoured in NPM. However, Finland has not seen any direct privatisation (Julkunen 2006, 78, 88), and according to Anne Kovalainen and Johanna Österberg (2008, 17), the term “privatisation” should not be used in regard to care entrepreneurship in Finland. In particular, institutions producing public care services have not been sold to private investors. Even so, one could argue that privatisation is taking place through the process of introducing private services instead of expanding public services to meet the growing demand (see e.g. Anttonen & Häikiö 2011). Kovalainen (2002, 171) has argued that the term “market” is very powerful ideologically and politically, but is also slightly misleading: markets do not operate by themselves, but only through different agents – in this case, controlled by the public sector, which comprises hierarchy and authority.

Finnish municipalities have become responsible for organising services. As early as 1993, the reform of state subsidies gave local authorities the freedom to make decisions regarding the provision and purchase of welfare services through competitive tendering. Flexibility and diversity within social services therefore became the focus of the discussion. This led to the formation of so-called quasi-markets, situated between institutional approaches to producing services on the one hand and real markets on the other. The outsourcing of public services occurs in these quasi-markets. According to Briitta Koskiaho (2008, 28–29), this can be defined either as a goal in itself or as a stage towards real markets and privatisation. Municipalities have become resource centres that mobilise agents and at the same time avoid taking more financial responsibility than is necessary. However, the shifting of responsibility is not included in these outsourcing and privatising discourses, even though it is implicitly a part of them. Although private producers are controlled by government officials, responsibility has been shifted onto individuals, as municipalities only bear responsibility for tenders (Julkunen 2006, 88).

The private social-care sector is mostly funded by the public purse, and thus cannot be regarded as a private endeavour in the traditional sense. According to the statistics, 60.2% of for-profit firms sell all of their services to municipalities, and only 16.4% have no contracts with municipalities at all (Yksityiset sosiaalipalvelut 2010, appendix table 2). Of course, the contract

between local officials and private entrepreneurs gives some financial guarantees and reduces the risk involved in running such businesses. It also increases the potential number of clients available, especially in rural areas. This has naturally encouraged many women to start their own businesses (also in Britain see Andrews & Kendall 2000). However, subcontracting means dependency on prices and agreements set by the public sector, as well as dependency on local social-care budgets (Sosiaalipalvelut 2012, 25). Furthermore, the services provided by entrepreneurs are expected to follow – in good and bad – the standard forms set by public services (Kovalainen 2002, 174).

As a result, while the role of local providers and networks has increased, so have the differences between the various municipalities and their services. Consequently, the term welfare state has changed to welfare society or the “Supermarket State” (Sundin & Tillmar 2008, 117a), making it possible to refer multiple directions instead of just one. According to Julkunen (2006), it follows that responsibility is dispersed, targeted in no particular direction and to no specific service-provider. She points out the paradox that we expect society to be accountable, but at the same time we also expect individuals and institutions to be accountable to society. Because of the proliferation of service-providers, placing responsibility on the welfare society effectively means placing it on no one. While the welfare society has reached its limits and is no longer expanding, it has implicitly made visible the issue of responsibility, and has transferred more of that responsibility to individuals (ibid. 42–44, 78–88). Koskiaho (2008, 21) has summarised the stages of privatisation, starting with the shifting of responsibility from the state to local agents, then onwards to the private producers of services, and finally reaching a point where responsibility is placed on the citizens of civil society.

Leena Eräsaari (2010, 213) argues that there have been efforts to hide these changes by stating that nothing has really changed. Comparing three welfare-mix systems in different European countries, Thomas Bahle (2003) suggests that individual elements, such as the contracting out of social services, might indicate a move towards privatisation and decentralisation, but when understood in their institutional context they might suggest the opposite.

Power and control remain in the public sector as non- and for-profit agencies are more closely integrated into the public service system. Whether it is an effort to undermine these changes or not, this inevitably raises the question of how private “private” really is when it is decided and controlled by municipal officials and financed mostly by public funding. What do we gather as being “private” in an entrepreneurial sense of the word? It also raises questions about the difference between outsourcing to a small, locally run private care firm or to an international care chain.

Nevertheless, so far at least, the prices of services have not been determined by the market, but rather by conventions and policies concerning payments and costs in the public sector, and on what is regarded as a sufficient income for an entrepreneur in this field (Sosiaalipalvelut 2012, 25, 39; Kovalainen 2002, 174). Furthermore, clients have no formalised role, at least yet, in this system, a situation that partly contradicts the notion of welfare pluralism. Subsequently, before the arrival of international care chains on the Finnish care market, Kovalainen (ibid. 181, 183) asked whether research had to some extent artificially produced a difference between the public and private sectors. However, at the same time it is obvious and undeniable that in general the social service provision in Finland has become more market-friendly and so far there has been very little criticism directed towards these changes (Anttonen & Häikiö 2011).

2.2.1 The profile of care entrepreneurs in Finland

Because the changes in the welfare service structure outlined above are fairly recent in Finland, it is understandable that the number of private social-service providers is still low. However, the number of privately produced services has increased steadily and continuously in Finland as well as in Sweden (Gustafsson & Szebehely 2009, 85; Blomqvist 2004). There are some general differences between sectors, since there are more private firms in health services, and more non-profit associations in social services.

According to the report from the Ministry of Employment and the Economy, there were 3,301 for-profit social-service providers in 2010 in Finland (Sosiaalipalvelut 2012, 11). According to a survey of 90 Finnish municipalities, in most municipalities the share of private social services was under 20% (Kovalainen & Österberg-Högstedt 2008, 26) and nationwide 15% (Sosiaalipalvelut 2012, 23). Nevertheless, even though the volume of private provision is marginal within the whole service structure, it is significant at the local level of organising services. A mixed economy of care is now found in 88.6% of all municipalities (Yksityiset sosiaalipalvelut 2010, 3). In 2010, most of the firms were thus located in Uusimaa, Varsinais-Suomi and Pohjois-Pohjanmaa regions (Sosiaalipalvelut 2012, 17).

The private sector is divided into non-profit associations and for-profit firms, of which 64.9% are small companies (Yksityiset sosiaalipalvelut 2010, 2). More private entrepreneurs than non-profit associations have taken on home care services, and their share of residential services for the elderly also increased during the 2000s (Lith 2006). Residential services for children and young people have also distinguished for-profit firms from non-profit associations. Moreover, in 2010 the number of employees was slightly higher in for-profit firms (22,299) than in non-profit associations (19,289) (Yksityiset sosiaalipalvelut 2010, appendix table 3).

According to Kovalainen's and Österberg-Högstedt's (2008, 61; also Heinonen & al. 2006a, 27) survey on entrepreneurs who provide social and health services,³ the typical entrepreneur is a 48-year-old woman with a family who lives in southern Finland and has a college-level degree and some entrepreneurial training. She is running her first business, and has previously worked full-time in the public sector in temporary posts. She also has some employees.

Other surveys specifically on care entrepreneurs have formed the same kind of typical picture (e.g. Rissanen & al. 2004, 69–70).⁴ These individuals typically

³ Their data consisted of 276 entrepreneurs, 70% of whom provided social services, and 77% of whom were women (Kovalainen and Österberg-Högstedt 2008, 59–61).

⁴ The survey done in 2001 was based on 465 respondents from which 84% were women (Rissanen & al. 2004, 69–70).

have 5–6 years of experience as entrepreneurs. Almost half (49%) of the businesses are joint-stock companies, while 24% are licensed under trade names. Although almost half (47%) also operate in the free market and have “self-paying customers”, 83% do business on the basis of subcontracting or vouchers with municipalities. According to this survey, approximately 80–100% of firms’ income comes from subcontracting. Only children’s day care and home care services are marketed straight to clients (ibid. 74; Heinonen & al. 2006a, 62–70).

The firms that offer social services are small, but their size has grown since the 1990s and is expected to continue to grow, thanks to the growing demand for services, regional changes affecting service provision, and changes in RAY funding.⁵ However, the survival rate of private social-service firms is as low as 47%, which is lower than for health services, and this is regarded as problematic in relation to the firms’ credibility and municipalities’ desire to contract out (Heinonen & al. 2006a, 67–68).

Overall, it appears that private provision, including for- and non-profit organisations, in social and health services has steadily increased and is here to stay. As well as introducing new actors into the social and health services, the changes in the service structure have also introduced a new mode of thought about care as a product (Julkunen 2006, 89). As a result of the marketisation of care, commercialism and consumerism have been imported into the vocabulary and the management of welfare services in order to change traditional ways of thinking about the provision and delivery of services. I turn to this issue next.

⁵ Previously, RAY (Finland’s Slot Machine Association) gave support to Finnish health and welfare organisations, mostly non-profit organisations. This was later deemed to be distorting competition.

2.2.2 Commercialising care

After all, a woman who chooses to become a child care worker – even though it pays her less than a job as a parking lot attendant – must really love children. A woman who chooses to be a nurse – even though it pays less than a job as a tree-trimmer – must be full of nurturance.

(Folbre 2002, 45)

In an ironic tone, Nancy Folbre (*ibid.*) writes of the contradictions of combining care work with monetary value. While care was once undertaken at home out of “love”, it has since become something that is bought and sold on the market as a commercialised or commodified product. “Thus care is a composite good, where it is not only difficult to place a market value on the different aspects but also hard to envisage a commodified relationship that will embody all the sorts of love and care previously provided by a wife and mother” (McDowell 2009, 82). Care is marked by its association with the feminine and familial, and is thus situated outside the market, according to the dichotomy between love and money (England 2005, 393). Folbre and McDowell connect commodified care mainly with waged care work as the opposite of unpaid care done at home. However, bearing in mind the differences between the discussions of care in Britain (and the US) and in Nordic countries, referred to in chapter 2.1.1, I am referring to commercialised care in a context of care entrepreneurship where the care is more directly produced and sold on “the market to the customers”, since in the Finnish context waged care work cannot be equated with commercialised care.

However and first of all, given that it is labour intensive and requires face-to-face interaction and bodily presence, how can care be depersonalised, quantified or standardised as a product in line with NMP rhetoric? It has been stated that welfare services need to be productised and commodified in order to do business, to evaluate costs and set the price for the service product, as well as to make the service transparent to clients. Moreover, making a service

into a product is presented as a way to assure a good quality of care by building trust, credibility and a good image for the private provider (Holma 2006, 23–24).

However, care is simultaneously produced and consumed in interactions, and is expected to be personal rather than standardised. Using an example from domestic care work, where care is defined as paid work in informal settings, Sipilä (2003, 31–34) has written about the dilemmas involved in making care a product and attempting to define, measure, test and defend the quality of it. For example, drawing up written contracts for domestic care work exposes the difficulties surrounding what can be included in such services in the context of people's particular and changing needs, and how to agree on the feelings attached to this kind of work. The quality of daily practices based on interactions is difficult to measure and assess, as experiences and conceptions of care, like conceptions of what constitutes a good film, can vary from person to person. Moreover, some care procedures have to be performed even though they might be perceived as uncomfortable, and this affects the experienced quality of care.

Translating everyday care into "the language of consumerism" (Vabø 2006) can fail to recognise the specific nature of care and thus appear to hide its emotional and embodied-labour aspects (e.g. Dyer & al. 2008, 2032). In the light of NPM, care is transformed into numbers of care recipients. All of the professional groups involved portray themselves as able to meet these demands in the name of providing the best possible care for those who need it (Rantalaiho 2004, 240–241).

Instead of being described as patients, in the spirit of NPM and marketisation those receiving care are called customers or clients, who are believed to have more agency than patients. This is based on an ideal in which offering a range of services for the consumer to choose from produces greater equity than the public sector, which does not offer choices (Le Grand 2006, also Peters 2005). According to Ungerson (2003, 379), this kind of development could be characterised as a result of market logic – moving towards the direct purchase of services by their users. Care entrepreneurs have been promoted for their ability to provide choices for purchasers. There is also an assumption

that consumers are well informed and capable of comparing and choosing between services from multiple providers, as well as of giving feedback on services (e.g. Aaltonen & al. 2009, 8; Fine 2007, 17).

Since 2003 municipalities have begun to provide vouchers that cover part of the cost of the services the client wishes to purchase. This kind of shopping around with vouchers has not become very common in Finland, since it has been targeted only at those with very small incomes (Koskiahho 2008, 187). It is noteworthy that these so-called clients are mostly elderly people or children, and that the services are therefore purchased on their behalf. Consequently, those who are buying or organising the care cannot judge the quality of it, since they are not the ones receiving it. Furthermore, in the context of outsourced services, there are hardly any real alternative services out there to choose from. Thus according to Julkunen (2008; also Häikö & al. 2011), in this rhetoric citizens are defined as activated and empowered, but they are simultaneously also made responsible and abandoned.

“The quantity and quality of care work depend heavily on cultural values of love, obligation, and reciprocity – values that are seldom adequately rewarded in the marketplace” (Folbre 2002, 51). Thus, despite the saying that everybody and everything has a price, there is ambivalence about care service providers charging a price that reflects the value of their contributions. There is a notion that acting on the market is too heartless, driven by a desire for pure personal advantage and motivated by pay and nothing else. This is a powerful cultural message about the erosion of the quality of care through the use of markets. As with the argument that markets promote care by increasing efficiency and the range of choices available, the idea that markets degrade caring work by replacing altruism with self-interest is somewhat simplistic (Folbre & Nelson 2000, 123–124, 134–138). However, valid concerns relating to the commercialisation of care have been raised during the past two decades.

2.3 Prevailing frameworks and concerns

In 1993 Raija Julkunen wrote an interesting article, provocatively entitled “Care business, or between the fist and the stove?” (*Hoivabisnekseen vai nyrkin ja hellan väliin?*). In this article she envisions possible future directions for welfare services in Finland. According to her, changes in the service sector will constitute a challenge to the professional strategies of women who do care work, either by opening up opportunities or by forcing them into unfavourable situations. However, instead of explicitly drawing out the new opportunities, she concentrates on the concerns arising from the pluralist service structure in the light of the quest for the cheapest possible care and the high unemployment rate at the time (ibid. 33).

In particular, she points out the possibility of a shift to a two-tier form of service delivery, in which the private sector will serve “the best”, least troublesome and least costly clients (ibid. 39; also Anttonen 1994, 23), as suggested by the experience of comparable service structure changes in Britain (e.g. Roberts & Devine 2003). This concern has persisted throughout the years (see Koskiahho 2008, 29), despite the prevalence of subcontracting in which municipalities “select” most of the entrepreneurs’ customers for them. Moreover, according to Kovalainen’s and Österberg-Högstedt’s survey (2008, 41), small-scale care entrepreneurs operating locally seldom offer their services to municipalities; instead, it is the municipalities that approach private providers to start negotiations over subcontracting. Second, Julkunen (1993, 40) has raised the possibility that markets will promote a turn to non-professional and cheaper care work, in which vocational qualifications will become less valued and women will be left on their own, without the support of the trade unions. She lays out the options for women in that scenario: either go into business or return to the home. Both options are equally problematic.

More research on the private provision of care has been done since 1993, and what is different is Finland’s improved economic situation, as is evident in the improved employment situation and even, to some extent, in the lack of a labour force in care work. Unemployment, or the threat of it, as a stated reason

for becoming an entrepreneur in this field (e.g. Härkki 1996) – which was one of the concerns at the time of Julkunen’s article – has also decreased (Heinonen et. al. 2006, 76; Kovalainen and Österberg-Högstedt 2008, 66). However, at the same time there has been a tendency to promote the provision of home care for the elderly and small children by their next of kin, as previously stated (Anttonen & al. 2009). Thus the fears raised by Julkunen about losing equal services for all and turning to non-professional care work are still relevant and essential (Eräsaari 2010; Julkunen 2010, 214) in relation to the field of care entrepreneurship. One could ask whether this kind of development might indirectly push women back into care work at home or in homelike places, and might therefore affect the status of those women in society. The important question of women as recipients of care has also been addressed (ibid.); however, this lies outside the scope of this study.

Consequently, even though a lot of research has been done on care entrepreneurship in Finland during recent decades, it appears that the same issues, definitions and concerns keep recurring in literature on the private provision of care. In the next subchapter I will discuss the validity and consistency of the consequences attached to the marketisation of care, and to care work and workers in general, as well as the continuities in the ways care entrepreneurs have been addressed in recent studies. Since care entrepreneurs are inescapably operating in these contexts, they are significant and representative of the narrative environments that are emerging around the private provision of care.

2.3.1 The renegotiation of care work and professionalisation

Nordic universalism and the public sector have been said to create favourable conditions for the professionalisation of the welfare services. However, changes in the service structure are seen to have fragmented those conditions. Care work and social services have been seen as prone to changes and manipulation (Eräsaari 2010, 214). In the name of NPM, economists,

lawyers, consultants and others have been brought into the health and social-service sector as decision-makers, and the space for professional projects (Witz 1992) – especially for those at the lower levels of the professional hierarchy, such as home care workers – has been narrowed (ibid. 216; Henriksson & al. 2006, 174–175, 187).

According to Lea Henriksson and others (ibid. 183–186), funding cuts have been particularly targeted at lower-level professional groups in the welfare services, resulting in the further strengthening of other groups, such as doctors, who have managed to combine the new managerial power with their old professional power (see Witz 1992). The flexibilisation and intensification of work have been targeted at groups whose professionalisation is still incomplete (Wrede 2008, 130). As examples of such outcomes, in addition to women's being "pushed into entrepreneurship", into potentially involuntary entrepreneurship due for example subcontracting (Kautonen 2007), Henriksson and others highlight the restriction of tasks for home care workers, referred to earlier, and the increasing use of temporary contracts and substitutes in welfare service work. As the institutional conditions of work diversify, women doing care work find themselves in a weakening policy arena for the negotiation of professionalism. The group integration of some workers suffers, resulting in marginalisation and subordination, and some professional groups are no longer considered experts with autonomy over their own work. Ultimately, this narrowing of opportunities is expected to lead to social divisions among care workers.

Clare Ungerson (2000, 627–629; see also Wrede 2008, 130) has argued that privatisation and marketisation have gendered effects that are disadvantageous to women in care work. Taking home care as an example, she states that if care needs to be delivered 24 hours a day at a price that the state and clients are willing to pay, this is likely to lead to the deskilling and reskilling of care tasks. Those tasks will be broken up into small units that can be performed at speed, thus altering the content of care work, especially as these kinds of task are easily aligned with the instrumental tasks of mothering.

The extension of services beyond the usual areas of care workers' competence and the increase in the working hours of care entrepreneurs have

been seen as threats to those in paid employment, and to the status of care work in general. Concerns about the deskilling of work have become a focus of discussion, because the rigid boundaries between care professions have been melting away. Professionalisation has meant making exclusions, drawing rigid lines, and screening vertically as well as horizontally. The creation of a hierarchy has been necessary to the professional status of care work, and what lies outside the official care system has not been sufficiently specified (Henriksson 1998; Henriksson & Wrede 2004).

There is also a concern that care tasks must be delivered by unskilled and untrained workers in order to produce cheap care services, and that this encourages private firms to recruit labour with low wages and no unionisation in order to save costs (Ungerson 2000, 629–630). It has been suggested that immigrants are or will be used as a cheap labour force to reduce the employment costs of entrepreneurs (Julkunen 2006, 250, see also Laurén & Wrede 2010) since the employment costs constitute about 70-80% of the total expenses (Sosiaalipalvelut 2012, 34). Furthermore, the cash-for-care policies that are a part of outsourcing, like the use of vouchers, may encourage the use of unskilled and untrained as well as unprotected and undocumented labour. Low-paid jobs might become even lower-paid, and this will increase gender and class inequality (Eräsaari 2010, 219). According to Ungerson (2003, 382), this kind of development might further reinforce the traditional view of care work as an arena for working-class women who are socialised and willing to nurture. As a consequence, the entrepreneur seems to come across as middle-class exploiter.

Paradoxically, alongside this kind of deskilling there is simultaneously a reskilling going on, as clients are becoming older and thus demand more specialised care by trained professionals (Ungerson 2000, 629). According to Julkunen in 1993, professionalism has to allow space for things like callings and beliefs, marketing abilities, and entrepreneurial spirit and skills, as well as innovation (ibid. 41). However, instead of things for which space must be allowed, from the current perspective these could be all seen as things that must simply be added, another example of the demand for “multi-talenting”.

Older (e.g. Lemponen 1999) and more recent surveys (e.g. Heinonen et. al. 2006) of care service entrepreneurs in Finland have demonstrated that individuals have strong educational backgrounds, and usually a long work history, before becoming entrepreneurs. Additionally, holding professional qualifications and having employees are prerequisites for receiving a licence to provide social services in Finland. Thus the existence of privately produced services does not imply a lack of control by the public sector; rather, it has led to the formation of a complex control mechanism for private services (Kovalainen & Österberg-Högstedt 2008, 18). Government policy and the public sector set the statutory and organisational framework for business activities. For example, according to the law on the supervision of private social services⁶ established in 1996, county administrations are responsible for the guidance and control of the quality of services, ensuring that the operational preconditions, the number of staff and their educational backgrounds are appropriate to the type and extent of the services being produced, and are comparable with those required in the public sector.⁷

Despite these legislative preconditions, there have also been apprehensions over whether private company owners will gradually raise their prices in order to make personal profits from which the employees will not benefit. As well as these concerns about financial gain, which are associated with entrepreneurship in general, there is also an assumption that private care firms will not comply with the collective labour agreements established for care workers. This could lead to a situation in which the inadequate wages of care workers become the fault of private business owners, rather than of the trade unions' failure to secure promotions.

Perceptions of profit-seeking care entrepreneurs also raise questions about the professional ethics and personal morals that are strongly attached to care

⁶ [Http://www.finlex.fi/lains/index.html](http://www.finlex.fi/lains/index.html)

⁷ According to an enquiry by Valvira (National Supervisory Authority for Welfare and Health) in the summer of 2010 relating to the supervision of 24-hour housing services for the elderly, public facilities fell short on all criteria, including the educational backgrounds of staff, dietary care, care plans for patients including plans for medication, documentation, living arrangements, and the overall condition of the patients, compared to privately produced services (Valvira 2010).

work. Despite all the concerns about private services, Julkunen asked in 1993 (ibid. 41) whether the prejudice towards private care-providers was insulting, since it was especially attached to women and care work. Nevertheless, in the context of international firms' subsequent entry into the market, the question of making profits from care work remains (ibid. 93).

Although the expanding social divisions among care workers appear obvious, there are differing views on whether outsourcing has been to the advantage or disadvantage of care employees in general. A survey of public and private care workers in elderly care in Sweden found only minor differences in their experiences of working conditions. However, there were some differences between home-based care and residential care. Publicly employed home care workers reported slightly more positive experiences of their work environment than their privately employed counterparts, while privately employed residential care workers reported better experiences of their work environment than public employees. The survey also found significant differences between municipalities in terms of reported working conditions, regardless of whether the workers in question were employed by the public or the private sector (Gustafsson & Szebehely 2009, 86, 93–94). Thus instead of concentrating solely on the dichotomy between public and private, one should also take into consideration the variations between municipalities when making assessments of such matters as the quality of care.

2.3.2 The emerging picture of care entrepreneurs

Studies and surveys of care entrepreneurs in Finland – most of which have been done in the fields of economics and business administration, in the polytechnic sector, or by bodies like the National Institute for Health and Welfare (THL) – often list respondents' motives for becoming an entrepreneur. According to the first survey, conducted in 1996 by Kovalainen and Simonen, making a living, having autonomy over one's own work, and the desire to benefit from one's own labour were the key motives of care entrepreneurs

(ibid. 35; also Paasivirta 1999). Self-fulfilment, the desire for a challenge and career advancement, and the desire to balance family and work responsibilities were also reported as important motivations. The proper time to start a business is often determined by family issues, such as the age of one's children and how much attention they need – or indeed the absence of children (Pöllänen 2002, 560). Client-orientedness, high-level education and a long work history, support from one's family, and personality traits suited to independent working have also been given as important reasons for starting a business in this field (Sinkkonen & Kosola 2004).

In the survey on social and health care entrepreneurs from 2008 (Kovalainen & Österberg-Högstedt 2008, 67–69), the reasons for starting the business were divided between pull and push factors. The recognition of an opportunity and the desire to make a step forward in one's career were mentioned as pull factors. Dissatisfaction with one's previous work (usually in public sector), the end of employment, working tasks incommensurate with one's education, and the absence of alternative ways to earn a living in the local area were listed as push factors. However, only 9% of respondents presented entrepreneurship as the only way to earn a living. It is also noteworthy that there were no businesses that had been founded on the privatisation of existing public social care or healthcare units in this survey. In Eevaleena Mattila's (2005, 74) study, care entrepreneurs' stated motives were a desire to organise their work according to their own preferences, and the opportunity to produce alternatives for clients by tailoring services to their needs.

These motives rest on the notion of producing good-quality services in response to criticisms of the public services, and on a disappointment with either paid work or unemployment (also Hasanen 2004), depending on the time the studies were conducted. The means to earn a living was slightly more strongly emphasised in surveys conducted during the 1990s (e.g. Härkki 1996), while in the 2000s more personal reasons, like self-fulfilment and autonomy, came to the fore (e.g. Sankelo & Åkerblad 2009).

Jeremy Kendall (2001, 367) has constructed a typology of the motives of private welfare service-producers in Britain. According to his typology, the entrepreneurs he labels "empathisers" claim "knightly" motives, such as the

desire to meet the needs of the clients, and do not mention financial motives. Professional accomplishments, development and independence are also emphasised by this group. On the other hand, “income-prioritisers” seem to place more weight on income than the other group, although not to the exclusion of the other motives. Instead of constructing typologies on the basis on stated motives, setting up oppositions between entrepreneurs as “knights and knaves” (ibid.) or “saints and professionals” (Solari 2006), studies of Finnish care entrepreneurs seem to reveal a shared denial of financial motives (Kovalainen & al. 1996; Lemponen 1999; Mattila 2005, 74; Heinonen & al. 2006b, 74). Money-orientated motives are usually withheld by Finnish respondents, and the reasons for enterprise are often described as personal, or as just wanting to earn a living.

Beside the pull and push factors behind entrepreneurship (e.g. Kovalainen 1993), a number of studies have focused on the obstacles and aids to it, particularly in relation to cooperation with municipalities. Jarna Heinonen and others (2006a, 72) have divided the obstacles and problems experienced by Finnish care entrepreneurs into informal and formal obstacles. For example, there are formal obstacles related to the practicalities of outsourcing, such as setting the right prices. Such obstacles arise from the general framework established by society at the regional level, as well as from municipalities’ inability to improve the outsourcing system or to understand the ways these entrepreneurs operate (Byckling 2003, 250). From the care entrepreneurs’ perspective, the dependence on the decisions of county administrations, and the ways in which municipalities set the prices for services, have an inhibiting effect. The difficulty of finding motivated and professional employees is also seen as a problem (Mattila 2005, 77).

Mistrust of entrepreneurs is an example of an informal obstacle reported by care entrepreneurs (Heinonen & al. 2006a, 72). Negative attitudes and prejudices from county administrations, municipalities and residents have been mentioned (e.g. Mattila 2005, 75). Conversely, positive attitudes towards entrepreneurs, a reliance on their trustworthiness and know-how, and the creation of more visible decision-making procedures are highlighted as factors that promote care entrepreneurship (Byckling 2003, 250). Care entrepreneurs’

potential is recognised as the use of vouchers becomes more common, the numbers of self-paying clients increase, the public sector buys more services, and policies improve. A positive and encouraging atmosphere and a favourable political climate in municipalities are often mentioned as crucial factors for starting a business (Sinkkonen & Kosola 2004; Laakkonen & Rissanen 2004).

According to these studies and surveys, care entrepreneurs see being a professional care worker as one of their strengths, but are more cautious when evaluating their own leadership, sales and marketing skills, for example. The importance of obtaining more skills in financial management, marketing, leadership and computing, and of gathering information about legislation and staff management, are highlighted as future necessities (Heinonen & al. 2006a, 73, 77; Kovalainen & Österberg-Högstedt 2008, 75; Mattila 2004) What distinguishes small care service firms in particular is that there is no line between management and leadership, as the same person is usually responsible for both. The tension between ethics and productivity also places demands on leadership and management (Hujala 2008, 33). Working alone, being responsible for employees and clients, and being a woman business owner, with all its implications for family life, are mentioned as stressful factors (Rissanen & al. 2004, 73–76).

According to Johanna Österberg-Högstedt (2009, 57), two discourses can be distinguished in the way women portray their entrepreneurship in this sector. “Happy entrepreneurs” are enthusiastic about their work, see it as important and fulfilling, and are optimistic about the future; “loaded entrepreneurs” seem to be struggling with the contradictions between entrepreneurship and caregiving, and with workload, bureaucracy and future plans. Independence and versatility, and the demands and challenges of work tasks, have been associated with entrepreneurship as mainly positive factors, while salary issues and long and irregular working hours are mentioned negatively (Kovalainen & Österberg-Högstedt 2008, 65).

The studies and reports that are more focused on the practical aspects of care entrepreneurship (Rissanen & Sinkkonen 2004; Kainlauri 2007; Kaarakainen 2004) tend to highlight the distinctiveness of care entrepreneurship in comparison with other fields of entrepreneurship. Care

entrepreneurship is defined by legal regulations and by the number of the businesses in the field, and entrepreneurs are portrayed with a combination of an entrepreneurial attitude (“inner entrepreneurship”) and a calling to do care work (e.g. *ibid.* 13–30; Mattila 2004, 15–23). These studies (e.g. Kaarakainen 2004) start by explaining the regulatory framework and legislation for municipalities in relation to organising services for residents, and then go through what is required for the operating licence, how the quality of service is controlled, and what the consequences are of not following these requirements. The starting phases of the business, how to behave like an entrepreneur, and how to manage the workload are outlined as a guide for those planning to become care entrepreneurs. The requirements for previous and further education are addressed, as is the issue of networking with the public sector and other care entrepreneurs. The customer’s point of view and the evaluation of the quality of service are also touched upon (Rissanen & Sinkkonen 2004, 7–10). Thus these issues are examined not only from the entrepreneur’s point of view, but also from that of customers and cooperating partners, including community officials, employees and trade unions.

“When starting a care service business, one must take into consideration the same things as in other fields of entrepreneurship” (Kaarakainen 2004, 60, my translation). Although it is depicted as a distinctive sector, care is thus still defined as entrepreneurial. Entrepreneurship per se is brought into focus by asking how these women locate themselves on the market, and how they define prices and costs. However, the guidance on setting prices for services suggests that they should correspond to the prices in the public sector, as clients are not willing to pay for services they are used to receiving for free (see *ibid.* 60; also *Sosiaalipalvelut* 2012, 25). Although it is regarded as a form of business, care entrepreneurship is positioned as comparable and supplementary to the public sector through the suggestion that care work has a low monetary value.

Difficulties associated with gender, such as the need to combine work and family life, are often also mentioned in these studies (e.g. Rissanen & al. 2004, 75–76). Women are presented as unaccustomed to entrepreneurship, and as lacking the necessary education and networks when they start their businesses. In other words, these women entrepreneurs are presented as lacking the

abilities and resources needed for “proper” entrepreneurship, as discussed in chapter 2.1.3. Rather than questioning these views and comparisons with the masculine entrepreneurial ideal, the studies present these issues solely as problems the women face. Although the distinctiveness of care entrepreneurship is highlighted, many studies and reports like these fail to address the ways in which this kind of entrepreneurship is inescapably tied to care and its gendered and classed cultural values and expectations. The focus has been more on identifying and overcoming the obstacles women face, and on comparisons with entrepreneurship in other sectors. These studies are intended to help, inform and guide entrepreneurs and other interest groups in the field, and they are thus influential on the societal and cultural context of the private provision of care.

2.4 The enabling and constraining environment

Because of the evident tension between the history of social-service provision in Finland and the ideologies of entrepreneurship, a precondition for developing the Finnish service sector is the issue of trust and responsibility. Care is an area with a history of strongly institutionalised forms of activity, albeit often locally and privately organised (Kovalainen 2002, 186), so it is difficult to renegotiate those forms (Sundin & Tillmar 2008a, 122). Universalist social policies – in which the state provides all citizens with basic capabilities – and social institutions have been the foundations of trust relations in the Nordic countries (e.g. Rothstein 2001; Anttonen & Sipilä 2010). A general belief in the fairness and impartiality of public institutions is intertwined with general attitudes to others. According to Farrell and Knight (2003, 541), the existing institutions militate against certain kinds of opportunism, removing sources of insecurity and allowing people to trust and cooperate with each other more easily in other spheres. Nevertheless, what matters is not the formal institutions as such, but the perceived history of how those institutions

have acted. Their historically established reputation – the collective memory of citizens – for fairness and efficiency can be seen as the basis of trust relations between institutions and citizens (Rothstein 2000).

In particular, there is a general concern that the move from a controlled economy to the free market may increase economic inequality and distrust. In his classic work *Bowling Alone*, Robert Putnam (2000) raises apprehensions about the power of private associations in the US, and suggests that liberals are seeking to destroy some forms of social capital in the name of individual opportunity. Underlying this argument is the notion that marketisation will destroy the communal and social, and that trust is part of the social capital needed in society (Kovalainen 2002, 180). Roberts and Devine (2003) have also been concerned about the effects of “the hollowing out of the welfare state” in Britain. By “hollowing out” they mean a move from centralised and national government mechanisms towards a range of governmental agencies and organisations. However, there is no certainty over whether it was the Scandinavian welfare model that created social capital and trust or vice versa (e.g. Rothstein 2001). It is also a matter of debate whether the changed service structure is an example of new forms of citizen activity or a consequence of diminishing trust in the public institutions of welfare society.

Thus from one point of view care entrepreneurs can be seen as actors working on behalf of more flexible and innovative services, emphasising individual service, client-orientedness and flexibility, within a rigid but changing structure of social welfare services. Sundin and Tillmar (2008a, 114–120) write about institutional entrepreneurs and organisational entrepreneurs (2008b), referring to entrepreneurs as change agents operating in the middle position in the public sector hierarchy, such as nurses starting their own businesses. Hence “the entrepreneur is both constrained and enabled by the institutional environment while at the same time he or she contributes to changing it” (ibid. 117). According to Sundin and Tillmar, such entrepreneurs often spot problems in the organisations and offer solutions that are in line with ongoing NMP trends without fully understanding their own role, as the changes occur as a consequence of their own activities. Thus by furthering and supporting the activity of local providers and networks, municipalities are in a

potential position to create social capital. On the other hand, such entrepreneurs can also be considered to embody the eroding trust in the welfare society and its universalist values (Österberg 2002, 200). However, in the context of small, locally operating care firms, Anne Kovalainen (2002, 169) has criticised the drawing of any direct link between globalisation, neoliberalism and the new ways of organising services at the municipal level, emphasising the more complicated and indirect nature of these changes from the perspectives of those who provide care services. Bearing in mind that the situation has changed in the last decade, as international firms have entered the Finnish care market, I will now turn to the particularities and positions of care entrepreneurs in the current service system.

2.4.1 Positions and hierarchies

In multiple studies, Kovalainen (1996; 2002; Kovalainen & Österberg 2000; Kovalainen and Österberg-Högstedt 2008) has conducted a theoretical analysis of the changes in the service structure from a feminist perspective, pointing out that the implications of the financial changes for the gender system in relation to the welfare state and employment have not been sufficiently studied (2002, 166). She has focused on the implications of changes in the service structure for the gender contract in Finnish society by looking at the positions of private providers in that structure, as well as at the creation of trust relations in a changing system.

According to Kovalainen (*ibid.* 172), instead of bringing freedom from the hierarchies and bureaucracy attached to public services, the marketisation of care has created new hierarchies based on evaluation and control. The relationship between service purchasers and providers has therefore become important. This makes it significant to analyse the different relationships between employers and employees in the public and private sectors, rather than assuming that they are similar. In practice the relationship is formed between the employer, the employee, the recipient of care and their next of kin,

who are all linked together as citizens of the same community (Gustafsson & Szebehely 2009, 87).

It is particularly essential to take note of relations of dominance and hierarchy among the purchasers and providers of social services, because of their possible gendered implications. Contracting out services for private providers transfers the risks to the individual provider, rather than to the public purchaser of the work. The contract is made on a fixed-term basis, which gives no future guarantees to the private service provider, thus limiting their orientation and making it necessary for them to acquire more contracts for the future. Contracts are therefore experienced as short-term, complicated and troublesome, and as based on inconsistent practices (Kovalainen & Österberg-Högstedt 2008, 76). For women who have left jobs in paid employment, this means constantly coping with increasing instability, risk-taking and uncertainty, as there is rarely any union-based security for care service entrepreneurs. The majority of their business relies almost entirely on networks and trust relations between private providers and local government officials (Kovalainen 2002, 173; Toivonen 1999, 14). Moreover, even though it might be in the municipalities' best interests, for tax and employment reasons, to give preferential treatment to local entrepreneurs they know to be familiar and trustworthy, they are not allowed to do so, because of the requirement of continuous competition for lower prices (Julkunen 2006, 92).

Additionally, the bigger international firms entering this sector are weakening the positions of small local entrepreneurs in competitions for contracts, especially in the areas with the largest volumes of funding and clientele (Sosiaalipalvelut 2012, 25). In Britain, for example, small and individually owned business in home services have found it hard to survive in a market overcrowded by international franchises (e.g. McDowell 2009, 85), or have been bought and merged with bigger firms (Koskiahho 2008, 80–85). In 2008 just two large companies (Attendo Oy⁸ and Carema Oy⁹) constituted approximately half of the private Swedish market in elderly care (Meagher & Szehebely 2010, 13). It has been said that international firms are detached

⁸ <http://www.attendo.com/en/start/>

⁹ <http://www.carema.se/>

from the local and national context, in contrast with small local business owners (Julkunen 2006, 138). At the moment the majority of these entrepreneurs in Finland are still small-scale entrepreneurs operating at a local level. Nevertheless, international firms are progressively gaining ground here too. According to latest statistics in 2010 there were already 11 companies that had over 250 employees (Sosiaalipalvelut 2012, 14).¹⁰

The anticipated virtues of the changed service structure are competition, lower prices, improved quality, greater efficiency in the provision of services, innovation, customer choice, and a strengthening of customer relations. But where do these virtues come from? According to NPM, they derive from the notion of more fluent processes (Bycling 2003, 247; Julkunen 2006, 90, 136–137). In this regard, Johanna Österberg (2002, 199; also Heinonen & al. 2006a, 62) has made an important point about care entrepreneurs and their entrepreneurship in general. According to her, flexibility is the keyword in talk about these entrepreneurs: “flexible service, flexible entrepreneur, flexible concept, flexibility towards clients, flexible plans and so on”. One could argue therefore that the premise of all those virtues is the flexibility of the entrepreneurs and their entrepreneurship. Similarly, in Britain entrepreneurship has been used to encourage nurses to be more receptive to flexibility (Traynor & al. 2008, 16).

According to Bente Rasmussen (2004), as well as helping them to provide more and better quality services that are better targeted to the needs of clients, municipalities also expect private care services to be cheaper. The forms of service that cost society the least are those provided at home or as voluntary work. The requirement for flexibility comes to the fore as, for example, a willingness to work hard to prove oneself and one’s worth in the service structure. Entrepreneurs are said to reduce costs by, for example, working long hours, doing the most expensive hours themselves, or using family members as a workforce (e.g. Anderson & Hughes 2010). Rather than a deliberate attempt to cut costs and impose questionable staffing policies, this might be a result of insecurity and short-term contracting with municipalities (Kovalainen 2002,

¹⁰ In 2011 the largest Finnish care firms were Attendo Oy, Mainio Vire, Mikeva Oy, Esperri Care Oy and Carema Oy (Sosiaalipalvelut 2012, 21).

177). While municipalities expect flexibility, care entrepreneurs have stated that the requirement for flexibility increases their financial insecurity (Kovalainen & Österberg-Högstedt 2008, 79). There has also been discussion¹¹ of how larger companies have bought smaller firms, for example after the latter have exhausted themselves with overwork in order to keep costs to a minimum.

The position of care entrepreneurs in the service structure has been noted and discussed in different research projects. According to Leena Byckling (2003, 249, 253), the extension of the term “welfare entrepreneurs” (*hyvinvointiyrittäjyys*) to include health and social care might improve the status of care entrepreneurs. She discusses regional welfare service clusters that comprise public- and private-sector providers – both entrepreneurs and the non-profit sector – and stresses the importance of social entrepreneurial networks to enhance their status. Networking and specialising to certain services is seen as a solution for small firms in a competition with the big international ones (Sosiaalipalvelut 2012, 39).

According to Österberg (2002, 194, 200), unionisation might also improve these women’s position, although it seems to be difficult to achieve because they do not have a very strong sense of their own entrepreneurial identities. She argues that the feelings of freedom the women attach to entrepreneurship are stronger than their perception that they are in unequal power relations with municipalities, perhaps because of their internalised roles as public sector employees. In a similar way, in the context of outsourcing and subcontracting the possible financial dependency on the public sector as a former employer has been gathered providing security instead of compromising entrepreneurial freedom (Kautonen 2007, 107).

¹¹ E.g. Talouselämä 6/2009: Raha ryntää vanhuksen luo.

2.4.2 Institutionalisation and trust

According to Anneli Anttonen and Liisa Häikiö (2011) we are approaching a form of a liberal welfare state. Thus the Finnish social and health service structure expects to continue as a combination of different service providers in the future. The development of new welfare service practices that correspond to local needs and reflect the future needs of society therefore seems inevitable. According to Kovalainen (2002, 186), the building of trust between different agents in the service structure is becoming more institutionalised, although the social services have never been highly institutionalised and have tended to remain more local and private in character.

Since there are no guidelines from state authorities for municipalities in respect of privatisation or outsourcing, entrepreneurs are dependent on municipal officials and their opinions and experiences (Kovalainen 2002, 138; Kovalainen & Österberg-Högstedt 2008, 48, also in Sweden see Tillmar 2009, 418). Trust between individuals – between the provider and municipal officials, and between the provider and clients – and confidence in providers as an institution are thus the premise of this kind of operation (Österberg 2002, 199). Private care providers' lack of institutional status increases the importance of trust between agents at the local level. Consequently, relationships between private firms and local government officials are both cooperative and reciprocal, and are based on the continuous creation and maintenance of trust relations. Moreover, trust has a special meaning in relation to care services, as the recipient of the care is not always legally competent (Kovalainen & Österberg-Högstedt, 2008, 19).

A mutual understanding of the quality of care services, shared ethical values and sanctions, and open communication are the key elements in the formation of these trust relations. Satisfaction and continuing cooperation between care entrepreneurs and community officials can be seen as an expression of that trust (*ibid.* 47–49). It has been noted that officials in smaller municipalities place greater trust in the ethical standards and familiarity of entrepreneurs than in formal contracts; it is considered almost impossible to design contracts

in such a way as to explicitly include all the details of this kind of service (Kovalainen 2002, 178). This illustrates the difficulty of commercialising care, because care is hard to pin down and agree on, as mentioned earlier. It is also interesting that officials rely on the familiarity of entrepreneurs as former public-sector employees, and that it is assumed that public-sector professionalism is transferred to entrepreneurship, rather than undermining it (Kovalainen & Österberg-Högstedt 2008, 79).

Thomas Bahle (2003, 6–7) identifies four phases in the institutionalisation of social services, which Julkunen (2006) has further discussed and analysed. First it is necessary to integrate the actors and their roles and relationships into the system. However, according to Julkunen (*ibid.* 259), integrating all the providers – the family, the public sector, business and the non-profit sector – under the same provider-purchaser model might erase the differences of principle between them. Responsibilities are all written into the same contracts to define care, its purchase and its quality. Second, there needs to be an allocation of resources. This means that public resources as well as responsibilities are divided between different producers, using subcontracting and financial incentives for close relatives to provide home care. Third, a control mechanism needs to be formed. This raises the question of whether the mechanism should be based on professional qualifications and/or morals and ethics. While entrepreneurs might be regarded as questionable, close relatives are depicted as those who provide the best quality of care, and thus are seen to be qualified and to have high moral standards. Finally, the legitimacy of the system needs to be established so that it can guarantee a continuity of care in different situations, without relying on the public sector for backup (Bahle 2003, 7; Julkunen 2006, 259–261). These phases have all been introduced in the Finnish care service system: alternative producers have been brought in, resources and responsibilities have been divided, and a control mechanism has been created, although the legitimacy of the system still appears to be incomplete.

According to a survey (Kallio 2007) conducted between 1996 and 2004 on Finnish citizens' attitudes towards the marketisation of public services, Finns are strongly opposed to the private provision of services. The number of those

reporting favourable attitudes towards private services decreased significantly during the period of the survey, regardless of their stated ideological views on or personal investments in the use of such services. However, there were some differences according to financial situation, political views and previous experience of private services in municipalities, with somewhat more positive views being expressed in municipalities that had financial difficulties, a right-wing majority or prior experience of marketisation. These results are interesting, since while attitudes towards private provision have hardened, the volume of private services has increased.

Another survey was conducted in 2004 and 2006 on citizens' trust in the social service system in Finland (Muuri 2008, 201–204). According to the results, the majority of citizens trust the social-service system in general, but they reported even more trust in the staff who provide the services. However, there were differences in attitudes to private provision in different fields of care service, for varying reasons. For example, children's day care services were regarded as the most trustworthy, while home care services received the heaviest criticism. Thus when asked what needed to be developed, respondents pointed to services for the elderly as the most important sector. These results are in line with the idea that private childcare services are often regarded more positively than private services in elderly care (see Sinkkonen & Kosola 2004, 50). However, Sundin's and Tillmar's research (2008b) in Sweden found differences in perceptions of an entrepreneur providing elderly care and a nurse entrepreneur providing healthcare. The elderly care entrepreneur was more positively regarded, since she evoked ideals of good care that were in line with expectations of female behaviour and values in a female-dominated field. By contrast, the nurse entrepreneur was perceived more negatively, since she broke the rules of nursing by taking initiatives and striving for change.

Thus there seem to be variations in who is trusted and who should be protected from private provision. Sometimes children are seen as the most vulnerable group, but sometimes it is the elderly who are seen as being at risk of exploitation. People in general have faith in the quality of care based on feminine skills and values that extend from the public sector to

entrepreneurship, while at the same time those crossing professional boundaries are questioned and seen as a threat.

There has also been a contradiction between political discourse and entrepreneurs' experiences (also in Sweden see *ibid.* 122). In older surveys, at the community level, care service entrepreneurs have reported that they feel unequal to other entrepreneurs, and that unofficial controls have been an obvious expression of distrust from various directions (Lemponen 1999; Tedre & Pöllänen 2001). In the 2006 survey, although 43% of private providers stated that government officials' attitudes towards them were mostly positive, 33% still said that they had experienced neutral treatment, and 19% reported negative attitudes from municipalities (Kovalainen & Österberg-Högstedt 2008, 71).

Drawing on 10 years of surveys on the subject, Kovalainen and Österberg-Högstedt (2008, 38, 45–51) express their surprise that although private providers in Finland are becoming more commonplace and better known, and contracting practices more widely introduced and used, community officials still consider the outsourcing system difficult to handle. According to the surveys, procedures to legitimise the system are regarded as demanding lot of work, as something that is difficult and for which the officials need support. The procedures are often depicted as inappropriately formal, which tends to diminish trust during the drawing up of contracts with the private providers.

As for the care entrepreneurs themselves, the concerns attached to them at the structural level do not seem to match the answers they give in the surveys. They appear to embrace the additional and complementary role accorded to them by municipalities, rather than striving to expand their businesses. In practice, 59% of these small entrepreneurs have reported an unwillingness to compete for contracts, because of their lack of know-how or of any desire to expand. Not only is it the entrepreneurs who are approached by municipalities for contracts, rather than vice versa, but there is also an emphasis on professionalism rather than on taking financial risks during participation in outsourcing competitions. Moreover, their concerns about the future are related to issues surrounding productivity and competition in a business that is supposed to be based on empathy and care (*ibid.* 74–79). It remains to be seen

what the future holds for these entrepreneurs if and when the larger firms start to occupy the market.

2.5 Summary: distinctions and uncertainties

Those who perform caring work often come to think of themselves as caring people, merging 'caring for' with 'caring about' in order to attribute moral worth to themselves

(Skeggs 2004b, 73)

It is important to be aware that the contexts in which care entrepreneurs operate are what make care entrepreneurship what it is. The purpose of this chapter has been to contextualise care, entrepreneurship and care entrepreneurship, in Finnish society in general and the service structure in particular, through a discussion of the definitions of care and entrepreneurship, the history of care services in Finland, and the changes that have occurred; to consider the effects of those changes from different perspectives; and to provide an overview of what has happened in this sector and how it has been addressed. The objective has been to describe, specify and evaluate the contextual features – the template of the narrative environments – related to the particular time and place in which my respondents' writings about care entrepreneurship are embedded. These writings will be read as reactions that are both anchored in and shape surrounding conditions.

In chapter 2.1 I pointed out the somewhat contradictory gendered and classed definitions and expectations associated with care and entrepreneurship. Care work emerges as low-level work – because of both its embodied nature and its history of being considered women's natural responsibility – while simultaneously being "high-touch", drawing on "feminine sentimentality" (McDowell 2009, 195) and values based on "love", which is seen as the guarantee of the quality of care. At the same time, the definition of

entrepreneurship emerges as the opposite of both care and women's traditional entrepreneurship, since it is regarded as a masculine and middle-class construction. As a result, paradoxically, care is liable to be denigrated in society if it attracts monetary value, but is also denigrated as a business venture if that monetary value is too low. Moreover, although entrepreneurship has not been seen as a very appealing career alternative in Finnish society, it has also become connected with care work as part of the ongoing neoliberal discourse about taking personal responsibility for one's own life instead of relying on the public sector as a guaranteed source of work. As suggested in chapter 2.1.4, the move from waged care work to entrepreneurship seems to constitute a shift from a working-class position to a more middle-class one, as described in various entrepreneurial studies. Nonetheless, it retains a strong connection with feminine characteristics and skills, which are turned into to a commodified product.

In addition to the cultural definitions and expectations relating to care and entrepreneurship, the contextual features of the Finnish service structure also needed to be reviewed in order to suggest the background of the narrative environments about care entrepreneurship. Although a lot of research has been done in Finland on this subject, it has been somewhat repetitious and one-sided. As shown in chapter 2.3.2, the same issues keep being repeated in research on the motives, strengths and weaknesses of care entrepreneurs in comparison with entrepreneurs in other fields. Concerns related to the marketisation of care and the positions of care workers in general are markedly valid, important and enduring, but surveys on care entrepreneurs shed light on them from a variety of very different angles. While entrepreneurs themselves emphasise their care work backgrounds and values and express doubts about their own entrepreneurial skills, and municipal officials value entrepreneurs' public-sector backgrounds as a sign of trustworthiness that is carried over into entrepreneurship, there are also structural concerns relating to the risks of inequality and exploitation, the deskilling of care work, and social divisions among care workers and losing the foundational principle of universalism in general.

In particular, besides how intensively and extensively “care is going to market” (Anttonen & Häikiö 2011) there are differing views on the advantages and disadvantages of working for a private care firm rather than in the public sector, and on how the deskilling and reskilling of care work through marketisation can be identified at the level of care entrepreneurs and their care practices. There are also questions about the consequences of the flexibility required of care entrepreneurs. According to Sirpa Wrede (2008, 138), the flexibility discourse used on care workers in lower-level positions draws on gendered expectations of women as caring, as well as on portrayals of care work as a vocation or calling. Furthermore, survey results suggest that the community officials and entrepreneurs involved in systems and procedures of outsourcing are somewhat detached from practicalities when it comes to issues around care – how to define it, evaluate it and control it.

The purpose of this study is to delve into the particularities of this kind of entrepreneurship by focusing on the cultural expectations related to this activity that shape and reproduce storytelling. Care work is in the peculiar position of being regarded as entrepreneurial while remaining rather far removed from the ideals and practicalities of entrepreneurship. Moreover, care as a practice that is entangled with values has its own special features and traditions, and these have a significant and undeniable influence on definitions and experiences of care entrepreneurship – perhaps even more so than entrepreneurship itself.

3. Narratives as performances

In this chapter I will outline the theoretical and methodological approaches used in this study, and will present the empirical material collected. In narrative research the theoretical and methodological elements are inevitably intertwined. In addition to outlining the theoretical premises regarding narrativity, this chapter is methodologically oriented. The methodological choices in this study reflect its chosen theoretical background. In addition to discussing methodology in general, I will also sketch out the precise methods used in my analysis, which are mostly adopted from literary research and linguistics. The methodological orientation of this study can therefore be defined as interdisciplinary, taking influences from across the social sciences and humanities, particularly from literary narratology.

3.1 Understanding and defining narrative

Adopting the perspective and methods of narrative research makes it possible to draw inferences about individual meaning-making in relation to entrepreneurial experiences and “doing self” in the care sector. It also enables me to understand such meaning-making as socially and culturally produced and producing during the act of narration. I see narrative research as suitable and informative, since my interest has been to gather written empirical material and analyse it in its social and cultural context.

Instead of taking an absolute stand on whether narrativity is an ontological or an epistemological question – whether we live or tell stories – I refer to Hanna Meretoja’s (2009) argument that although narrativity is cognitive tool that gives meanings to the world and experiences, it also has an ontological

premise. Narrativity cannot be separated from the reality of life as it is lived, but that does not mean that life can be reduced to narrative (e.g. MacIntyre 1984) or that every experience is narrative in nature (e.g. Carr 1991). After all, “if everything is narrative, nothing is” (Rimmon-Kenan 2006, 17).

Definitions of narrativity should therefore emphasise the difference between having a sense of one’s life as a narrative and being able to give a narrative account of it (e.g. Hyvärinen 2008a). According to David Herman (2009b, 40), tellers give reasons and explain their decisions and actions “from different temporal, spatial and evaluative standpoints”. I share the view that we give meanings to our lives by telling stories about them, and that narrativity partly constitutes reality but is not as same as reality.

There are different genres in narratology, one of which is autobiography (e.g. Saresma 2007). This study is autobiographical in the sense that it focuses on written autobiographical texts about Finnish care entrepreneurship. According to Philippe Lejeune (1989, 4), an autobiography is a “retrospective prose narrative written by a real person concerning his [sic! - KH] own existence, where the focus is his individual life, in particular the story of his personality”. Like Marja Kaskisaari (2000) and Tuija Saresma (2007), I view autobiographies as performances, negotiations that both portray and produce subjectivity. Instead providing a detailed discussion of theories and traditions of performativity (e.g. Butler 1990) and subjectivity, I will concentrate on narrative performances. The emphasis here is on the continuity of narration and experience, rather than on the duality between narrator and experiencer (Löschnigg 2010, 271).

Following Hyvärinen (2008b, 60: 2010, 111), in addition to this function of narrative as a way to make sense and experience, I understand narrative performances specifically as comments on something. Narrative as performance combines making and doing: making an experience for readers by doing – telling – the narrative (Peterson & Langellier 2006, 174). Using an example of family storytelling, Peterson and Langellier refer to “making” narratives by telling and remembering while simultaneously “doing” family through storytelling. Thus “making” refers to the narrative as an object that is completed by “doing” that narrative. According to Peterson and Langellier,

understanding a narrative as a performance requires the notion that somebody is making and doing the narrative as a communicative practice. Similarly, Stanton Wortham (2000) has stated that alongside the representational function of narrative, narrators are enacting the self that is constructed in their narratives.

While “making” narratives refers to how the narratives are carried out, the “doing” of narrative performance is the site where the social is articulated, structured and struggled over (Langellier 2001, 150). Situational and material conditions constrain narratives as well as surrounding and ordering them, altering the possibilities for performing a narrative. Consequently, cultural scripts or expectations and institutional and cultural contexts are important in relation to the connections between form and content, and to the understanding of narratives as performances (Hyvärinen 2008b, 51). Narratives always take a stance on existing relations of power and knowledge, as they are always commenting on something (Peterson & Langellier 2006, 175–178). In addition to just “doing self”, writers are also making arguments and challenging something, as well as carrying out various interpersonal purposes (Georgakopoulou 2010, 397). In this case I will focus on how the writers are commenting on and doing care, entrepreneurship, gender and class.

In relation to the theoretical and methodological approach to studying narratives, Hyvärinen (2008b, 44–45) has criticised social scientists who take narratives as reliable representations without considering the constitution of those narratives, and who conduct straightforward analyses of narrative content while forgetting the narrative forms involved. This focus on what is told has relegated “how” questions to a secondary position, thanks to a lack of awareness of or interest in literary narratology (Mildorf 2010, 234). According to Pekka Tammi (2009), narrative research that defines narrative too broadly may have two consequences: the category of narrative may become so broad that it ceases to be useful; and it may lose its connections with literary research traditions, resulting in an emphasis on narratives as a means to create coherent and linear lives, which is out of step with the non-linear accounts, full of repetitions and gaps, that people actually give (ibid.146–147,159).

Instead of taking “the shortcut approach” (Hyvärinen 2008b, 48), I regard narrative content and form as intertwined, institutionally produced and in interaction with their contexts. Narrative performance comes from the interrelations between the narrative telling, the narrated event and the text (Georgakopoulou 2010, 393). I therefore draw on views and ideas from literary research, especially from David Herman (2002; 2009b), which appear interesting and valuable from the perspective of a social scientist. The analytical methods used in literary research provide concrete tools with which to make interpretations of the empirical material. I have found such tools missing from narrative research in social sciences. Opening up the communication between literary research and other narrative scholars is fruitful and beneficial for all those who are interested in narrative research (Hyvärinen 2010a; Mildorf 2010, 234; Hägg & al. 2009, 9; Aaltonen & Leimumäki 2010).

3.1.1 Storied minds and folk psychology

Alexandra Georgakopoulou (2010), among others (Hyvärinen 2007, 425; Hägg & al. 2009, Hänninen 1999), has given an overview of the history of narrative theories from the beginning of the 20th century to the present. She describes the shift from conventional and largely canonical paradigms, such as the influential Labovian model (see Labov & Waletzky 1967) of narrative analysis, to the social interactional view of narrative. In recent decades, classic structuralist narratology has mostly focused on the forms of stories. Besides Labov’s and Waletzky’s work, the most influential examples have been A. J. Greimas (*Semantique Structurale* 1966), Claude Bremond (*Logique du Récit* 1973) and Vladimir Propp (*Morfologie du conte* 1970). The focus of these works was on the universal structures of stories and their grammar; they did not draw distinctions between different storytelling genres (Hägg & al. 2009, 11).

Post-structuralism, feminist theory, post-colonial theory, psychology and cognitive theory have all had an influence on classical narratology and opened

up its concepts to reflexive reinterpretations. Hence post-classical narratology draws on external methodological, thematic and contextual influences to extend classical narratology. In addition to these external influences, the internal shortcomings of the discipline have also had impacts, the most influential of which has been the development of cognitive narratology (ibid. 11). Cognitive narratology rests on the view that in order to operate in the world, to understand and tell about ourselves, people need stories (e.g. Fludernik 1996). Consequently, instead of referring to storied lives (e.g. MacIntyre 1984; Carr 1991), the cognitive approach understands narrativity from the perspective of the storied mind (Herman 2009b, also Hyvärinen 2010b). In the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory*, Marie-Laure Ryan (2005/2008, 347) defines story as follows: “the mental representation of story involves the construction of the mental image of a world populated with individuated agents (characters) and objects.”

Rather than representational readings of separate narratives, the emphasis has moved on to performative readings and storytelling in context (Hyvärinen 2008b, 60). Instead of focusing on differentiation and hierarchical categorisation, so-called post-classical narratology focuses on dialogical and contextualising synthesis (Lehtimäki 2009, 34). Consequently, while classical narratology sought to define the general methods and structures of stories, post-classical narratology has been interested in the means storytelling gives us to view the world and its functions. Not only form but also content, interpretations and context are taken into consideration in post-classical narratology (Hägg & al. 2009, 7–8): the form of the narrative as a whole is not to be separated from the content. There has thus been a general movement in contextual, historical, pragmatic and reader-oriented directions in post-classical narratology (Alber & Fludernik 2010, 6).

Later feminist discussions of autobiographical gender in literary studies criticised autobiographical studies for reading women’s life-writing from a male perspective that found women’s autobiographies deficient. The idea was that the analysis of texts different from the male-authored mainstream canon might yield some general observations about narrative itself. (Miller 1994, Warhol 2012, 9) The criticism was directed against the discussion of women’s

autobiographies in relation to the private sphere and men's in relation to the public. Women's ways of writing had also been regarded as fragmented, and thus as the opposite of the ideal linearity of men's writing. Moreover, the self in women's writings had been read in relation to significant others, rather than as autonomous, and it had been argued that women presented themselves as passive objects rather than active agents (Hyvärinen & al. 1998, 8–11). The focus in studies of gender and autobiography subsequently shifted from the differences between men and women, and from the shared experience of being a woman, towards the differences among and within women and men. Consequently, the analytical emphasis shifted to a consideration of narratives as situated and context-bound – from “narrative as text to narrative as social practice” (Georgakopoulou 2010, 389). Thus narratives have come to be regarded as activities embedded in sociocultural practices (Bamberg 2006, 141). According to Robyn Warhol (2012, 10), feminist narrative theory frames the analysis within a socio-historical context, insofar as that context can be known by the author and readers in question.

Herman has striven to create a dialogue between the cognitive sciences and narrative studies (e.g. 2003), and Liisa Steinby (2009, 240) describes him as one of the most “new wave” of today's narratologists (also Alber & Fludernik 2010). Herman's focus is on events and how they are organised in relation to time, process and change (Herman 2003, 2). Cognitive narratology generally draws on the folk-psychological reasoning people use to interpret everyday life (Herman 2009b, 41). Consequently, Herman is influenced by the view of Jerome Bruner (e.g. 1991) and Daniel Hutto (e.g. 2008) that narrative practices are the basis or “scaffolding” for making sense of people's accounts and minds. Narrative provides the form for organising our experience and memory (Bruner 1991, 4). Herman suggests that “mental states derive from storylines”, and that those storylines are embedded in broader contexts of acting and interacting (2009b, 64). Rather than understanding stories as fixed in our minds, Herman sees minds as storied, putting emphasis on the storytelling situation of interactionally telling and retelling (Hyvärinen 2008b, 45–51).

Jerome Bruner and Joan Lucariello (1989) state that narrative in particular provides us from an early age with a means to bring order to the disorder of

thought, action and feeling. Drawing on Bruner's work while distancing herself from the argument that narrative thought is an innate individual capacity, Katherine Nelson (2003) sees narrative thought as a social-cultural capacity, and argues that we grow into cultural narratives as children. According to her, children learn the culturally expected events on which narratives are based, and later learn to depart from the expected when telling those events. However, this is not to say that narratives are then freed from canonicity (see Bruner 1991); rather, we learn how to tell narratives that deviate from expectations just enough to make them interesting and worth telling (Hyvärinen 2010, 96). Nelson draws the conclusion that:

Narrative belongs to the community, but in the individual lives of children it is a vehicle through which consciousness of both self and the wider social and temporal world becomes manifest and gradually emerges as a new subjective level of conscious awareness, with a sense of a specific past an awareness of a possible future, as well as with new insight into the consciousness of other people.

(Nelson 2003, 33)

In a book informatively entitled *The Sociocultural Basis of Understanding Reasons*, Daniel D. Hutto (2008, 28–29) sets out his narrative practice hypothesis, which is based on the idea that we learn as children to interpret and make sense of the world through encounters with stories about people acting for various reasons. He points out that as well as learning the features of these folk-psychological narratives, children learn what can vary in these accounts, such as changing beliefs and desires, as well as how characters and situational factors can influence how persons acts. It is noteworthy here that such folk-psychological narratives come into play when they are needed, when something is violated and this needs to be explained (ibid. 37).

As a social scientist I consider the notions of storied minds and folk psychology to be key: both need to be present when defining narrativity, particularly for the cognitive narratology applied in this study. However, rather than talking about folk-psychological narratives, I use Jaber F. Gubrium's and

James A. Holstein's (2008) term "narrative environments", which I find wider and more communicative in nature: it encompasses both folk-psychological narratives and the contexts of discourse, and connects with the view of narrative as a performance. Gubrium and Holstein theorise narrative conventionality in terms of institutionally constituted narrative environments. I also draw on Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan (2006, 16), who suggests that because the term "narrative" in general is too broad and conceptually vague, it is more fruitful to refer to "narrative elements" (also Herman 2009a). It is noteworthy here that narrative elements and environments are inescapably intertwined, since narratives cannot be separated from the situational factors in which they are embedded and produced. Sociocultural practices and contexts in the form of narrative environments are therefore one of the elements required for the definition of narrative.

3.1.2 Blueprinted storyworlds

Before I go on to describe the research material and discuss the narrative elements, the terms "story" and "narrative" need to be defined. Having dealt with a confusion arising from translations from Finnish to English,¹² I have settled on the term "narrative" to refer to concrete representations by my respondents, i.e. to their written texts, although I often also refer to these simply as writings. "Stories" are the outcomes of the analysis of the narratives (e.g. Hyvärinen 2010a; Hänninen 1999). In literary research there has been a classical division between what is being told – the content of the narrative (*sjuzhet*) – and the form in which it is told (*fabula*). However, I take the view that content and form are intertwined, since the way a narrative is told is unavoidably entangled with its content. Instead of speaking about stories, Herman (e.g. 2002; 2009a) has used the term storyworld, which he defines as:

¹² In the Finnish language, "story" refers to "*tarina*" and "narrative" ("discourse") to "*kertomus*" (e.g. Hyvärinen 2010a, 91).

the world evoked implicitly as well as explicitly by a narrative text or discourse. It is a global mental model of the situations and events recounted – of who did what to and with whom, when, where, why and in what manner. Reciprocally, narrative artefacts (texts, films, etc.) provide blueprints for the creation and modification of such mentally configured storyworlds.

(Herman 2009a, 197)

I find the concept of storyworld useful and interesting: it encompasses not just the sequence of events, but also the agents and situations, leaving more room for the interpretation of the narrative by offering “blueprints”, and thus making the interpreter an active agent in the forming of the story. This view is in marked contrast with structuralism, which sees stories as something to be found in texts (e.g. Labov & Waletzky 1967) rather than in whatever we culturally accept and recognise as stories. The concept of storyworld is also more open to the idea of multiple temporalities, as there are various possible paths, and thus alternative stories, to choose from. Analysing narratives is therefore the way to make cues about storyworlds. (Also Hyvärinen 2008b, 47).

In order to get to grips with storyworlds, we need to focus on the degree of narrativeness (Morson 2003), or narrative elements, in the accounts. Influenced by work in linguistics, such as that of Mihail Bakhtin (e.g. 1986), and other narrative theorists like Monika Fludernik (1996) and Elinor Ochs and Lisa Capp (2001), Herman (2009a) defines the basic elements that constitute a narrative as such by distinguishing narratives from other kind of texts, such as descriptions or explanations. Rather than going into the differences between types of text, I will concentrate here on the basic elements that constitute a narrative. The distinguishing elements are:

(i) a mode of representation that is situated in – must be interpreted in light of – a specific discourse context or occasion for telling. This mode of representation (ii) focuses on a structured time-course of particularized events. In addition, the events represented are (iii) such that they introduce some sort of disruption or disequilibrium into a storyworld, whether that world is presented as actual or fictional, realistic or fantastic, remembered or dreamed, etc. The representation also (iv) conveys what it is like to live through this storyworld-in-flux, highlighting the pressure of events on real or imagined consciousness undergoing the disruptive experience at issue.

(Herman 2009a, 9)

These elements form the prototype of a narrative, and the idea is to look for the degree to which these elements are present in the narratives: “how detailed or particularized is the portrayal of the storyworld? how momentous is the disruption represented, and how extensive are its ramifications? how much impact do the events have on the experiencing consciousnesses affected by them?” (ibid. 15).

Similarly, Ochs and Capps (2001) write of tellership, tellability, embeddedness, linearity and moral stance as “narrative dimensions” that operate to differing degrees and that are relevant for the analysis of personal experience. Although these dimensions have been formulated by focusing on face-to-face interaction, I also find them appropriate to the analysis of written texts. According to Ochs and Capps, the typical narrative is usually told by one active teller, gives a highly tellable account, is relatively detached from surrounding talk and activity, has a linear temporal and causal organisation, and presents a particular and constant moral stance. The more interesting cases are those that contradict these typical features. Ochs and Capps analyse the spectrum of possibilities along these dimensions as people strive for coherence while simultaneously wishing to be true to the complexities of their life experiences (ibid. 19–24). These dimensions or elements can be seen as offering frames for narratives, but the degree of variance along the spectrum of

these elements, and the range of possibilities that are realised in the narrative performance, are notable.

I will therefore explain how to read narratives as performances of the world and experience by organising and suggesting certain storyworlds, drawing mostly on Herman's (2009a) and Ochs's and Capp's (2001) work on the basic elements of narrative. Although I see these elements as entwined, for the purposes of clarity they will be discussed separately in the following chapters. I will analyse the specific storyworlds of care entrepreneurship in one chapter, and the general situatedness of narrative environments in relation to cultural expectations in another. Before that, to further elaborate my methodology, I will begin in subchapter 3.2 by describing the written narratives that constitute my research material. In subchapter 3.3 I will explore the situatedness of narratives as embedded in narrative environments, and in subchapters 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6 I will move on to discuss the other narrative elements: time-course, disruption, and the experiential dimensions of narrative. I will devote one subchapter to each narrative element, with suggestions of appropriate methods for the analysis of the writings.

3.2 Written narratives of care entrepreneurship as research material

I refer to my research material as written narratives, written from the perspective of care entrepreneurship, within the autobiographical genre. I could therefore label them entrepreneurial life stories. This would resemble the concept of theme writing (e.g. Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2000), in which the "theme" is the subject being constructed. However, according to Charlotte Linde (1987), life stories refer to oral accounts. She defines life stories as more discontinuous and ongoing than autobiographies – a "crystallization at a given time of what has happened to the author and what it means" (ibid. 345). The term "life-writing" has also been used in English literature as an umbrella

concept covering all textual representations of the self in all kinds of writing practices. However, although the autobiographical form offers or even to some extent forces a sort of freeze-frame of life, it is a productive act that gives meanings, creates ongoing continuity, and strives for coherence (Saresma 2007, 75).

Written and oral forms of material are often contrasted or seen as competing, with one form being prioritised over (Heikkinen 2000c, 315) or discussed more than the other (yet, see Hyvärinen & al. 1998). However, both oral and written autobiographies or narratives are socially produced (e.g. Riessman 1993). Written narratives too are based on stories told about oneself in social situations; Anni Vilkkko (1997) refers to them as “written speech”. Although with oral narratives the audience is concretely present, the reader(s) can be found in written narratives as well (e.g. Heikkinen 1999; 2000b). A consideration of the differences between oral and written narratives actually reveals the similarities between them (Pöysä 2006, 222). Jyrki Pöysä (2009, 333) suggests that if Alexandra Georgakopoulou and Michael Bamberg (e.g. 2008) talk about “small stories”, maybe written material, such as autobiographical texts, which are located between the literary and the oral, could be labelled “small literature” (“*pieni kirjallisuus*”).

Written narratives can be very oral, both in their vocabulary and in their syntactic structure. What differs is the privacy aspect, the lack of guidance, and the ability to write piecemeal, edit the text, and choose the time, place and imaginary recipient(s) of the text. Thus texts are more thought through and less spontaneous than oral narratives (Pöysä 2006, 228–230). Because it has unlimited time, writing opens up opportunities for remembering, rewriting and reflexivity. Having time to remember can produce larger and more strictly articulated plots than are possible in oral stories. Remembering can also be closer to the person’s inner speech, to the way they speaks to themselves, which can be important for analyses that are looking for constructions of identity (Hänninen 1999).

Because only a few guiding questions are provided for written research responses, unlike with interviews, written narratives are evidently more self-directed. Consequently, the tendency to harmonise with the interviewer is

minimised when respondents are writing privately (Pöysä 2006, 230). Moreover, written stories are free of non-verbal communication, and this can also make a difference to their use as research material. Pauses, emphases and tone of voice are sometimes taken into consideration when analysing oral material. I assume that while oral narratives might be more informal, as they are produced in social interaction with the help of non-verbal interaction, the written form may produce a more formal use of language.

My main motivation for collecting written material arose from my interviews with care entrepreneurs for my Masters thesis (2003). Although I acknowledged that I would be the intended recipient and audience for the writings – I introduced myself and my own entrepreneurial background in my letter of request to respondents – I felt the need to distance myself from the process of collecting material for this study. During the interviews there had been moments when phrases such as “well, as you already know” were used, as well as expectations about comparisons between entrepreneurial experiences. I wanted to avoid such expectations this time around.

By giving minimal instructions to guide my respondents’ writing, I demanded self-activity from my research subjects. My focus on writing as a means to collect material presumed that these care entrepreneurs shared the ability to write about their experiences. This is different from interviewing, which can be seen as open to everyone. It became evident that writing requires more effort from research subjects; this was also manifest in this study in the unwillingness to respond to my request. It seems that it may be easier to agree to an interview than to begin to write about one’s life. It may therefore not be a surprise that people tend to undervalue their own texts, as has been seen in studies based on writing contests (Pöysä 2006, 227–231). However, as a way to motivate the writers I pointed out in my letter of request that writing and rereading one’s own text can encourage reflection on one’s life in a way that is seldom possible.

The material collected comprises 33 written narratives from women care service entrepreneurs around Finland. In total I sent out 100 letters of request in May and October 2004, and another 100 in January 2005. The collection of the material was part of the project *Gendered Work Communities, Conflicts and*

Social Capital, which is part of Social Capital and Trust research programme (2004–2008) funded by the Academy of Finland¹³. The entrepreneurs were found through the *hoivayrittäjät.com* portal maintained by the national association of entrepreneurs (TESO) in the health- and social-care sector. Private providers are listed on the portal according to the provinces in which they are located, which helped me to estimate the number of requests I sent to different regions. The number of requests I sent was in proportion to the number of providers in each area. Consequently, the number of requests sent to southern Finland was higher than to northern Finland, which in turn affected the narratives I received. However, it should be pointed out that subscription to the portal is voluntary, and it therefore does not give access to all care entrepreneurs operating in the country. This obviously limited the material, in the sense that entrepreneurs who do not belong to the association are not included in this material, but it also made it possible to collect a large body of writings from different regions. The same letter of request was also published in the newsletter of the care entrepreneurs' organisation, TESO 3/2004, and a few additional writings were received in this way.

All the participants in my study are women entrepreneurs from different regions of Finland. I also sent letters of request to the few male service providers I found listed on the portal; however, I did not receive any writings in response. I also received a few newspaper articles written about the entrepreneurs, one CV, and a book written by an entrepreneur which cannot be analysed as autobiographical material. Only 11 writings arrived via email.

The writings I received came from entrepreneurs who provide different kinds of service, as I sent letters to entrepreneurs working in all the forms of service that are defined as social services. I did not collect material from private health-service providers. The material consists of the following service providers:

¹³ Project number: 207373

NUMBER OF WRITINGS	
Private nursing home:	
- for the elderly	9
- for patients with psychological or substance abuse problems	5
Private home care and nursing	9
Private day care centre	6
Private home care for children	2
Private family care unit for the young	2
Total	33

Table 1. Number of writings

Because they produce different services, the women's backgrounds also differ. There is a lot of detailed information about schooling and work history in the writings. In most of the writings, one profession is mentioned as a background for the entrepreneurship. For example, all of the private childcare providers have day care teacher qualifications from their primary profession. However, in some writings the path to entrepreneurship has led from one profession to another. The writers have either changed their profession, or continued further study in their previous profession in order to be able to provide legitimate services. These changes in profession, further education and work experience are understandably related to generational differences, as the material includes few younger women who started their business after graduation. Most of the writers were born in the 1940s and 1950s, and the youngest was 33 years old at the time of writing.

Overall, the entrepreneurs who took part in this study fall roughly in line with the picture of typical Finnish care entrepreneurs sketched in chapter 2.2.1. There was no appeal for information about the entrepreneurs' backgrounds in the writing request, but there are references to these aspects in the writings. Like the typical care entrepreneur in Finland (Kovalainen and Österberg-Högstedt 2008; Heinonen et al. 2006a), these entrepreneurs mostly have college-level degrees and some entrepreneurial training. They have also worked full-time in the public sector in temporary posts, and are now running their first businesses, with few employees. Those who write the most about

“self-paying customers” are owners of children’s day care centres, but overall the businesses are mostly based on subcontracting or municipal vouchers (also Rissanen et al. 2004; Heinonen et al. 2006a).

The writings are between one and 13 pages in length, usually about three pages. Altogether the material comprises 102 pages. The writings are numbered in order of their arrival, and the letter “w” stands for writing. In chapter 4 I will present the narratives as a whole, and in chapter 5 there are excerpts from the writings. The marking (...) refers to a point where something has been cut off. The material has also been made anonymous by the FSD (Finnish Social Science Data Archive), which also has rights for the further use of the material.

I have translated the writings from Finnish to English, paying attention to the form of the language, since they are mostly written in colloquial instead of literary language. There are some spelling mistakes in the writings that I have corrected in order to make the text more understandable, but I have not intervened in the grammar of the texts. I have also divided some especially long sentences into smaller ones where necessary to make the content of a phrase understandable. However, there are some culture-specific sayings that are difficult or even impossible to translate. Nonetheless, the translation has been done in accordance with the methodological perspective chosen for this study, so that it corresponds to the original versions and is sufficiently detailed and specific to enable the analysis of storyworlds and cultural expectations. The original Finnish versions of the narratives and excerpts can be found in the appendix.

3.3 Entwining with narrative environments

In trying to make sense of a narrative, interpreters attempt to reconstruct not just what happened – who did what to or with whom, for how long, how often and in what order – but also the surrounding context or environment embedding existents, their attributes, and the action and events in which they are more or less centrally involved.

(Herman 2002, 13–14)

In the first narrative element highlighted by Herman, narratives are to be analysed as situated in “a specific discourse context or occasion for telling”, context here referring to the surrounding environment, time and place structured by the conventions for narrating a story (2009a, 14). Similarly, Ochs and Capps (2001, 36–37) write of narratives’ embeddedness in surrounding discourse and social activity. Embedded narratives are thematically relevant to the topic under discussion or the activity underway by making a point, drawing a comparison, or supporting or elaborating an argument. Drawing heavily on the influence of discourse analysis, Herman (2009a, 37–39) defines situatedness as twofold: narration emerges from the particular occasion for telling or the discourse context, but it also shapes and lends structure to particular discourses. Thus when analysing my material I will take into account the storytelling contexts, by which I mean the shared and recognised discourses around care entrepreneurship that surround both the storyworlds and the writing request that was sent to the participants. According to Hyvärinen (2010a, 111), narrative analysis should also be guided by the notion that narratives are comments on and reactions to something – to the expectations of the writer, audience and culture. As well as seeing them as entwined with surrounding contexts, I therefore also regard the narratives as commenting on cultural expectations around care entrepreneurship.

In relation to the situatedness and particularity of narratives, I take the view that the complex and overlapping contexts of storytelling constitute narrative environments (Gubrium & Holstein 2008, 247, 255). According to Gubrium and

Holstein, “narrative practice is the broad term we use to encompass the content of accounts and their internal organization, as well as the communicative conditions and resources surrounding how narratives are assembled, conveyed, and received in everyday life” (ibid. 247). I find the definition of narrative environments useful, as it covers the varied aspects of the contextual features of storytelling, the social stock of stories (Hänninen 1999), and the idea that narrative practices are about doing something. Moreover, attention to embeddedness in narrative environments helps us to read stories as reflections of society, in order to point out the multifaceted social contexts in which they are embedded and which they also actively shape. Instead of depicting context as something that merely frames storytelling, the notion of contextualisation better captures the idea that narratives also shape or reproduce their contexts (Georgakopoulou 2010, 392).

Consequently, if we understand stories as borrowed, edited and circulated, then the focus of analysis needs to be directed beyond the description of form and content – which are also important in their own right – towards a scrutiny of the full social context of the narrative, which is the object of interest for a social scientist. This makes it possible to make observations about the narrative environments in which the texts are embedded and the constitutive moments of storyworlds. There are meaningful questions to be asked about the circumstances in which stories are produced, the moment of narration, the preferred narrative in particular situations, and whether the stories are in line with or contradict those situations. Moreover, “stories are assembled and told to someone, somewhere, at some time, with a variety of consequences for those concerned,” and this has effects on what is told in the narrative and how that unfolds (Gubrium & Holstein 2008, 247, 250, 253).

Instead of directly reading an individual’s life story as “one”, through the frames of dominant discourses or master narratives, we should read narratives as embedded in their contexts reflexively and in multifaceted ways (ibid. 256). For this reason one needs to be careful not to totalise the narrative – for example, as a counter-narrative to a particular master narrative. One should understand context as something that conditions and shapes narratives, rather than permitting and preventing them. Thus conventional narratives can be

adopted, challenged, or reformulated in storytelling, but they are not determining, since there are other resources to choose from (also Hänninen 1999, 79).

I therefore find it useful to draw on the concept of “institutional and interactional narrative control” developed by Gubrium and Holstein (2008, 256–258). This concept points out the complex environments in which narratives are embedded, understanding “control” as something shaping, not preventing or permitting. However, because of the connotations attached to term “control” (which Gubrium and Holstein deny), I prefer simply to write of the institutional and interactional environments of storytelling. It is the interplay of the institutional and the interactional that shapes the narrative performance. The institutional refers to the shared stock of narrative resources,¹⁴ and the interactional to the need for social interaction in order for a narrative to emerge: narratives are “invited, incited or initiated” (ibid. 256), as well as co-produced, distributed and circulated. To this end, I will approach the situatedness of narratives as two dimensional: as well as referring to the interactional aspect of storytelling, encompassing the positions of both writer and reader(s), narratives are also situated in institutional environments and their cultural expectations.

3.3.1 Institutional environments: cultural expectations and naturalisations

The women in this study responded to my writing request, and so it is necessary to pay attention to what encouraged them to pick up a pen in the car on the way to a customer, or to turn on their computer in the middle of the night while they were baking, cleaning, or monitoring sleeping residents in a home for the elderly. My premise is that they had to have some sort of motivation to write, whether it was the desire to be heard, to explain, to

¹⁴ Gubrium and Holstein (2008, 258) use AA (Alcoholics Anonymous) as an example, as it provides familiar and available institutional resources for narrating alcoholism and recovery.

influence and make a difference, or just to reflect on their own lives and decisions. Furthermore, because they were and are situated in the expectations surrounding care entrepreneurship, they must also have had conceptions of what is recognised, understood or approved in relation to that field, and that must have influenced what and how they told.

Stories are not told “for no reason”, as it takes time and effort to write them down. Since writers intend their contributions to be worth something, they work on them to make them interesting. In order to read and interpret narratives one must be aware of the cultural standards and values by which we live, as these are not always explicitly written into the texts (Polanyi 1981, 98–99). “In order to decide whether a story is ‘tellable’, a would-be teller must have a model of what is tellable at all and she must have a model of her potential listeners which gives her some idea of what is potentially narratable for them” (ibid. 98). “The conversational floor for telling a story” as “the teller achieves the narrative rights” is usually earned at the beginning of the narrative. These narrative rights also include the right to continue telling a story when there are competing narratives present. (Barton 2007, 97)

“Tellability” (Ochs & Capps 2001, 33–36) refers to a teller’s ability to make a point in rhetorically effective manner. Ochs and Capps point out that it is not the sensational aspect of the story that makes it tellable, but the significance of the events for the teller. The teller can use their rhetorical skills to make a prosaic incident into a tellable account. Nevertheless, the authors suggest that low tellability can arise when the teller is hesitant or awkward about telling. Some of the care entrepreneurs’ narratives come across as perhaps having been written out of a feeling of obligation, and thus have low tellability in this sense. Some appear to be responding to the writing request with the notion that it is enough just to answer, as if answering makes the story worth telling, resulting to a low tellability in some of the writings. Ochs and Capps suggest that the teller might not be clear on the reasons they are telling the story while they are telling it, and perhaps will only come to understand those reasons later. Alternatively, reasons or motives can become lost or remain unformulated as the story goes on. They suggest that narratives with low tellability are not so much narrative performances as they are a social forum to

elaborate an evaluative perspective on events. However, it should be noted that an everyday experience can be told with high tellability when an appropriate level of rhetoric is used to tell it. Nevertheless this all comes to show the continuity of narration and experience in narrative performance.

Narratives are embedded in institutional regimes that shape how experiences can be recounted (Gubrium & Holstein 2008, 257). The writers in my study are guided by cultural expectations relating to how one should write about one's life as a care entrepreneur. What is considered appropriate at the turn of the 21st century in Finnish society both emerges from and shapes narrative environments. I can therefore assume that current discussions and policies relating to care services in Finland guide the writing to some extent. Moreover, the resilient duality of women and men – in this context, femininity and masculinity – constitutes the source for these resources. Gender and class are both forms of cultural property (Skeggs 2004b, 24), cultural characteristics infused with moral worth, effecting on what and how the entrepreneurs write. Even though often claimed Finland is not just one big middle class (Tolonen 2008, 9); there are fine differences related to class which become particularly notable in the context of gender duality. Overall, the situatedness of the writing is inescapable, since the writings are not only connected with the time of writing, but are also being interpreted in a certain time and place and from certain positions.

As stories are built around cultural material, they can be used as a source of insight into the core concepts around which they are built. Expectations can be explicitly stated, but they can also be unspoken. Notwithstanding the conditioning and shaping aspects of narrative environments, cultural or model stories can offer us ways to identify what is assumed to be the appropriate and expected experience. When we are in situations in which we are trying to make sense of ourselves and our lives, we can become aware of alternative possibilities by recognising that our story looks deviant by comparison with those ordinarily available (Andrews 2002, 1). Thus questions such as what kind of person I should be, why I am not like that, how I can live with the way I am (Jokinen 2004a) and how this life should be lived (Vilkko 1997, 52) refer to the cultural expectations that shape the narratives. The concept of the “good life” is

connected to the coherence and depth of one's ethical commitments as demonstrated by the shape of one's life as it emerges from historical and cultural realities (Freeman & Brockmeier 2001).

Authors appear to fulfil some cultural expectations and to counter others, "but a common characteristic is that negotiating a path between different cultural accounts creates narrative tensions" (May 2004, 183). Following Molly Andrews (2004a, 2), I understand counter-narratives as collectively produced and shared in interactional settings, and as touched by dominant stories. Instead of stressing their binary nature or seeing them in terms of the boundaries of the mainstream, one can see counter-narratives as offering gentle defiance and resistance against dominant views (ibid. 5). Authors dip in and out of dominant cultural stories, and the result can be seen as a very subtle subversion of the tale (Andrews 2004b, 9), or as a way for the authors to worm their way inside the master narrative and tell variations of it (Vuori 2001, 282). Nobody tells pure master or counter-narratives, but as certain stories get repeated they eventually become structures for storytelling. Moreover, there are multiple cultural expectations, rather than a single hegemonic expectation or script to comment on or counter. Instead of just pointing out what is culturally specific in these narratives, the focus is on analysing how cultural expectations can be drawn from, contested and reconciled in the narratives (Georgakopoulou 2010, 394).

I also understand cultural expectations as cognitive and discursive, in the sense that they help us to understand and grasp the things around us, since they are also not conscious. Cultural expectations differ from cultural scripts in the sense that they do not include a specific order or sequence of events in how things should come about (see e.g. Miettinen 2006). I take cultural expectations as a broader concept, more disengaged from narrative form and more connected to the sociocultural environments surrounding storytelling.

In order to review the cultural expectations shaping storytelling about care entrepreneurship, I take the view that sociocultural environments, as narrative environments with gendered and classed features, are written into the texts as cultural and ideological expectations that are produced, for example, by stating things as true and using naturalised juxtapositions (Heikkinen 2000c, 304). I

consider such naturalisations powerful, since they present things that are regarded as self-evident, common and shared as needing no description or explanation. For example, writers may borrow from shared discourses that do not need to be made clear to the reader(s). Subsequently, through naturalisation some information can be presented as taken-for-granted, and other information as not. What gets explained in detail and what is assumed to be shared also demonstrates the distance between the writer and the reader(s). From the field of literary research, Vesa Heikkinen states that focusing on naturalisations makes the research socially charged and critical, since it draws out the shared ideological meanings of the texts (ibid. 117, 323).

In order to make naturalisations visible, I will focus on the juxtapositions made in the writings so as to make inferences about the writers' stances on the subject matter. However, instead of speaking of juxtapositions, I prefer to use the slightly looser term "contrasts". Through definitions and exclusions of differences, gender and class are embedded in these contrasts.

The contrasts can be explicitly stated, but they also need to be read between the lines. As explicit tools of the analysis, I will apply some of those that Heikkinen (1999; 2000a; 2000b) has used in his research on institutionalised texts. He distinguishes the various strategic resources writers use to get their point across (1999, 226). One of his strategies is to pay attention to evaluating, naturalising and hinting adverbs, as well as to the use of negation.

According to Heikkinen (1999, 227–229), evaluating adverbs are used to express certainty or uncertainty, wishes or complaints, or like-mindedness. Examples of this kind of adverb are "however", "in fact", "perhaps", "properly". These are noteworthy because they portray an attitude or stance towards something. Naturalising adverbs are those that present things as natural facts, as something shared with the reader: "of course", "naturally", "surely". Hinting adverbs can be characterised as those expressing time or quantity, which are used to naturalise the things that have happened or are about to happen as things that need no explanation. Examples of this kind of adverb are "since", "always", "usually", "finally". For example, timing can be used as an explanatory resource to provide recognisable justification for something (Reynolds & Taylor 2004, 212), such as citing the 1990s recession in Finland as a

justification for starting a business in the care sector. Similarly, Bruner and Lucariello (1989, 82) point to markers of uncertainty, affective marking and markers of time as linguistic devices that can display the perspective represented in a narrative.

I will pay most attention to evaluative adverbs as markers of certainty or uncertainty. To back up my argument I will also highlight naturalising and hinting adverbs where necessary. However, a completely systematic analysis of all the adverbs used would not serve my purposes. Moreover, to highlight the contrasts made in the texts I also find the analysis of negations extremely helpful, since they have to presuppose something in order to negate it (Tannen 1993, 44). While telling what did not happen, negative phrases also simultaneously suggest the thing that was expected to happen (Heikkinen 2000c, 290; Hyvärinen 2010a, 112), thereby indicating cultural expectations.

In addition, headlines, cultural sayings and circulated discourses (like the theme of the recession of the 1990s) also indicate what is assumed as shared, as well as what has been adopted from others. Headlines, for example, are informative in the sense that they usually crystallise discussions that are already known (Heikkinen 2000a, 86, 100). Thus headlines could be defined by Herman (2009a, 113) as examples of the process of accommodation, demonstrating how the text can economically illustrate the storyworld that the teller prefers to outline. Rebecca Jones (2004, 175–183) has stated that the things the narrators are commenting upon might come across at the very beginning of the narrative, or they can be entangled in the presumed expectations present in the texts. As discussed in more detail in subchapter 3.5, the beginning of a narrative is very important for getting a handle on the commentary nature of the storyworlds, while the ending is meaningful because an open ending can also be a comment on something.

It is essential to keep in mind that the person writing the text has something on her mind, something she wishes to comment on, evaluate and value. I therefore want to ask what the writers are aiming for with their narratives, what goals the narratives serve, and from what perspective. Furthermore, drawing on the influence of discourse analysis, I ask what kinds of contrast are produced, and what is presumed as naturalised and shared. In order to

understand the writers' aims, by pointing out the adverbs and negations they use, I will draw out the contested and reconciled gendered and classed cultural expectations on care entrepreneurship that shape their storytelling. In addition to adverbs and negations, I will also use other analytical tools partly adopted from linguistics, as I explain in the next subchapter.

3.3.2 Interactional environments: the writing occasion and interpersonal positions

As stated earlier, the writings that constitute this research material were requested and invited, and this too contributed to the situated context of the storytelling. The impact of the writing request itself cannot be overlooked, and it is important to note what was said in the letter of request in order to interpret the kind of narrative it elicited and how the audience for the writings – primarily me as the researcher – is approached.

Due to the growing demand for services and the shortage of funding in municipalities, the subject has also become an important issue in public discussion. However, the views of care entrepreneurs are seldom brought to the fore in public discussion. Entrepreneurship in care work is a multifaceted issue, since on the one hand it is about care work, which in Finland has been organised by the municipalities, and on the other hand it is about business activities.

As this excerpt from the letter of request¹⁵ implies, as the author of the request I am pointing out the importance of the issue and drawing some kind of line between care and entrepreneurship, describing it as “a multifaceted issue”. Hence I am making clear that this is a new and particular activity, which is double sided and was previously the responsibility of the public sector. I am

¹⁵ See Appendix.

doing this in order to emphasise the importance of the study to the recipients of the request, as this is a current issue on which I am seeking to gather information specifically from the entrepreneurs' point of view, which I describe as absent from the public discussion. Thus this could be seen as an invitation to assess the problematics this kind of activity. Therefore one could argue that the request is particularly addressed to those who have experienced problems or setbacks. However, the research material includes writings that focus not only on negative experiences, but on all kinds of experience that have made the writers reflect on their positions in relation to others.

In the letter of request I also label the recipients care entrepreneurs ("your story as a care entrepreneur"), which invites them to position themselves in relation to entrepreneurship and to write accordingly. However, this might also trouble or even paralyse those who feel that they are outside of that categorisation: they might feel obliged to write about themselves and construct their experiences within the frame of entrepreneurship, and this might be totally different from their own desires, or even to some extent unrecognisable to them. Nevertheless, labelling them in this way simultaneously offers me an opportunity to look at how they position themselves in relation to this categorisation and what kind of content they give to it.

My gathering research material in this way offered the women the freedom to write what they saw as important and relevant within the terms of these minimal instructions and frames. However, although the physical absence of the researcher meant that I did not have much effect on the material, narrative conventions and norms did have effects. Moreover, as already mentioned, it must be borne in mind that the written form means that writings are less spontaneous and more self-guided than, for example, material produced through interviewing (Pöysä 2006, 230).

One must also take into consideration the effect of the assumed recipient of the writings as the audience for the storytelling. In the letter of request I introduced myself as a researcher from the University of Tampere and the Department of Women's Studies. Moreover, I indicated my personal experience as a co-founder of a private care home for the elderly. It is impossible to perceive the full range of the ways in which my background, gender, age and

presumed class and education became (or did not become) embedded in the narratives. Similarly, I can only speculate as to the impact of my own entrepreneurial history on the writings.

As well as understanding narratives as situated in particular discourse contexts (in institutional environments, as stated in the previous subchapter) and in the occasion for telling (the letter of request that elicited the narratives) (Herman 2009a, 9), we must also give closer scrutiny to other communicative conditions and resources that shape the narratives. In relation to the interactional dimension of storytelling, I draw – following Herman – some influences from positioning theory (Harré & van Langenhove 1999; Bamberg 1997; 2004) as a tool to grasp the situatedness of the storytelling: to show how participants position themselves and others in relation to storyworlds, with the audience playing a vital role in the process.

Positioning theory – developed and influenced by Rom Harré and Bronwyn Davies (1990) and Harré and Luk van Langenhove (1999) in discursive psychology, as well as by Judith Butler’s (e.g. 1990) theory of performing identities – has in narrative research mostly been discussed by Bamberg (e.g. 1997; 2004). The basis of these theories can be found in the feminist critique of gendered agency (e.g. Hollway 1984), and has been furthered through the feminist critique of fixed selves. Although positioning theory has been developed by analysing face-to-face interactions, Herman (2009a, 62–63) also finds it useful for the analysis of written texts, since everyday interactions can be seen as the basis for the written form as well.

Positioning theory focuses on our “agentive” effort to position ourselves, albeit not entirely free of constraints, by picking up the positions available for constructing a sense of self and identity. In particular, participants make selections by “position-assigning speech acts” to build sense-making storylines (Herman 2007, 314). Bamberg (2004, 1–2; 2006, 145) describes three levels of positioning: the suggested identity claims of the characters, referring to descriptions and evaluations of characters in relation to social categories; the interactional means to get the story accomplished; and the establishment and display of selves by the narrators and audience. By looking at the identity claims the teller makes, and at the interactions through which the story gets

constructed in the way the teller wants it to be understood, readers make inferences about the teller's and the audience's particular selves in relation to the ideological positions they accommodate or counter (also Bamberg & Georgakopoulou 2008, 385). Similarly, drawing on the work of Bamberg, Herman (2009a, 59) states that: "positioning is a relevant parameter for analysis on several levels: the level of the characters; the level of the reader's engagement with the text, given the specific narrative techniques deployed; and the level of narrative's bearing on more or less dominant storylines, or master narratives, about the way world is".

Alexandra Georgakopoulou (2007, 119, 123) defines the self as "co-articulated by interlocutors: negotiated, contested and jointly drafted, simultaneously and to varying degrees of relevance and consequentiality". Elaborating the model of positioning, she takes an interactional and dynamic view of positioning, rather than a deterministic view of the pre-existing structures in relation to which one positions oneself (also Wortham 2001). There has been a shift from one-way to two-way communication following post-classical narratology (Hägg & al. 2009, 12). Thus although it focuses on face-to-face communication, the positioning approach is also interesting for the analysis of written narratives, because of its perspective on the co-produced story in which the audience also plays a significant part. Although this kind of co-tellership (e.g. Ochs & Capps 2001, 24) is more obvious in the analysis of interview material, I do not consider that written narratives are produced in a vacuum. Instead I regard writing as form of social activity in which the audience and other voices are very much present, as writers suggest roles for the reader by taking on certain positions as writers, as well as by bringing forward others, for example, to testify on their behalf. Arthur W. Frank (1997, 3) has defined autobiography as social act with two aspects: as well as being shaped by social conventions about what it is appropriate to write about and what not, narratives are always told with recipient(s) in mind.

Consequently, the subject or the self in the positioning model is clearly social. According to Wortham (2001, 18-22) drawing on Bakhtin (e.g. 1986), people position themselves in relation to others' voices, rather than by speaking directly in their own voices. The narrator adopts a social position in

the narration event with respect to the types of voices (s)he has suggested while describing the narrated event by using varying degrees of distance from those voices, such as through the use of humour, irony or parody (also Abbott 2002, 67). The narrator sometimes harmonises with a represented voice, and sometimes clashes with it; some voices are so far from the narrator that (s)he completely reifies them and represents them as objects (Wortham 2001, 62–68). Consequently, as well as self-positioning, tellers are simultaneously other-positioning. Through self- and other-positioning, writers position themselves in relation to others, usually – but not always – polarising the positions, constructing counter-narratives as a response to master narratives or less dominant ones (Herman 2009a, 56).

While I am influenced by the theory of self- and other-positioning, as a more specific tool to analyse those positionings I will take particular note of interpersonal positions, by which I mean the writer's and reader's roles or positions as suggested in the texts, as a part of the interactional dimension of storytelling (Heikkinen 1999; 2000b). Highlighting the writer's and reader's roles and the relationship between the two will shed light on the positions suggested in the narratives.

In addition, the writer's and reader's positions will further demonstrate the interactional as well as the commentary nature of the narratives, since they are revealing of the writer's approach, attitude or viewpoint. Suggesting certain positions simultaneously shapes and/or reproduces cultural expectations of care entrepreneurship. The idea here is that people write while keeping the ideal reader(s) in mind, and in that way they produce the story socially. The reader(s) can be found in passages in which the writer explains why she is writing what she is writing, in order to make the reader properly understand what she means. Thus there can be guider, portrayer, negotiator, enquirer or other positions suggested in the texts, while the recipient(s) can be addressed as being guided, explained, controlled etc. There are multiple writer's positions in every narrative, and my point is not to claim that there is only one in each narrative (ibid. 144, 281). Nevertheless, according to Heikkinen (1999, 220) some roles or positions are in an ideological sense more notable than others.

However, there are usually fewer reader positions suggested, and this offers a way to summarise the narratives according to how the reader(s) are addressed.

According to Hyvärinen (2008b, 56; 2010a, 109), by paying attention to the processes of functional grammar outlined by M.A.K. Halliday (1994)¹⁶ the reader can make inferences about the semantic roles (e.g. distancing in the text) that lead to the subject positions available in the texts. I will not go into a more detailed analysis of the processes of functional grammar, since it would not serve the purpose of my analysis; nevertheless, I find the verbal processes of functional grammar interesting, since they draw attention to “who” is saying something. The “saying” and the “sayer” here have to be understood in a broad sense, covering any kind of symbolic exchange of meaning (ibid. 140). According to Hyvärinen (2010a, 105), the use of verbal processes is rare but illustrative, and demonstrates a strong agency when it occurs. The idea is that by looking at the types of processes used, one can make claims about different genres with different rule systems, and can thus make inferences about the roles the protagonists take in the storyworlds (Herman 2002).

The importance and usefulness of verbal processes became apparent to me as I read one narrative presenting a detailed list of daily activities that the writer keeps repeating to her demented clients. This list included making verbal requests for urination and drinking liquids to avoid dehydration. Before I understood the function of verbal processes, I was perplexed over the meaningfulness of this kind of list in a narrative about care entrepreneurship. However, I then began to read the list in terms of how the writer positions herself as a saying person. I noticed that a consideration of the verbal process made the list more understandable and significant, enabling inferences about the ways she wishes to position herself in the text, to which I will return in

¹⁶ The purpose of functional grammar is to portray how different types of text genres use some process types more often than others. These types are divided into material (processes of doing and happening), relational (being and having) and mental (sensing) processes. Verbal processes can be seen as part of mental processes, to project what is said. In addition to the verbal, there are also behavioural processes that fall between the material and the mental, and existential processes that fall between the relational and the material (Halliday 1994).

subchapter 4.1.2. Thus paying attention to who is saying, who is responsible for the content of the talk and is committed to what is being said, and to the consequences and functions of these sayings, offers additional ways to draw conclusions about how the authors wish to portray themselves, and about the interpersonal positions being suggested in relation to cultural expectations.

Similarly, Georgakopoulou (2010, 395) mentions quotations from others as an example of storytellers' control over their self-presentations. Quotations from others can also be revealing of the interpersonal positions in verbal processes (Heikkinen 1999, 174). According to Deborah Tannen (1989, 98), the voices of others can be read from narratives by focusing on linguistic clues, such as explicit or implicit quotations and the (fictional) witnesses presented. Accordingly, "words can enter our speech from others' individual utterances" (Bakhtin 1986, 88). Bakhtin's polyphony refers to points where others' speech is taken into one's own. When tellers continue a discussion with others, or even directly quote them, the voices of those others can be seen to be influencing the teller in some way, since they are considered worth telling (see Steinby 2009, 173–174). In particular, the use of quotations from others as character witnesses enables the teller either to position themselves as they wish or to portray themselves indirectly and apparently modestly. Moreover, direct quotations create an illusion of open communication which the reader should take as "the truth", even though those quoted have no opportunity to respond (Heikkinen 2000a, 83).

The use of pronouns and the passive voice also has some effects on interpersonal positions in the narratives. The passive voice can be characterised as a distancing device, as well as highlighting limited resources of agency in the texts. Thus the passive can be used when referring, for example, to agents of official and institutional positions, and can also imply indirect quotations from others. Moreover, although it leaves unspecified to whom it is directed, the use of the passive is nevertheless binding in some direction (ibid. 145). Likewise, writers can use "we" with different meanings, as it can refer to "us" as care workers or "us" as entrepreneurs, depending on the perspective from which they are regarding themselves. The plural form calls also attention to what/who is included and excluded from these positions. The use of "you" as

a double-deictic strategy (see Fludernik 1994; Mildorf 2006) is also revealing on the few occasions it appears in these writings, as it demonstrates the suggested roles and relationships between writers and reader(s) (Heikkinen 2000a, 83, 100; 2000b, 145).

To sum up, I understand narratives as situated, conditioned, shaped and invoked by cultural and institutional expectations related to gender and class, and entwined with narrative environments, as well as interactionally based and addressed with certain reader(s) in mind. The connection between the writer and what she wants to say, and the fact that communication always has some interactional purpose, are central to reading narratives of care entrepreneurship. Pointers from discourse analysis and literary research – such as naturalisations or contrasts that refer to general expectations and known discourses, negative phrases, verbal processes and direct quotations, as well as the passive voice – can be used while analysing narratives in their particular contexts in order to track down cultural expectations and writer-reader positions.

3.3.3 Cueing the reader

Particularity and situatedness in the narrative environment shape narratives and narrative performances. The fundamental element of time-course or temporal profile also distinguishes narratives from other types of text such as annals and chronicles (Herman 2009a, 92; Carroll 2001, 22). For Bruner (1991, 6), the first feature of narrative is diachronicity, referring to events occurring over time. Temporal dimension has its roots in the distinction between story and discourse (*fabula* and *sjuzhet*) in structuralist narratology.

Noël Carroll (2001, 22–32) argues that narrative's proper domain is events and states of affairs, of which at least two are required. The events and states of affairs must also be connected: "narrative is at least a sequence of events, where sequence implies temporal ordering." He points out that a later event retrospectively reveals something about an earlier event, and he therefore

identifies retrospectiveness as a feature of narrative. Moreover according to Mark Freeman (2010, 4–5) narrative reflection is a product of hindsight, having an integral role in self-understanding and in shaping and deepening moral life. Conversely, narratives also have a “forward-looking manner”, so that as one looks back the events are told in a temporally progressive way. Consequently he suggests that earlier events are “at least causally necessary conditions” for drawing inferences about later events: everything that comes later is cued at the beginning.

In theories of narratives as representations of identity there has been a tendency to privilege a coherent and authentic sense of self (e.g. Georgakopoulou 2010, 395). Tellers are supposed to have a tendency to create linearity and coherence in relation to the time frame of the narrative in order to be understandable. Writing in this way is regarded as easier, having been adopted from literature and enhanced by the viewpoint of the coherent self. However, time in real life is never closed. Narrative coherence has also been seen as a way of normalising and naturalising events (Abbott 2002, 40). Thus narratives with well-structured temporality illustrate the effort of managing time (Hyvärinen 2010c, 135). However, instead of looking for fixed temporalities in the texts, it is essential to emphasise the role of the reader(s) or interpreter(s) of the narrative, as it is they who derive the temporal ordering from the text (Carroll 2001, 24). Herman (2009a, 14,) writes that narratives “cue interpreters to draw inferences about a structured time-course of particularized events”: are past experiences brought into the story to explain the current stage of life, or does the author describe the experiencer’s storyworld as it was at the time (ibid. 60)? Tellers impose a structure that links together events which the reader then connects.

But how can a reader know where the story is going and derive a time-course from the events? According to Carroll (2009, 39), earlier events suggest certain possibilities towards which the story might be going. As readers we have some understanding, albeit inexact, about the direction in which the story is headed. Carroll speaks of narrative anticipation as the formation of expectations about the story on the basis of earlier events. These are cultural expectations that we share but rarely articulate consciously. Instead of

suggesting just a single, closed and causal path for the story, reader(s) need to recognise and embrace the possibility of diverse, open and uncertain paths suggested in narratives (ibid. 37). Thus narratives can be temporally and causally open-ended, lose track of what they were aiming for, and present hypothetical narrative alternatives (Ochs & Capps 2001, 41–43). Moreover, according to Georgakopoulou (2007, 40), events can have the immediacy of recent events or be still unfolding. Events also construct and point out links between past and future interactions, without forgetting shared stories.

Therefore, according to Herman (2009a, 96), as well as the dual temporal sequence of then and now, other temporal junctures, where alternative paths might have been but were not taken, should be noted during the analysis of narratives. These alternative paths, presented at the author's decision points, shed light on both what did happen and what might have happened. The dynamic of how the story unfolds rests on the tension between the two (Bremond 1980, 410). Furthermore, while some possibilities are opened up, others are simultaneously blocked (Carroll 2001, 38). Moreover, the denial of something in a negative clause can simultaneously also suggest other possibilities, as stated in the previous subchapter 3.3.1.

As more specific tools to grasp the temporality of narratives, Gary Saul Morson's (1994, 5–7) concepts of foreshadowing, backshadowing and sideshadowing can help to disentangle the plurality of temporalities in narratives. Foreshadowing refers to an organised – omen-like – narrative structure, in which everything serves the ending and there are no loose ends. Without foreshadowing there is no backshadowing, which refers to signs from the past that imply the present. Similarly to foreshadowing, backshadowing serves to organise a well-plotted account, suggesting that there were no possible alternatives to what actually happened (ibid. 235–236). This kind of “already then” and “even now” rhetoric is commonly used in my research material, such as in references to “the old me” and “the current me” (e.g. Komulainen 1998).

What is more interesting from Morson's (ibid. 118–120) point of view is that while foreshadowing implies the determinist view that no alternatives were possible, sideshadowing opens up the possibility that the present might have

looked different if something else had happened. These are the points where other possible turns could have been taken. Thoughts about the future can be seen as sideshadowing, as can unspoken thoughts (Bulow & Hydén 2003, 92). Such temporal junctures run counter to our need to simplify life into something linear and coherent when we tell our stories, and also warn the reader(s) against eliminating loose ends by reducing them to a neat linear story. The field of possibilities that sideshadowing opens up gives events their meanings, as their significance depends on the other possibilities. These possibilities are therefore important in the sense that they affect how we evaluate and judge the present; alternative paths can tempt, suggest or warn about something, and this is also interesting from the point of view of narratives as comments. As a result, the “present somehow grows partly out of an un-actualized as well as an actualized past” (Morson 1994, 120).

Temporalisation is an essential tool for analysing how the women in this study tell and do care entrepreneurship. Rather than an adaption to time, cueing the time-course can be seen as a resource for understanding and placing entrepreneurship in a whole-life perspective and for self-understanding. It should therefore be noted whether entrepreneurship is a possible point of departure, a turning point or the end point. Moreover, temporalisation can reveal something about responsibility as well as freedom from responsibility (Bulow & Hydén 2003, 83). This leads on to questions about responsibility and freedom from liability, possibilities and hope (ibid. 94).

Drawing on Morson’s shadowing concepts to analyse the time-course of storyworlds – how the experience of care entrepreneurship is portrayed by deploying time – I will place particular focus on temporal junctures in the narratives. During my analysis I have adopted the view that what might have happened both constructs the present and suggests what is considered possible, as well as keeping in mind that the end is not necessarily given. However, instead of referring explicitly to the different forms of shadowing, I will pay special attention to adverbs indicating time (Heikkinen 1999, 228), discussed in the previous subchapter, as indications of possible temporal junctures and alternative paths, choices among options.

3.3.4 Disruptive or non-canonical events

Another element closely connected to temporal order is what Ryan (2005/2008, 347) defines as “non-habitual physical events: either accidents (‘happenings’) or deliberate actions by intelligent agents” that cause changes of state in narratives. Narratives are drenched in “trouble”: they characterise it, explore it, prevent it, brood over it, redress it, or recount the consequences of it (Bruner & Lucariello 1989, 77). Bruner’s (1991, 11) narrative features of canonicity and breach are based on the notion of an implicit canonical script that must be contravened in order to produce a narrative worth telling. As mentioned earlier in relation to tellability, the disruption in the story is closely related to the designation of the narrative as worth telling. Thus narratives are not neutral reports of events, since there is always some friction in them, and the disruption also has to resonate with the interpreter to some extent. “No suspense, no narrative” (Morson 2003, 68).

However, what constitutes the canonical or the disruptive varies, because there are different conceptions of canonicity and breach. There is no single privileged way of reading conflict in a story, or even of defining it in terms of what it is and who it involves. Instead, readers are left to find an underlying orientation, “an attention to conflict of some kind and how it plays out” (Abbott 2002, 162). Disruptions are also more or less connected to the reader’s expectations, or to cultural scripts about what the story should be like. In order for me as a reader and interpreter of narratives to understand disruptions as such, I rely to a certain extent on my own cultural understandings of what is expected and conventional, and of what constitutes a deviation from that (Hyvärinen 2008, 52).

Alongside my own cultural understandings as a reader, narratives themselves are also sites where certain elements are constructed as canonical, or as the opposite. Rather than drawing on the Labovian model that breaks down the progression of a story into specific stages in order to locate the disruptions, I read the narrative as a whole, and see its parts in the context of that wholeness. From the point of view of the whole story, disruption(s) can be

seen as connections between earlier and later events. The beginning of the story is important for taking up residence in storyworlds and storytelling ways, and for understanding the disruptive elements of the narrative in relation to the ending. When considering beginnings it is also important to bear in mind that the beginning of a written narrative is more or less thought out and planned, more so than in face-to-face interactions (Herman 2009a, 112, 115). Bruner and Lucariello (1989, 77–78) point out that narratives always contain a stance or perspective, and that this cannot be understood in isolation from intentions. Consequently, disruptions can only be defined in relation to intentions.

With reference to disruptions, Norman K. Denzin (1989, 70–71) defines epiphanies as points that “alter the fundamental meaning structures in a person’s life”. They are not necessarily the points that the reader might presume to be turning points, but are those that change the positioning of the author. Denzin has distinguished four forms of epiphanies. There are major events that have extensive effects on a person’s life, and minor epiphanies that are important only for a single episode, for example. He also distinguishes cumulative or representative epiphanies, events that happen and accumulate over a long period of time and result in a change of focalisation. He also points out relived epiphanies, repeated or continual points that are used to represent something over and over again.

Thus I make inferences about disruptions on the basis of the whole story, referring to the beginning and the end and what happens in between, as well as to what appears to be expected even as it is breached. Claims about content cannot be made without also focusing on the temporal form of the narrative, since these elements are intertwined. If we bear in mind the wholeness of the story, the duration and amount of text devoted to going through something can give us hints about what is considered meaningful from the author’s perspective, and about what it is that she wants to say and comment on (Herman 2009a, 130). However, instead of reaching any sort of closure, the experience being described may continue. Disruption(s) are not compulsory, and narrative elements operate by degree, although something does need to happen in order for the story to be told. Thus a lack of, or a minimal emphasis

on, disruption(s) does not mean that there are no experiences or cognitive aspects in the narrative.

As a general principle directing my reading of the narratives in order to make inferences about the suggested storyworlds, I first take the degree of disruption(s) as the main reason why the story is being told, and then work backwards to look at the temporal dimensions of the storyworld to back that up. As well as asking what are the experienced disruptions that have made these women write in the first place, I also ask what role the disruptions play in the storyworlds: how much of an impact do the consequences of the disruptions have? Is the experience of care entrepreneurship depicted mostly through disruptions? By recognising disruptions, the reader can make inferences about the kinds of agency the characters have in the narratives (Herman 2009a, 97).

3.3.5 Experience as a core element of narrative

To constitute a narrative, there needs to be at least one unified subject: the one who experiences things (Carroll 2001, 23). For Monica Fludernik (1996, 13), the experiencing human is the most important definer of narrative. According to her, it is not events that create a plot, but the “experientiality” transmitted through the narrative. Moreover, “in addition to being linked to physical states by causal relations, the physical events must be associated with mental states and events (goals, plans, emotions)” (Ryan 2005/2008, 347).

Thus narratives are mostly concerned with what it is like for someone to have a particular experience and to experience disruptions. As well as offering ways to represent disruptions, narratives therefore also offer ways to form strategies to overcome disequilibrium (Herman 2009a, 133–134). Narratives can be defined as being about “moral stance”, meaning the “given perspectives” on events, and thus as providing ways to present or have an experience with moral value. For a moral stance to be taken, some kind of social expectation needs to be violated. Tellers recount and take moral stances towards violations

in order to clarify, reinforce or revise what they believe and value. Moral stance refers to shared values regarding what is good, what is bad, and how to live accordingly (Ochs & Capps 2001, 46).

Tellers often portray themselves as morally superior to other protagonists, in accordance with the “looking good” principle. One’s own moral stance is often constructed against rival stances. It can be certain and constant, uncertain and fluid, or indeterminate and unstable, and it becomes established when it is directly or indirectly challenged by others. Thus the moral stance is not necessarily established beforehand, but can be formed during the storytelling process (ibid. 47–51).

Writers cue readers to adopt a desired stance towards the text as a whole by using what Herman (2009a, 148, 151, 159) calls “raw feels”, which can be explicitly mentioned or merely implied. These raw feels portray the intensity of the experience. Herman focuses on voice and posture as signs of the intensity of experience; in my case, because of the different nature of the material being analysed, I will focus on the notion that “narrative allows for more or less direct, explicit reflection on – for critical and reflexive engagement with – competing accounts of the world-as-experienced” (ibid. 150–151). Narrative provides a discourse context in which different accounts can be proposed, tested against other versions, and modified or abandoned if necessary. Hence tracing possible futures and “what-ifs” defines the narrativeness of the accounts (Morson 2003, 69). In addition to competing accounts, narrative also allows the comparison of different versions of what it was like to experience something, or of what the experience will or would be like. In some narratives the experience of care entrepreneurship can be told in a more here-and-now kind of way.

Referring to the meanings and effects that events have on a person’s mind, Herman (2009a. 138–143) points out that the experiencing consciousness can be seen as the most distinctive narrative element, and as a necessary but insufficient element of narrative as such. He suggests that the element of experience is what prototypically makes a representation a narrative rather than a description. I regard this element too as operating by degree, and I also consider the other elements to be vital when making claims about narratives as

performance. The element of experience emphasises the overlaps between mind and story, thus making narrative a condition of conscious experience as such. This element of “what it is like” indicates that narratives do not just reflect and portray felt experiences, but also shape and revisit those experiences through competing and comparing versions.

3.4 Summary: performing care entrepreneurship

In this chapter I have outlined the theoretical and methodological premises of my narrative analysis of care entrepreneurship. To sum up, narratives – narrative resources in particular – offer the women in this study ways to both tell and do care entrepreneurship. Narratives also offer their readers insights into the surrounding culture, particularly the cultural expectations related to this kind of activity, which are at the centre of this study. The principles that guide my analysis could be crystallised into following questions: “what central cultural expectations does the narrative build on/invoke/comment upon? What is the conversational, institutional and cultural context of the narrative? What is the content, message and performance of the story in relation to the previous elements?” (Hyvärinen 2009)

Moreover, what does this kind of narrative analysis enable in the study of care entrepreneurship? Although I consider it important to produce information about care entrepreneurship in Finland, merely describing the content of the narratives would yield no material of interest to a social scientist with a gender and class perspective. It is not only the explicit content or themes, but also the different storyworlds as comments on something to someone from some available position, that yield insights into the ways the writers do care entrepreneurship, gender and class when they tell about their care entrepreneurship in particular contexts.

By analysing the suggested storyworlds, we can make inferences about narrative environments within existing relations of power and knowledge. As

Herman (2012, 17) writes of world-making, narrative world-making entails inferences not just about what sort of world is being evoked by the act of telling, but also about why and with what consequences that act is being performed in the first place. In particular, we can ask: what kinds of cultural expectation can be read from these narratives, and what is contested or reconciled? How do the writers position themselves, and what kinds of writer and reader positions are suggested to mediate the narratives? What kinds of temporality, change and consequence do they suggest, and what light do they shed on alternative or competing versions of what could have happened and what it could have meant? How is the experience of care entrepreneurship portrayed by mastering the time-course, whether through disruptions or in the here and now? By combining influences from literary research and discourse analysis, I will make inferences about the storyworlds and narrative resources available.

4. Suggesting storyworlds of care entrepreneurship

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse how narrativity is deployed in writings about the experience of being a care entrepreneur in order to answer to the first research question. The emphasis on different narrative elements is compelling, not only from the perspective of narrative analysis but also for the analysis of the societal context of the writings. I will read for the differences between the storyworlds elicited by the writing request, focusing on the different accounts of entrepreneurial experience presented through various narrative means.

As explained in subchapter 3.1.2, my purpose is to interpret the degree to which the narrative elements identified by David Herman (2009a) and Ochs and Capps (2001) are present in the narratives. In this chapter I will discuss the different kinds of storyworld constructed and suggested to the reader(s) through positionings of self and others in narratives with the intention of performing care entrepreneurship. I have read and analysed all 33 writings to identify the narrative elements that are the most strongly emphasised in them. In order to illustrate the degree of presence of each element, rather than categorising all of the research material, I have chosen nine narratives for closer scrutiny. My aim is to provide as wide-ranging a review of the research material as possible, while at the same time keeping it within controllable limits. Presenting these nine writings as whole narratives also highlights the extent to which the form of the narratives is inseparable from the content. In the second analysis chapter (chapter 5) the research material as a whole will be used to present and evaluate the cultural expectations embedded in the narrative environments. Nonetheless, the nine narratives presented in this chapter are intended to illustrate the research material as a whole, and have

been chosen according to the explicitness with which they present certain elements and de-emphasise others.

Although I will use the whole research material in chapter 5 to focus on situatedness in narrative environments and on the occasion for telling (writer/reader positions) more generally, the commentary aspect of narratives will also form part of the analysis of the nine suggested storyworlds in this chapter. However, I will mostly focus on how the writers deploy and position themselves in relation to the other narrative elements: the time-course of events, disruptions, and the events' effects on consciousness, by which I mean the experience of living through the disruptions (Herman 2009a, 14, 60).

Since the experiencing element is obviously present in all narratives to some degree – it is what makes a narrative a narrative – it will feature in all of the following subchapters as intertwined with other narrative elements. I will highlight the different ways in which the experiential element is present in these narratives, such as through an emphasis temporality, disruption or competing and comparing versions. I will therefore pay attention to the temporal order of the accounts, to the cued time-course of events, with the help of adverbs indicating time (Heikkinen 1999, 228). It tells us something about the experienced care entrepreneurship when the writers strive to master the course of time, whether by explaining the present in relation to the past or by focusing on particular phases as they were experienced at the time. In addition to the dual temporal sequence of then and now, I will note the recognition of temporal junctures where alternative paths might have been, but were not, taken. I will draw out competing accounts and comparisons between versions of “what it is like” and what the experience will or would be like. In order to make inferences about why the narratives were written and what has initiated these narratives to be worth telling for, I will focus on the degrees of disruption, the points where something unexpected happens between the beginning and the end. What kinds of temporality, change and consequence do these points suggest, and what light do they shed on alternative and competing versions of what could have happened and what it could have meant?

4.1 Time and again

The following three narratives master the time-course while relating the tellers' experiences as care entrepreneurs. What these writings share is the way the past is invoked to explain the present. "What it has been like" to become and be a care entrepreneur is portrayed through the cueing of a well-structured course of events to portray storyworlds.

4.1.1 Exactitude

Silja

1. *"My autobiography", i.e. road to entrepreneurship.*

Silja has headlined her narrative as a "road to entrepreneurship", cueing the reader as to how to interpret her storyworld: there is narrative progression, with the storytelling convention of using a journey metaphor. The headline thus economically indicates the storyworld being suggested (Herman 2009a, 113). She hints at what is to come and how she pictures it in her mind when she begins to write.

2. *I come from an ordinary country village, the fifth child of a small farming*
3. *family. At home, right from being a little child I learned to live in an*
4. *environment from which I absorbed a model for doing work. At home we*
5. *were keen to help father and mother as soon as we knew how. As children*
6. *we often used to pick willowherb for the pigs from the sides of the walls,*
7. *and for the calves in the stall we would tread fresh grass to wean them.*
8. *To help mother the first tasks were sweeping floors, collecting laundry*
9. *from washing lines, carrying wood to the wood box in the kitchen and*
10. *collecting rugs and laying the clean ones as part of the cleaning work. This*
11. *work was done before school age, around 5–7 years old. Both father and*
12. *mother had been in elementary school for few years and left to work*
13. *around 12–13 years old.*
14. *In the country you learned to evaluate the fruits of your labour; in spring if*
15. *one worked hard getting the stones off the field as best one could, one*

16. *didn't end up unnecessarily hitting the scythe against stones, or if one took*
17. *care to prepare the ground carefully for the bedding plants and seeds one*
18. *didn't have to waste free time on unnecessary weeding! The preparatory*
19. *work was frequently important to the end result and this is still a useful*
20. *guideline. (w6)*

Silja begins her entrepreneurial voyage from childhood by situating herself in an ordinary rural setting some time in the 1950s. The decade can be inferred from specific points in time – for example, having children – to which she refers later in the narrative. She pictures her childhood from the perspective of work, with talk of helping her parents by doing work that was appropriate for children. “*At home we were keen to help father and mother as soon as we knew how*”: by using “*as soon as*”, a hinting adverb referring to time (Heikkinen 1999, 229), she indicates the starting point for her style of work (lines 4–5). Similarly, there were tasks appropriate for children to carry out “*before school age*” (line 11). By setting a particularised context she portrays in detail the farm work and the tasks “*to help mother*” (line 8) with which she familiarised herself early on. Thus classed and gendered features are marked in the practices of work, and are almost embodied in the detailed descriptions of physical labour and tasks.

By using negative phrases relating to how the farm work should be done – “*one didn't end up unnecessarily hitting the scythe blade*” (lines 15–16) and “*one didn't have to waste free time on unnecessary weeding*” (lines 17–18) – she simultaneously suggests that there is a general style of work that ignores these aspects of work. This indicates something specific to that time and place in the countryside, as she adopts the position of a hard worker who works in a proper and appropriate way. This ethos of continuous work and self-discipline as a form of cultural capital inherited from home has also been recognised in other entrepreneurial research, albeit through the analysis of a different kind of empirical material (Koski & Tedre 2004, 130). Moreover, “*this is still a useful guideline*” (lines 19–20): by using the adverb “*still*”, Silja draws the conclusion of the most important lesson she has learned from her childhood, while at the same time cueing the reader that this exactitude will be also meaningful for her later in the narrative.

21. *At 14 I went to Sweden to work as a nanny, that took me two years. I*
22. *got to grow independent in my sister's care and at the same time learned*
22. *the ABC of taking responsibility while caring for three preschool-age*
23. *children daily for a few hours. I returned to my home country of Finland*
24. *and to the school of nutrition and home economics in order to get to be a*
25. *domestic help for a good family. This came true. I was able to serve "the*
26. *gentlefolk" within a year, and besides their four children I took care of*
27. *their city residence.*
28. *The Mrs urged me to apply for further education, a degree in*
29. *housekeeping was in sight! I completed schooling with good grades and*
30. *was back again looking for my daily bread. As it nicely happened the spark*
31. *of love kindled and engagement rings were bought in spring 1976. The boy*
32. *was from a farmhouse and working as a farming equipment salesman.*
33. *The wedding was held the next year, at that time I was a maternity leave*
34. *substitute housekeeper. In May '77 I left the city buzz.*
35. *At times I did short contracts in different units of the municipality.*
36. *Day care, home care and health centre wards by turns. The second kid was*
37. *born and we were still town dwellers. Finally in 1983 my husband*
38. *reclaimed a farmhouse from his cousins for himself. We moved to "the*
39. *bogeyman castle", a country house that had been empty for eight years.*
40. *The surroundings grew nettle, burdock and wild sedge. The well was found*
41. *when everything in front of us in the yard was cut down with a scythe...*
42. *The summer passed and a living room + kitchen and two bedrooms were*
43. *set for some kind of home.*
44. *I was "harassed" by the chair of the board of social services: go to*
45. *the nursing home, there is a job for a year and possibly the post will be*
46. *open as a permanent post.*
47. *It took a couple of months until I had the courage to say yes to the*
48. *proposed offer; I had a chat with the female leader and she thought that I*
49. *was suitable and qualified to take on the home care worker post in the*
50. *unit. The board also chose me, so the children went to day care and three-*
51. *shift work began. Once again I realised the importance of meticulous*
52. *work. There were all sorts of achievers among my fellow workers. I soon*
53. *had to do responsible tasks and there was no room for mistakes.*
54. *Sometimes I had to give my all, but if I really tried I made it! (w6)*

After learning how to work in the countryside, she moves to the city to work. Then she goes through her salad days as the time when she learned to bear responsibility as a house servant and a childminder for the "gentlefolk" (lines 25–26). Some gendered and classed features are present when she writes about being able to "serve" them, taking care of their four children while also tending to their "city residence" (line 27). Once again she implicitly positions herself as a humble and diligent woman with an agricultural background by drawing contrasts between farm work and women's service work, between

small farmers and those who can afford hired help, and between rural and urban areas.

After being “*urged*” by the Mrs to educate herself (line 28) – she hints here with an indirect quote that her working style has been noticed by her employer – she goes briefly through the life stages of getting a degree in home care, getting engaged, getting married and having children. Although many things happen, they are written briefly, as they have less significance in relation to what she wants to convey. What is repeated and appears more important is the unfulfilled wish to move back to the countryside. Although she managed to escape somewhat from “*the city buzz*” (line 34), they “*were still town dwellers*” (line 37). Then “*finally*” (line 37) comes the time to move back. By using these adverbs indicating time (Heikkinen 1999, 229), she is cueing the reader about the time-course that is meaningful in her storyworld.

Then comes the time for getting a post in the public sector, as she is again urged, “*harassed*”, by a municipal official (line 44). The use of direct quotation further strengthens the positions she wishes to occupy, since the official is brought in to testify (e.g. Bakhtin 1986; Tannen 1989; Heikkinen 2000a) that her character is “*suitable and qualified*” by pushing her to apply for the vacant post (line 49). The effects of combining work and a family to become “a working mother” are mentioned – briefly, to be sure, but nevertheless they are considered worth mentioning.

Interestingly, she again concludes this part of the narrative by returning to the issues of diligence and exactitude. “*There were all sorts of achievers among my fellow workers*” (line 52). By referring to her colleagues, she differentiates herself from them and portrays herself in the ways outlined above. Furthermore, “*there was no room for mistakes*” (line 53): using the negative phrase suggests that making mistakes was a possibility, and that there were some who did make unnecessary mistakes.

55. *My husband was a part-time ambulance worker, and the rest of the time*
56. *he worked to make the fields adequate for farming. Forest work was*
57. *mostly done in our own forest. We somehow made it, the farm debts were*
58. *in my husband's name, but I financed the rest of the living expenses. One*
59. *learned to calculate what one could afford.*
60. *Luckily hobbies did not cost a lot, everyone had skiing equipment and*

61. *bicycles were bought for summer use. Berry-picking and mushroom-*
62. *hunting were the best break for the nerves and a way to refresh oneself*
63. *against winter winds and dark times. As I was able to do crafts I “renewed*
64. *things” and made beautiful clothes for children with petty cash. Baking*
65. *and vegetables from our own field helped reduce food expenses, even*
66. *though it took time to make them we all have the same amount to use*
67. *(24h/day). I got the actual idea for a (private) nursing home in 1998*
68. *when the situation in the current nursing home was confusing, stressed*
69. *out nurses dealt with each other badly through words and actions: the*
70. *municipality decreased financial resources, layoffs, changing holiday pay*
71. *for days off, training those on unemployment benefit every six months, the*
72. *head nurse getting sick and dying were part of the chaos in the work*
73. *community from which I wanted to get out in one way or another. I*
74. *started to plan a complete renovation of my house, I was widowed and*
75. *heating the ovens with wood in the middle of doing three-shift work, the*
76. *children’s schools and hobbies, farming, purchasing equipment and*
77. *renewing it... Carrying an endless workload daily on my shoulders. There*
78. *was no need to expect encouragement from colleagues, they were also*
79. *unsure about their work situation.*
80. *I commissioned a renovation plan from an agricultural consultancy.*
81. *The implementation began in 1998, and the spaces for the elderly were fit*
82. *out in 1999 when the county government also authorised the operating*
83. *licence for the nursing home. I took a leave of absence in September when*
84. *I got two residents in the house.*
85. *The work had to be learned from scratch by doing the plans and schedules*
86. *on my own. There were no holidays, but the work at home was much more*
87. *pleasant than travelling 13 kilometres to different shifts regardless of the*
88. *weather.*
89. *At the time, I had a little boy born in 1994 with me at work every day. His*
90. *games and activities were pleasant for the elderly to follow. Knowledge*
91. *about the elderly also grew in him without effort; he is still a natural part*
92. *of the life in this house. I live here in the upper apartment of the (nursing)*
93. *home with my partner, the two bigger ones live in the city and one boy*
94. *goes to vocational school. My partner does short-time work and during*
95. *weekdays lives away from home, sometimes he is lucky to be able to go to*
96. *work from home. He is often abroad, for two or three months in a row. So I*
97. *have got used to being in charge of the nursing home alone, and my*
98. *partner does maintenance and renovations when he is at home. (w6)*

Silja moves on to a time in the 1990s, which she portrays as a period when she was financially pushed. Stating that “*baking and the vegetables from our own field helped reduce food expenses*” (lines 64–65), she again refers to hard work, reaffirming her special know-how and attitude, and describing herself as someone who survived that period. In addition to their implicitly gendered features, these descriptions could be interpreted as presenting somewhat traditional working-class values. Nevertheless, she places her narrative in the

societal situation of the time, which apparently needs no further clarification. She subsequently pins the idea of the private nursing home to the specific year of 1998, when she decided to get out of the chaos of the public nursing home. Stating in a subordinate clause that she was widowed, she concentrates on the time when she was renovating her house as her business acquired its operating licence in 1999.

With the negative phrase “*no need to expect encouragement*” (line 78), she portrays herself as an isolated and apparently independent actor who was in need of encouragement. Instead of describing the business start-up process, she briefly mentions the years of establishing the business and what it meant to work at home. Once again, the notion of working from home in the countryside is continuously repeated as an important feature in her narrative. Furthermore, family reasons are again (lines 64, 74–76) mentioned as determining the conditions of entrepreneurship (also Koski & Tedre 2004, 131; Pöllänen 2002, 560; Ikonen 2008, 245).

99. *I have employed a part-time worker since 2000. They are an assistant*
100. *nurse and during their shift they take on full responsibility for house*
101. *activities. That is my “time off”. I do not recognise a longing for holidays*
102. *in myself but sometimes time should probably be arranged for the family’s*
103. *shared activities. They have not complained yet, that mother is always at*
104. *work!*
105. *As an entrepreneur I am developing my operation all the time; I have*
106. *rented a small unit from the next village and it is ready to be used. The*
107. *only problem is that clients cannot be found? The municipalities are in*
108. *trouble due to the extensive need for elderly care services. Perhaps they*
109. *are unable to think what is in their own interest; there is now a 24-hour*
110. *care service available for the frail elderly, suitable for home care for “petty*
111. *cash”, but they are not able to see this kind of service as being to their*
112. *benefit! I don’t understand how strict a policy there is in social care*
113. *funding when this alternative is “too expensive”. Revenues in the form of*
114. *taxes come back to the municipality and in my opinion employment for*
115. *three or four people is guaranteed. This causes frustration when I am*
116. *contacting the municipalities by letter and calling... but the answer “no”*
117. *has become familiar. I should get some help with marketing, in addition to*
118. *my own know-how I have used consulting services but the result is the*
119. *same. As an entrepreneur I do not calculate my salary by the hour, nor my*
120. *holiday pay, number of days off, nor do I even plan a holiday. I avoid a lot*
121. *compared to those who work for others; no holiday stress, no scheduling,*
122. *no feeling that on my holiday I could not get this and that done... Even my*
123. *relatives understand that I will not come to every child’s confirmation*

124. party or birthday. They can also take into account that I don't go out
 125. sitting in restaurants until the early hours... But I am really pleased with
 126. my life this way; there is time if only the second house fills up...
 127. For some villagers I've been a source of lot of talk; they had their doubts
 128. whether she would succeed when she suddenly starts a small and binding
 129. job... she'll get tired and where will she find residents... some of them out
 130. of envy: well it's all right for her with a big house and a wealthy new
 131. husband! My husband is not financially involved in this in any way because
 132. we are not married and we each have our own companies. So that's that
 133. (the truth is that I have rented the estate from the heirs and pledged my
 134. half to guarantee the bank loan). I also did not inherit anything from the
 135. family farm in 1978 when my brother bought the estate from our parents,
 136. the siblings' shares might have been less than 4,000 FIM because the seven
 137. of us were bought out by our brother. After mother and father died, the
 138. house they had bought and lived in was left by common consent to our
 139. youngest brother who was still living at home, being 23 years old at that
 140. time. When mother died he was 19 years old. (w6)

Silja here moves on to the present, and takes up an evaluating position in relation to what it has been like to be an entrepreneur. Since the 2000s she has had an employee working for her, which has meant some sort of relief from the workload, as she is running the business on her own. By describing herself in relation to others she is portraying what an entrepreneur is like, and also implicitly portraying what a waged worker is like by contrast. She uses multiple negative phrases to refer to the lack of understanding from the municipality, as well as to what employees are like. The use of these negations is a powerful way to oppose the entrepreneurial working style she has adopted to that deployed in waged work. For example, "*as an entrepreneur I do not calculate my salary by the hour, nor my holiday pay, number of days off, nor do I even plan a holiday...*" (lines 119–120). She uses irony as she depicts what she and other entrepreneurs are like. By avoiding notions associated with waged work, she presents them as simultaneously unimportant and imperative to entrepreneurship. At the same time she is sideshadowing the life she would have had as a paid employee. Anticipating the inferences she presumes the reader will draw from her ironic remarks, she states "*but I'm really pleased with my life this way*" (lines 125–126), in order to avoid the risk of sounding a bit mad.

Explicitly identifying herself as self-employed – "*as an entrepreneur I am developing my operation all the time*" (line 105) – she shares the common view

of entrepreneurs as dynamic and in constant development, which she connects with the expansion of her business. However, her reference to the “*petty cash*” (lines 110–111) for which she is willing to sell her services indicates that she wishes to convey the modesty of her entrepreneurship, apparently maintaining a line of descent from her agricultural background and values. Nevertheless, the municipality’s lack of common sense causes frustration, which manifests itself in an agitated tone when she evaluates her lack of success in “*developing*” her business.

Describing her current situation, she continues to distinguish herself from others, since she is also “*a source of lot of talk*” (line 127). Thus she gives voice to others (e.g. Bakhtin 1986; Tannen 1989) in order to make her point: “*they had their doubts whether she would succeed when she suddenly starts with a small and binding job... she’ll get tired and where will she find residents... some of them out of envy: well it’s all right for her with a big house and a wealthy new husband!*” (lines 127–130). By using these direct quotations from other people, she positions herself as a target of doubts and jealousy, which emerge as emotionally charged. Here she wishes to point out the two perhaps most generalised cultural expectations related to entrepreneurship: the amount of work, and the financial gain. The experience of being an outcast and unwelcome in the village (also Koski & Tedre 2004, 129) could refer to the presumed classed position attached to entrepreneurship, suggesting an effort to raise one’s socio-economic position. As a defence she uses a few negative expressions, such as “*we are not married*” (line 132) and “*I also did not inherit anything from the family farm*” (lines 134–135). It appears to be important to point out her economic independence from her husband, which entails her own income and financial space (also *ibid.* 2004, 128). Koski and Tedre (2004, 130) have interpreted such emphases on the acquisition of autonomy as an effort to orient oneself in relation to the masculinity of entrepreneurship. Returning again to her origins as the child of an agricultural family, she states that there was no heritage for her to receive. “*So that’s that*” (line 132) she concludes in reply to the sceptics.

141. *Sometimes when I was younger I thought that life is not especially*
 142. *challenging when one has work and security through a husband's income,*
 143. *together we head into our grey retirement age and then we will move to*
 144. *California (following the model of Kalle Anttila).*
 145. *The hand of destiny trained me and gave me the guts and courage to face*
 146. *hardship instead of giving me an easy life. Again I realise that the keys for*
 147. *coping came from my home: when you do a good job of things, whatever*
 148. *the scale, that's how you create an image as a decent and skilful*
 149. *individual, you receive trust and influence by coping through your own*
 150. *perseverance and thought-through choices.*
 151. *Nowadays I have a Mrs training to become a state enrolled nurse on an*
 152. *apprenticeship. When I familiarised myself with her training programme,*
 153. *demonstrations have a key role. I see entrepreneurial practices as a sort of*
 154. *demonstration which is evaluated by the clients, (their) relatives, officials,*
 155. *the National Institute for Health and Welfare, the county government and*
 156. *the people of the whole village! I am constantly proving myself but being*
 157. *humble and listening to the evaluations. One learns by doing, as one sees*
 158. *when dealing with unpleasant paperwork. Things run along even with the*
 159. *tax officer, there is still lyly and kalhu [shorter and longer skis] and one*
 160. *can guess who is the one at shuffling speed and who is sliding along*
 161. *smoothly... Taxes and the side costs of an employee are "the rotten thing"*
 162. *in the business. By decreasing them one could some day gain salary... hire*
 163. *holiday substitutes for the elderly who need 24-hour care. That will also*
 164. *come true in the coming years.*
 165. *I do not believe that there will be anyone continuing this from this*
 166. *household, but I will ponder those issues when the time arrives. I believe*
 167. *the small size of this place will be an advantage when the time comes*
 168. *when I need care services. The sense of community in this home is*
 169. *recognisable daily, the family is together, there is security. (w6)*

Now Silja finds herself viewing life from a different perspective than before: "sometimes when I was younger I thought that life is not especially challenging when one has work and security through a husband's income" (lines 141–142). By using the hinting adverb "sometimes" to indicate time (Heikkinen 1999, 229), she suggests what might have been; the reference to obstacles instead of an "easy life" (line 146) indicates the possibility of living another kind of life at a certain temporal juncture where alternative paths might have been taken (Herman 2009a, 96). Instead of an unchallenging life with someone else, she portrays a challenging life that involves entrepreneurship and is apparently mostly lived on her own, or at least survived on her own. She wishes to emphasise the importance of being financially independent of her husband as something she apparently thinks self-evident. Then she comes to the

conclusion that the *“hand of destiny trained me”* (line 145), after which she begins again to sum up her life.

Once again she refers to her childhood as the most meaningful point in time affecting the kind of person she is. *“Again I realise that the keys for coping come from my home: when you do a good job of things...”* (lines 146–147) refers once more to properly planned and executed work, and to its effects on how one is evaluated by others as *“decent and skilful individual”* (line 148). According to Tarja Tolonen (2008, 13) self-definitions in relation to class are based on the evaluation of decency, dignity and respectability. Moreover, by using the adverb *“again”* she cues the reader about the continuity in her life course. In this sentence she uses a colon, apparently to introduce the advice her parents gave her, and thus again is using indirect quotation (Heikkinen 1999, 174) in her text. Her family’s role in telling her how to live and work is thus emphasised all over again. Thus growing up with an agricultural background is portrayed as respectable, and as something that is necessary in an entrepreneurial setting and unshared in wage work.

Furthermore, by deploying the double-deictic *“you”* (Fludernik 1994; Mildorf 2006) she not only generalises but also apparently gives advice to the reader on the basis of her personal experience. Having begun from her childhood family, she ends by referring to her current family, and to how her business is a part of it. By using a negation – *“I do not believe there will be anyone continuing this from this household”* (line 165–166), she anticipates the reader’s question about the future of her entrepreneurial life course, and answers it by ending with the statement *“the family is together, there is security”* (line 169).

If we take her narrative as a whole, it appears that after the particularised and detailed beginning, the portrayal of her present situation through a reassessment of her entrepreneurship is longer and more detailed. However, the beginning of Silja’s narrative is important for making inferences about the tellability of the storyworld as a whole, as well as about the cued time-course of her life. If we look for hints about the implied conventional life-course and how it is disrupted, we see that her storyworld portrays a woman who is unappreciated as an entrepreneur despite her enduring work ethic, values and

personal qualities. What happens between the beginning and the ending is therefore important, even though the narrative progression is repetitive and accumulative towards the end (see Denzin 1989, 70–71). Consequently, the purpose of the narrative has been to create continuity and linearity, as has already been cued in the headline. As a result, her moral stance (Ochs & Capps 2001, 46) is also certain and constant throughout the story, since there are no big disruptions that could have strong ramifications.

The displayed continuity of her character across the time-course of the narrative is emphasised through constant self-evaluation in relation to others. There are continuities in this narrative, as again and again her character is shown as someone who gets through difficulties in life thanks to the lessons she learned at home, and this is backed up with the use of indirect and direct quotations. She portrays her life as a non-stop survival course, with a packed lunch from home. The course of her life is thus used to describe how entrepreneurship is a natural development for her in order to work properly, although suspicions of unfairness also free her from responsibility for that decision. As we interpret the situatedness of this storyworld as an occasion for writing the narrative, it appears that she has used this opportunity to view her life retrospectively and reflect on it to produce a coherent ensemble from her present point of view. She is also making her case against the sceptics, using this occasion to talk back. By relating to and evaluating herself against others and social categories with implied classed features, and by hinting at some alternative realities that might have been, she cues a storyworld of continuity of life course. The life course is told in the form of destiny, to which entrepreneurship becomes assimilated through the need to work appropriately and with dignity; the other possibility would have entailed underachievement and a life without challenges.

4.1.2 Solitude

Helena

1. *My story about becoming an entrepreneur.*
2. *I am 53 years old and an entrepreneur of a small care home since 1998.*
3. *The residents are demented elderly.*

Helena entitles her writing “*my story about becoming entrepreneur*” (line 1), cueing the reader to read her story (Herman 2009a, 113) as a process of becoming an entrepreneur, which she apparently interpreted as the objective of the writing request. Moreover, at the beginning, directly and without hesitation, she labels herself an entrepreneur of a certain age and with a certain number of years’ experience (line 2), which seems to have some importance for the interpretation of her story.

4. *I was born [in a specific region] in a small farmer’s family where the field*
5. *was ploughed with hand tools, thus I got used to hard, wearing work from*
6. *a very young age. Father drank a lot of alcohol and my mother was sick a*
7. *lot, there were three daughters, I am the middle one.*
8. *On the way to school there was a small wooden cottage (one room) where*
9. *a widow lady lived. She had 11 children, all of them had already left*
10. *home. I used to visit her often to hear stories and “news” and advice from*
11. *the university of life. She had a mandolin and I thought it was*
12. *wonderful how you could get sweet sounds out of it. She was grateful to*
13. *my father to be allowed to keep her only cow in our forest, the cow my*
14. *father in his generality did not even notice.*
15. *After elementary school I went to a vocational school in a nearby town*
16. *and studied the only degree available, a two-year degree in cooking. I*
17. *again ended up living with the widow lady, paying my rent by cleaning*
18. *and doing indoor and outdoor work for her.*
19. *After school I moved to [a small city] looking for work in kitchens and had*
20. *further training as an institutional housekeeper in [another small city]*
21. *where I met my husband. We had a daughter together and our life*
22. *together lasted for 25 years in [a small city]. Besides kitchen work I did*
23. *some temporary jobs in nursing homes and worked in a small unit for the*
24. *demented as a substitute for an assistant nurse. In 1993 I transferred to*
25. *home care and applied to school to train as an assistant nurse which I*
26. *carried out while working, also partly using time off for my benefit. I also*
27. *took some courses in social care in the [school of social and healthcare]*
28. *before assistant nurse school. (w5)*

Like Silja, Helena starts her story as a girl growing up in a family where there was a lot of work to be done, which could be interpreted as somewhat typical of the generation born in the 1940s. “*I got used to hard, wearing work from a very young age*” (lines 5–6): by using a hinting adverb to indicate time (Heikkinen 1999, 229), she cues the reader to the continuity of her attitude towards work. Understanding class as a form of cultural property with moral worth (Skeggs 2004b, 24) apparently the same ethos of continuous work and self-discipline is repeated here. The desired and adopted class position in these writings portrays decency and dignity based on hard work and Protestant work ethics.

However, what appears meaningful is the description of the widowed elderly woman living nearby, who is portrayed as an important character in this storyworld. Beside explaining that she kept her company and learned from her, Helena gives the interesting detail that the humble old lady was grateful to her father – who had alcohol problems – for letting her keep her only cow in their land (lines 12–14). Thus Helena is pointing out the power relations between the dependent old woman and her broad-minded father. This broad-mindedness could be interpreted as a positive attribute, but in this context it comes across as a lack of interest in the person in need. Consequently, she portrays herself as the only one who showed concern over the old lady’s well-being. Thus after completing vocational training she “*again ended up living with the widow lady*” (line 17).

What follows is an overview of the life stages of marriage, children, implied divorce or widowhood, and education, which apparently have minor importance in the storyworld being portrayed. Consequently, the old lady can be understood as an indicator of what is coming, cueing the reader to the narrative progression of events, that is, to how the past is brought in to explain the present.

29. *I had a feeling that after the assistant nurse training or during it my own*
30. *mental growth was only just beginning, even though the seed was planted*
31. *way before. I just was not ready for it sooner.*
32. *While working in the small home unit where everything was in line with*
33. *good norms and regulations, I thought about how I would do things in my*
34. *own company. I stuck a piece of paper on the wall at home and wrote on it*
35. *how I would like to take care of the elderly if I had my own nursing home*

36. *and as it happens after a few years I was invited to buy a small unit. I*
 37. *bought a ready-made joint-stock company, changing its name and adding*
 38. *elderly care to its line of business. (w5)*

As the “seed was planted way before” in childhood, it was “only just beginning” when she was ready and realised what she wanted to focus on vocationally (lines 30–31). By using these adverbs referring to time, Helena does not make it explicit whether mental growth means becoming an entrepreneur or wanting to work with the elderly in general. Nevertheless, it is something she retrospectively wonders at, since she had the prerequisites for becoming a caregiver early on. Her awakening results in her writing the details of good-quality of care on a piece of paper on the wall (lines 34-35). Since the focus is on her mental growth, the practical side of starting a business is stated very briefly. Nevertheless, her enduring concern with the quality of elderly care, and her comment that she was working in “*the small home unit where everything was in line with good norms and regulations*” (lines 32–33), are presented as things to which she later returned.

39. *I have had an opportunity to execute in practice what I think is the most*
 40. *important when taking care of the demented.*
 41. *One must work hard with the staff, the easiest and the quickest way in*
 42. *care is the most harmful for the elderly. One has to be able to repeatedly*
 43. *say the same things many times a day.*
 44. *– push hard, so that the bladder empties, push, push one more time*
 45. *– let’s drink some juice to avoid pee bugs, juice is good, this is fresh*
 46. *juice and there are many vitamins in it, let’s drink it. Then it is nice to hear*
 47. *how the pee gurgles, it’s like the fresh ripple of a mountain stream, it is*
 48. *nice to hear the gurgle of the pee into the toilet.*
 49. *– today is this and that day*
 50. *– you are not alone even though your relatives are not here, God will take*
 51. *care of you. He will never leave you alone. He is with you right now (right*
 52. *now? wink if the resident has a sense of humour). (w5)*

Helena now makes a jump to the present day, and to the current problems she faces as an entrepreneur, evaluating what it has been like to be an entrepreneur. She begins with the statement that thanks to her entrepreneurship she has been able to offer the quality of care she set out to give. However, she then immediately turns to the obstacles that hinder her. Interestingly, as she discusses the ability to “*repeatedly say the same things*

many times a day” (lines 42–43), she writes a list of the ordinary daily activities she keeps verbally repeating to her demented clients, using the verbal process of saying (Halliday 1994, 140). Moreover, as an employer she describes herself as responsible not only for the clients but also for the employees (also Åkerblad 2009; Viitanen & al. 2007). She suggests that her staff do not share the points on her list, since they just prefer to use “*the easiest and the quickest way*” (line 41). Thus with this list of everyday sayings as indirect quotations (Heikkinen 1999, 174), she positions herself as the one who expresses and knows what good care is like; she is the one knowing and saying apparently important in her entrepreneurial experience. After the first reference to her employees, she continues on that topic.

53. *It's a job to get workers that have the same spirit. Providing health-*
54. *sensitive food does not work, appear to work when there is a slight chance*
55. *of avoiding it, not using health-promoting nutritional substances because*
56. *it means learning a new kind of cuisine. Changing lifestyle is a long*
57. *process and it is easier to resort to for example laxatives than*
58. *to make a morning porridge that makes one's bowels work.*
59. *As a small-scale entrepreneur I feel the costs of maternity leave based on*
60. *only the mother's work are a big disadvantage. The engineer husband*
61. *might have a executive post in a big firm, and the firm is not obliged to pay*
62. *a penny for that. Everything is based on the mother's workplace, it is hard*
63. *for a small entrepreneur when there can be two on maternity leave at the*
64. *sametime. The only way to be able to do this is not to experience this as a*
65. *business but as a way of life and feel rewarded by work well done and I do*
66. *my best on behalf of everyone, not too much in my opinion but what I can*
67. *do on behalf of others with respect.*
68. *I never got any help from society and I have not seen fit to ask for any.*
69. *The Slot Machine Association and start-up money, which I might have*
70. *been able to get when I started up, are completely alien to me. A bank*
71. *loan, with hard work and perseverance I have got through these years.*
72. *At times it feels like I need a support person with an education in*
73. *commercial and personnel matters. Sometimes I also feel that an*
74. *entrepreneur has no protection from the law, only obligations to*
75. *employees and to the tax authorities. There are plenty ways of being nasty*
76. *to the employer, but the employer is not allowed to even “notice” work left*
77. *undone, done badly or even neglected. An old person would rather not say*
78. *that their teeth have not been brushed for days since they find it*
79. *distasteful anyway. Old people are like little children or animals that need*
80. *to be taken care of and they can't ask for the care themselves.*
81. *So there's room for improvement in the CARING CULTURE in Finland. I*
82. *don't like the cigarette breaks when every smoker has like a half pack*
83. *during the shift, I feel that time is taken away from the old person.*

84. *The practical care work brings joy and I try to carry out my own ethics*
 85. *in my care philosophy. Employment policy in Finland has been taken care*
 86. *of so well that at times I feel that I am in deep shit with it. Nor have I*
 87. *learned to deal with tax affairs.*
 88. *Now, at the age of 53, I have bought a rental apartment for which I used*
 89. *every last penny as a loan for the amount to be paid. So far I haven't saved*
 90. *anything under the mattress even though my own lifestyle is about*
 91. *recycling and simplicity.*
 92. *I feel that society does not support a small entrepreneur in any way. (w5)*

Reflecting on what it has been like, she goes through the difficulties of being an employer and an entrepreneur in this society today. She focuses on what it is like to live with the decisions she has made. Consequently, multiple negative phrases are used to show how things should be instead of how they are (Tannen 1993, 44). For example, by giving the elderly client a voice (e.g. Bakhtin 1986; Tannen 1989) – “*an old person would rather not say that their teeth have not been brushed for days*” (lines 77–78) – she again depicts herself as the one who speaks on behalf of those who cannot, as she spoke on behalf of the old lady in her childhood. Moreover, with these concrete examples and the list above, she appears to be hinting that employees avoid doing embodied dirty work, while she values it as important and basic care work. Furthermore, she gives an aggravated example of how the rights of employees override elderly people’s needs: “*the cigarette breaks when every smoker has like a half pack during the shift*” (lines 82–83).

Instead of learning to play the tax system or asking for help, she depicts herself as a lone survivor who is nevertheless mistreated by society. Using the hinting adverb “*the only way*” (line 64) to indicate amount (Heikkinen 1999, 229), she refers to “*a way of life*”(line 65) as an attitude she must take up in order to continue as an entrepreneur in the face of the unfairness and immorality she sees around her. Thus she is implicitly wondering whether other vocational alternatives would have led to a less bitter outcome, indicating a possible temporal juncture (Herman 2009a, 96) in her narrative. There are apparently entrepreneurs who have learned to play the system, from whom she distances herself by taking a constant moral stance or perspective on things (Ochs & Capps 2001, 46), thanks to the seed that was planted. She refers to her poor material resources and financial situation (lines 88–91), which is in line

with her suggested agricultural background, and with values relating to both caregiving and enterprise – that working hard will lead to respectability. Although this is not stated as a goal, it is implied that entrepreneurship did not deliver financially either. Thus she depicts herself as excluded by employees and by society as an entrepreneur, shifting from a position of goodwill to that of someone who is mistreated by society and employees, unappreciated and left on her own.

Overall the suggested storyworld positions her as the defender of the elderly, both at the end and in the beginning. The old lady at the beginning is an informative cue about the lack of interest in the elderly that she emphasises in others. The time-course is clearly deployed to explain the present situation by referring to the past. Moreover, as for Silja, entrepreneurship is a means to reflect her life course by pointing out the continuity of her attentive personality, hardworking nature, and repeated misgivings about other people and social categorisations. Thus the life course is used to describe her experiences in relation to her traits and values, rather than to entrepreneurship per se. Apparently, Helena has responded to the writing request in order to give her point of view on what constitutes a good quality of care, as well as to warn against the risks of becoming a careless care worker. It follows that she has used this opportunity to get her point across, and possibly to have an influence to improve elderly care. She appears to be taking a stand, and the suggested storyworld makes a political and social comment, since it is situated in current issues surrounding elderly care.

4.1.3 Practicality

Sari

1. *I can briefly tell you my story of becoming an entrepreneur.*
2. *Already as a young girl I had the dream of becoming a nurse when I was*
3. *asked my occupational dreams in the first year of school. Care work stayed*
4. *my occupational dream during my whole adolescence. (w28)*

Like others, Sari has headlined her narrative “*my story of becoming an entrepreneur*” (line 1), giving instructions to the reader (Herman 2009a, 113). Sari also begins her narrative by looking back to her childhood as having been important for her choice of profession. Beginning with the adverb “*already*” (line 2) to express time (Heikkinen 1999, 228), she sets out to tell her story starting from her being a little girl with the dream of becoming a nurse. This combination of a little girl’s vocational dream and nursing is presented as something shared – as a calling – since it does not need to be further explained or clarified for the reader.

5. *When I passed the baccalaureate, only getting a grade B (although I*
6. *upgraded in my native language to C) in 1978, I aimed to become an*
7. *assistant nurse and to apply for other care work occupations as well. I*
8. *wasn’t a very studious reader, I’m more of a practical person. So I didn’t*
9. *reach my occupational dream as an assistant nurse at the time, instead I*
10. *ended up studying to become a pedicurist. After that I did some short gigs*
11. *in childcare, elderly and home care, and while taking care of my children I*
12. *did some pedicurist work. I was a homemaker for many years, taking care*
13. *of my four children and some other children needing day care in between.*
14. *When my youngest child started preschool in 1996 I applied and got*
15. *accepted to study for my occupational dream as a state enrolled nurse.*
16. *The matriculation exam turned out to have some benefits as I was allowed*
17. *to do the secondary-school based degree in 1.5 years, which was quite*
18. *enough for me as mother of a big family, a lazy reader and already being*
19. *near my 40s. Still I was very excited about studying and I even got a*
20. *scholarship due to my motivation, but I was also very pleased with my*
21. *grades since I had received marks of seven in school. But if I remember*
22. *correctly even then I got a nine in health education. (w28)*

Here Sari is portraying herself as “*more of a practical person*” and “*I wasn’t a very studious reader*”, portraying her education in relation to others (lines 7–8).

Nevertheless, success based on school grades is presented as a relevant indicator. School grades appear to have retrospective meaning for her, and she positions herself as the opposite of something she might have desired to be, since she did not manage to achieve a degree until she was in her 40s. There is a certain juxtaposition between those who study and those who do not, which people seem to consider meaningful when they are telling about care entrepreneurship. Moreover, her childhood dream of becoming a nurse emerges not only as implicitly gendered, but also as classed, since the position of nurse is portrayed as something that is difficult for a practical person to obtain. However, in the phrase “*even then I got a nine in health education*” (line 22), the adverb “*even then*” is deployed to convince the reader of her suitability for this occupation. Thus as she views her life in retrospect, she is cueing the reader to give her storyworld the suggested coherence and linearity by mastering the time course of events.

23. *Just before I got the idea of further study as an adult, the dream*
24. *of my own care business arose in my mind. I didn't quite know then what it*
25. *would be, but work with the elderly was close to my heart. Maybe the*
26. *entrepreneurship is a legacy from my father, who had his own company,*
27. *although in construction. I carried the idea in my prayers and that is how*
28. *the thought of applying for further study came about. Still from time to*
29. *time I remembered my dream with prayers and if it is God's will he would*
30. *show me what I should do and when. On the other hand I was timid about*
31. *engaging myself in anything so big and overwhelming and I didn't even*
32. *know where I should start. After I graduated I worked as a carer for a few*
33. *elderly people, then in home care for one winter and after that I got a job*
34. *in a home for the demented. I enjoyed it and my dream of the business*
35. *receded for a while, but only for the first six months and then the idea*
36. *came back to me stronger and stronger. I felt that I was being guided*
37. *forwards and I kept praying and asked that God would open doors for me*
38. *in order to get ahead since I didn't know where to begin. Also, I had*
39. *attended an entrepreneurial course [in the school of social and*
40. *healthcare] the previous spring before I went to work in the home for the*
41. *demented in the autumn. My sister also took the course. She is now*
42. *working, although not as an entrepreneur, but in my company. And the*
43. *spring passed by quickly, the summer went and then came the eventful*
44. *autumn after I had worked for a year in a home for the demented and got*
45. *good training for my future work and entrepreneurship. (I worked in a*
46. *private home for the demented.) My former colleague, who knew about my*
47. *dream, called me and said that the dementia home where she had been*
48. *working as a substitute was up for sale. "That's it" I thought and I knew*
49. *somehow that God was opening doors. (w28)*

The childhood dream of becoming a nurse has turned into a dream of having her own business in the care sector. “*I didn’t quite know then what it would be*”: she highlights the vagueness of this dream while hinting that it will be clarified later (lines 24–25). Pointing out briefly that “*work with the elderly was close to my heart*,” she identifies herself and her business as relating to elderly care (line 25). While care work and elderly people are described as close to her heart and a dream job since childhood, entrepreneurship emerges as something she inherited from her father (line 21). Apparently, she is positioning herself as appropriate for care work as well as for entrepreneurship. Consequently, it appears that entrepreneurship determines a person beyond their field of business, as it entails something which all entrepreneurs share, which is most likely genetic and which therefore will inescapably affect one’s life course.

Because she positions herself as “*timid about engaging myself in anything so big and overwhelming*” (lines 30–31) – which apparently refers to the process of starting a business – she refers to God’s will and instructions. Thus she once again puts herself in the position of having a dream that requires time and courage to realise. Stating that she participated in entrepreneurial training one spring, and counting the months that she was waged worker, she refers to that time as a period when she was just waiting for signs and guidance to carry out her dream. Finally, she describes the “*eventful autumn*” (lines 43–44) when the home for the demented was put up for sale and suggested to her by her former colleague. Here the former colleague is given a voice (e.g. Bakhtin 1986; Tannen 1989) as she calls and tells her about the house for the demented that has been put up for sale. The writer is evidently positioning herself as someone who has will and ambition but is nevertheless guided by and dependent on others in regard to setting up the business.

50. *I didn’t even have money for the initial capital, but I just called my*
51. *entrepreneurial father and wondered whether the bank would grant such*
52. *a big loan to this kind of penniless person. Amazingly, everything worked*
53. *out, the loan and the initial capital for the joint-stock company which my*
54. *father wanted to lend me, this I have already paid him back. My sister and*
55. *two of my friends whom I had told about my dream came to work for my*

56. *small home with six places for the demented. It was certainly easier to*
57. *start with a ready-made care home unit in which the furniture and the*
58. *residents were already in place (through a contract with the municipality)*
59. *than to start from scratch. Still there was quite a lot of paperwork hassle*
60. *and I sighed with relief when it was done and the company started to run*
61. *surprisingly quickly. Afterwards many people asked and I myself have*
62. *wondered how I dared to take out such a loan. I always say that I wouldn't*
63. *have dared but I felt such a deep-down conviction that this was the answer*
64. *to years of prayers and the task and mission that God had in store for me.*
65. *One needs to operate with a small budget and I have the smallest salary*
66. *but still I work the most. Still I wouldn't work as an employee any more.*
67. *Nevertheless, there is freedom to decide my own shifts and holidays. I still*
68. *take a decent summer holiday and sometimes if I really get tired I take*
69. *time off. Otherwise one doesn't manage as an entrepreneur. My husband*
70. *and I own the company, but my husband is in a totally different field so he*
71. *only helps me with the tasks relating to bookkeeping etc. Fortunately*
72. *there is still a bookkeeper who does the actual bookkeeping. This is how*
73. *my dream came true and I give all the thanks and credit to God who has so*
74. *far blessed my company and I have faith that He will do that in the future*
75. *too. When it is time for me to step down from this work He will show that*
76. *too. I have now operated for over four years as an entrepreneur and*
77. *working in a small home for the demented is my dream job. So I work in*
78. *daily care work and additionally take care of the things associated with*
79. *entrepreneurship. So a lot of free time goes into taking care of work issues.*
80. *My idea is not to expand although a larger care home would be more*
81. *profitable. I shall continue as long as God grants and from this small and*
82. *comfortable working environment I have. (w28)*

Against all odds – she “*didn't even have any initial capital*” of her own and faced “*quite a lot of paperwork*” –she managed to set up her business, to her own amazement (lines 50, 59). By portraying herself as a lazy reader, and as a practical person who is unfamiliar with and lost about entrepreneurial issues, she contrasts practical work with entrepreneurship. By stating that she received support and help from her “*entrepreneurial father*” – mentioned here for the second time (line 51) – that she acquired the things that are needed when setting up a business, she portrays herself as having got through the challenges. Nevertheless, she also considers it important to point out her financial independence by stating that she has paid her father back (line 54). Moreover, as a specific detail, it is interesting that she mentions the contract with the municipality in parentheses, as if it is so evident to her and apparently to the reader that she can leave it unexplained, even though it seems to be the basic source of her business's income (line 58). Thus entrepreneurship is

portrayed as something that is in contradiction with her starting point while also being inherited at the same time, and is understood only in the form of subcontracting.

"Afterwards" (line 61), when she is asked through an indirect quote (e.g. Heikkinen 2000a, 83) about her courage to take such a risk with the loan, she implicitly refers back to the notion of the *"big and overwhelming"* decision to become an entrepreneur. She adds that *"I always say that I wouldn't have dared but...(..) God had in store for me"* (lines 62–64). In addition to the adverbs *"afterwards"* and *"always"*, indicating the temporal elements of retrospection and continuity, she brings in others to testify (e.g. Bakhtin 1986; Tannen 1989) on behalf of her bold character. Then, after sighing with relief and expressing astonishment at her own survival, she turns to evaluate what it has been like to become an entrepreneur.

As might be anticipated, having freedom is contrasted with the amount of work it entails. She emphasises the workload in terms of holidays – whether there are any, and how they affect one's ability to carry on as an entrepreneur (line 67). She simultaneously ponders the alternative possible paths (Herman 2009a, 96) and what it would have been like to remain in waged work: there would have been less work, fewer responsibilities and a better income. However, with a negative phrase she states her unwillingness *"any more"* (line 66) to return to waged work, thereby indicating that this is something she expects to be asked as she lists the negative consequences of entrepreneurship. She leaves her future plans open, as she is again guided by God in this matter. Through a negative expression, business expansion is described as something that would be reasonable and in accordance with entrepreneurship, but nevertheless as something one should consider personally. She also implies that a bigger unit might turn out to be less homelike.

"This is how my dream came true" (lines 72–73): Sari comes into the present with an advice-giving tone. Situating herself now in the time of the writing and the writing request, she tells how she managed to realise her dream, to achieve coherence and continuity in her life course, from her current perspective. Apparently, the expected narrative would have entailed the lack of courage, support and guidance to take the step to become an entrepreneur. She was

destined to do so nonetheless freeing her of responsibility for the decision. Thus there are no really surprising turns portrayed in this narrative. Most of the text overall is devoted to the phases of realising the dream, and there is less emphasis on what it has been like to be an entrepreneur. Consequently, when cueing the time-course of events, she uses multiple signs to indicate what is to come: the score of nine in the hygiene training, God's signs and guidance, and her father's entrepreneurship. Relations with others, as well as some classed positions referring to "readers" and "practical persons", emerge as the means to master the time-course and establish the unexpectedness of becoming an entrepreneur – even though it was also inevitable – and to reach the present successfully. Narrative progression in Sari's storyworld is achieved through the phases of a dream coming true. On the whole, her storyworld emerges as well planned and fairly conventional, following the storytelling script of realising a dream.

4.2 Breaking ground

Instead of primarily emphasising the course of time in the accounts of entrepreneurial experience, the three narratives analysed in this subchapter are more concerned with disruptions to the suggested storyworlds. These disruptions emerge explicitly as the reasons why the narratives were written. The experience of care entrepreneurship is therefore mostly portrayed through disruptions. That is, something that is understood as affecting the experience, which happens between the beginning and the ending and is established through temporality (Herman 2009a, 129), stands out in the following narratives.

4.2.1 Odd vocational dreams

Vuokko

1. *I have slacked off a lot with this writing and already thought of giving up*
2. *the whole work, but I can only imagine your situation if only one or a few*
3. *answer your request, it is hard to pull a doctoral thesis out of that. (w8)*

The beginning of a narrative is significant for inferences about the storyworld, especially when there has been time to think it through (Herman 2009a, 112, 115). Vuokko starts her narrative by implying that she is answering the writing request out of a feeling of obligation. This could also be interpreted as an indication that she has had difficulties deciding what she wants to write about.

4. *So I am a 48-year-old nurse entrepreneur [from a certain area]. I have a*
5. *care home with 10 beds in the centre of our town, in the downstairs of an*
6. *apartment building. A good and popular place, the next of kin like it*
7. *because they can visit their relatives between shopping trips. Furthermore,*
8. *we have licences in reserve for 10 home care customers, so far we have not*
9. *considered it necessary to start to expand into that sector. The staff should*
10. *be increased too, otherwise we would tear ourselves in even more*
11. *directions, we are not interested in that at the moment. We are two*
12. *entrepreneurs and two permanent workers, in addition substitutes and*
13. *one permanent trainee. At the moment we are doing really well, the places*
14. *are full and salary and holidays have also been obtained. (w8)*

Here Vuokko identifies herself as a nurse and entrepreneur in a certain region in Finland. It appears to be meaningful to mention that she is both a nurse and an entrepreneur (line 4) at the very beginning of the narrative. Unlike the women in the previous subchapter, she begins from the present, explaining in detail her views on her current position. "*At the moment*" (line 11) she is pleased with the situation, the adverb indicating time (Heikkinen 1999, 228) suggesting that this has not always been the case. Thus the beginning of her story comes across as unplanned, since it does not set out to master the time-course. However, she soon focuses her gaze on the past and starts to ponder her educational choices.

15. *Actually at times I was not able to say whether I am in my dream vocation,*
16. *on the contrary I in fact regretted many times that I ended up with this*
17. *exhausting work including shift work and responsibilities. Since in today's*
18. *hospitals patients cannot be taken care of the way one wants any more,*
19. *the work is routine and done by the clock. And also physically demanding.*
20. *For some odd reason I wanted to become a nurse or missionary already as*
21. *a child, however, I have never been especially helpful or social. So*
22. *becoming a nurse was fixed as my dream profession already from*
23. *childhood. Oh, now I say to everyone who dreams to think carefully*
24. *whether there could be another job, an easier meal ticket. During*
25. *summers as a secondary-school graduate I always got into a small mental*
26. *hospital (named at the time) with three departments as an assistant*
27. *nurse. And from there it began. At first I studied to be an assistant nurse*
28. *[in an urban municipality], I got off with less reading. Then back into that*
29. *small psychiatric hospital where I worked many years as a substitute, now*
30. *getting summer holidays and the other privileges of regular staff (they*
31. *invited me to the Christmas party etc. ha-ha) however, I didn't get that*
32. *goddamned permanent post. At times, I went to try my luck at [the*
33. *factory], where if one managed to reach the target one was able to get a*
34. *good salary. That work, however, quite soon bored me and I returned to*
35. *hospital work, perhaps it is my thing after all. It was because of the old*
36. *story of finding a man (the same man still) that I didn't go into further*
37. *study, so I got stuck in the routine of nursing the mentally ill. With my*
38. *husband we travelled around Europe, there was money because we lived*
39. *for free in the upstairs of our parents' house and were both working. Not*
40. *until later came the desire to have children, as a 37-year-old I had my first*
41. *daughter in '92 and immediately afterwards the second daughter,*
42. *developmentally disabled [Liisa.] After the birth of Liisa I wanted to study*
43. *more, I felt that my knowledge as a nurse was very minor, besides I had*
44. *never questioned the level of care or the patients' treatment before,*
45. *something I encountered in my work daily. I became much more tolerant*
46. *and tender towards others after Liisa's birth. It is probably one reason*
47. *why I someday wanted to be deciding more on how people are taken care*
48. *of and how they are treated, no matter how sick they are. (w8)*

“Actually, at times I was not able to say whether I am in my dream vocation”
(line 15) is an informative phrase, in which by using a negative expression and the commenting adverb “*actually*” (Heikkinen 1999, 227) Vuokko hints at the expectation that care work professions are based on a sense of vocation, from which she exempts herself. Furthermore, by using the adverb “*at times*” she reveals the ambivalence she apparently feels about the vocational decision she has made. Consequently, “*to say*” something about her career choice appears twice (lines 15, 23) in Vuokko’s narrative as something she considers she

should be able to do. With “*oh, now I say to everyone who dreams to think carefully*” (lines 23–24), she uses the adverb “*now*” to highlight her current view of the matter, thus cueing the reader about the position she wishes to take, as well as giving guidance.

As the affective expression “*I in fact regretted many times*” indicates (line 16), she confesses feeling remorse for her vocational choice rare in these narratives. She openly states that she has “*never been especially helpful or social*” (line 21) either. This implies presumed cultural expectations regarding the appropriate traits – which emerge as gendered – for those who want to become a nurse (e.g. McDowell 2009). Vuokko characterises herself as having been dissonant from that category when she was young and dreaming of becoming a nurse. Now she knows better, and wonders about the “*odd reason*” (line 20) that made her want to become a nurse. After trying other jobs, she reaches the conclusion that “*perhaps it is my thing after all*” (line 35). With the adverb “*perhaps*” and the present tense she hints at ongoing uncertainty over her vocational choice. She is thus breaching canonicity (Bruner 1991, 11) in the sense that she departs from the ideal, coherent career dream, including the aspect of care work as a gendered calling or vocation.

This phase appears to be a temporal juncture (Herman 2009a, 96) at which as well as recognising the dual then-and-now temporality, Vuokko wishes to indicate that there might have been other alternatives for her to choose from. This is important for our understanding of why this narrative is being told. She is evidently using this occasion as an opportunity to ask critical questions, to suggest other career choices to the reader, and even to some extent to regret her career decision, since she does not feel the need to present her own character as the most appropriate for this particular kind of work. Instead, she writes from the perspective of what it was like to be young and unsure of herself and of what she wanted to be. In terms of “being honest”, her storyworld comes across as a countering to those that portray a continuous and linear progression and sense of self, such as those in subchapter 4.1.

However, she “*got stuck*” in routine work instead of moving on and studying more, and she explains this by “*the old story of finding a man*” (lines 35–36). Looking again in retrospect, she implies that her story could have led in

another direction – apparently to a more modern story – rather than in that old-fashioned direction. She hints at a wish to become something more than a nurse, to study more and do something less physically demanding; she ends up as a nurse for implied gendered reasons that are realised later. While finding her partner is depicted as an obstacle to her studying, the birth of her disabled daughter emerges as a possible reason for becoming an entrepreneur: “*it is probably one reason why I someday wanted to be deciding more on how people are taken care of and how they are treated*” (lines 46–48). Writing again in the present tense (it “is” rather than “was” the reason), and using the hinting adverb “*probably*”, she seems now to be looking back, backshadowing (Morson 1994, 235) while writing. She is wondering about her decision to educate herself further, and above all about how to connect it to her future entrepreneurship.

49. *So I studied to become a nurse 100 kilometres away from my own town*
50. *and I had two small children, Liisa was only one year old. Every day I*
51. *drove that distance back and forth and came home for the night. The*
52. *enthusiasm to study was so big that I cannot even remember that I was*
53. *ever very tired. And it is obvious that it would not have worked out*
54. *without a helping and encouraging husband. Well, of course there was still*
55. *no permanent post, since I had been away from the scene for some time.*
56. *Now I thank God that there weren't any, I would not be an entrepreneur*
57. *now in my own wonderful firm. I did get a substitute position in my former*
58. *job immediately after school, I covered holidays for the head nurses.*
59. *However, in the autumn the whole town staff was laid off due to the bad*
60. *financial situation and we, the substitutes, were of course hurried away*
61. *straight away. There had certainly been entrepreneurial courses at school,*
62. *but I attended them carelessly without listening or by quarrelling with the*
63. *teacher. Entrepreneurship did not quite fit into my view of the world as a*
64. *child from a working-class family, never mind the nursing field, never.*
65. *So I was forced into unemployment like my neighbour, a state enrolled*
66. *nurse. This woman had once had a grill business long ago and she began*
67. *asking for a care entrepreneur as a partner. She had a vision and an*
68. *ability to count costs and to think and make a mess, and above all, the*
69. *courage to carry out the idea of a nursing home.*
70. *When a suitable place was found, the business was established. And in the*
71. *centre as I already said. The place was quickly full and the town was*
72. *nicely with us at the beginning at least. At times, there were some lows*
73. *when four of the inhabitants moved away, some to heaven and some to the*
74. *local public health centre. And simultaneously one of our workers started*
75. *maternity leave, that time hampered the finances of the business and my*
76. *nerves. But the worst or the best, at this moment the best was yet to come.*
(w8)

After graduation her obvious plan was to look for a permanent post in the public sector, but *“of course there was no”* such post to be found (lines 54–55). By using the adverb *“of course”*, she is referring to the period when no permanent posts were available as knowledge the reader already shares, and it is not explained further. In retrospect, however, it turns out to have been a blessing: *“now I thank God that there weren’t any”* (line 56). Because of the lack of work opportunities, she portrays herself as coming to terms with entrepreneurship (also Pöllänen 2002, 563). However, entrepreneurship is in contradiction with her values *“as a child from a working-class family”* (lines 63–64), positioning her against implied middle-class views and values. With her account of her schooling in entrepreneurship *“without listening or by quarrelling with the teacher”* (lines 62–63), she highlights her active resistance to these views, pointing out how her own views have changed somewhat and, more importantly, her initial status and the origin of her views and values. Thus she is aware of the apparently classed contradiction between care work and entrepreneurship, and finds it worth noting and reflecting on.

Difficulties in the start-up phase of her business are more or less relegated to a subordinate clause. Her account of the period when she was putting the business together focuses more on her being invited by her future business partner to start the business with her: Vuokko here is deploying the inactive initiator position, which is in line with her previously mentioned working-class values. Above all, she cues the reader that *“the worst or the best, at this moment the best”* (line 76) was yet to come. Thus the temporal juncture of possible directions is again deployed: it could have gone another way.

77. *We had agreed already at the initial stage with my business partner, that I*
78. *am responsible for the nursing and making sure that the bills go out on*
79. *time, the other one promised to make sure that the bills were paid. All*
80. *went fine for a bit more than three years until the friend began to phone*
81. *our workers to work during their days off. The nursing became careless*
82. *and bill reminders began to drop more and more through the letterbox. I*
83. *have never had to yell and dispute and raise hell with anyone as much*
84. *with that tart. My doubts grew when the bank statements stopped coming,*
85. *she had redirected our post to her summer cottage. Then one day, after a*
86. *long “holiday” I asked my colleague to come to work and to discuss the*

87. *matter, the talking was pointless until I threatened her with the police.*
88. *Then it became clear!!!! There had been embezzlement, in three months*
89. *€12,400 had disappeared from our account (now my writing is shot, I*
90. *won't correct it). This friend left the business on that note, our long-term*
91. *worker bought half the firm and so we were saved from bankruptcy! Now*
92. *that people have talked to me afterwards, I have realised that my former*
93. *business partner has been a rat since childhood. The grill was put out of*
94. *business because of similar unclarities, nurses' gift money has disappeared*
95. *from her former workplaces, she had owed as much as thousands of FIM to*
96. *many entrepreneurs, etc.*
97. *But everything has now become clear, part of the money that had been*
98. *embezzled was obtained in a corporate acquisition and the rest just went*
99. *on the recovery proceedings. My new business partner is 10 years younger*
100. *than me, extremely energetic and reliable and really gives the company a*
101. *lot. So everything is well at the moment. The business provides, we get*
102. *salary and holidays, we have wonderful nice workers. Also I have*
103. *gradually adopted something from entrepreneurship, I can already do all*
104. *the paperwork etc. The work is meaningful; I can take care of the patients*
105. *the way I have always wanted. The work is free and rewarding and [Liisa]*
106. *can also be at home there, since she will never learn to go to school*
107. *alone or to be alone like our older daughter. How I am at the moment*
108. *satisfied in my life and my job, in my income level and in my family*
109. *situation. Now in the autumn we will take off for two weeks to the*
110. *southern sun, yes. The embezzlement thing made me more careful in*
111. *regards to people, however I haven't become bitter. I am really happy that*
112. *that kind of human being has nothing to do with us any more, I hope that*
113. *never even working in nursing. Now I am able to look to the future with*
114. *confidence, there can be worse times in the business but I believe that one*
115. *always manages through them. Perhaps I can put my name here, I live [in*
116. *a densely populated municipality]. All the best to you and good luck with*
117. *the doctoral thesis, it is great that somebody gets so far, the doctor's hat*
118. *will surely not come without knowledge!*
119. *If it is available some time, you can send me a message! That doctoral*
120. *thesis, not the doctor's hat! (w8)*

Even though the birth of her disabled daughter can be interpreted as a tremendous turning point or disruption in her life-course that changed her views, it is not portrayed as the only such turning point. The betrayal and embezzlement are viewed as having had effects on her views about being an entrepreneur. It seems that the betrayal is one reason why this narrative is being told, since she was not quite sure what to tell, as indicated at the beginning of her narrative, and this is something worth telling.

Bringing the reader closer to her experiences and emotions in this part of the story, she uses affective descriptions of how she was forced to “yell and

dispute and raise hell with that tart" (lines 83). By describing her ex-partner as "a rat since childhood", and stating that this was also witnessed by some other people (lines 91–93), she wants to make clear the impact the woman had on her, but also to refer to her previous reflections on the unsuitability of her own background for entrepreneurship. The values one grows into are significant in how one is represented, and "that tart" represents values that are often associated with entrepreneurship, especially when seen from a working-class position.

Next she turns to reflect on how things have turned out for the good and how she has survived her ordeal. In the end, entrepreneurship appears as something that enables her to connect all the questions she has pondered during her narrative: "how I am at the moment satisfied in my life and my job, in my income level and in my family situation" (lines 107–108). Questions about what she wants to do, where to work, for what salary, and how it relates to her family situation by connecting childcare and business, have all now been somewhat resolved, even though she would not have considered this option before. Furthermore, using adverbs indicating time, she says she has "gradually adopted something about entrepreneurship" (lines 102–103), and has reached the position of being able "now to look to the future with confidence" (lines 113–114). She is portraying the process of growth that she has experienced: it seems that while she is telling her narrative, writing it down, she is becoming aware of these aspects as she comes to some kind of closure. While remaining aware of the temporality of life – things can always change for worse – she nonetheless orients herself positively towards the future. There was a possibility of becoming bitter (line 111) because of the betrayal, which would have led to a different kind of ending, but she has chosen the opposite.

This portrayal of the life-course suggests that one never knows what is going to happen in life and how it will carry one along. The most unexpected things can happen, like the birth of Vuokko's disabled daughter or the betrayal, which can at least be told as having had positive consequences. Consequently, Vuokko ponders what she has become, and the arbitrary and misguided thoughts and beliefs she has held about different professions, care work and entrepreneurship.

Everything in this narrative is portrayed as a breach of the expected: she resigns from the implicitly gendered calling of care work and from a presumed working-class career in public sector care work. The canonical thing would probably have been just to do the expected and common, not to enter the field of the unknown. But because of circumstantial elements she has drifted into these positions, with no attempt to produce a linear life-course in which one thing leads to another. Things happen in life and one goes along with them, living in the moment. More than half of the text centres on her history and how she ended up being an entrepreneur: there are a lot of “what-ifs” in this narrative. The betrayal appears to be meaningful at the end, something she wishes to share. However, she comes across as unsure of her main reason for responding to the writing request: her unwillingness and difficulty in writing her narrative was already stated at the beginning, and there is no single disruption leading to specific ramifications that she considers it noteworthy to convey. Nonetheless, in addition to the inevitable effects on the experiencing consciousness, the portrayal of disruptive elements is given the greatest emphasis in this narrative.

4.2.2 The school of entrepreneurship

Leila

1. *First, good luck with your research! It is great that you have had the*
2. *energy to get absorbed in this subject... since there certainly is something*
3. *to research about!*
4. *Using my own words and unfortunately in a hurry, I will tell about my*
5. *entrepreneurial journey in fast-forward. (w19)*

Leila, the owner of a private day care centre, begins her narrative by suggesting that there is something special about this kind of business, as there certainly is something to research. She designates her narrative “my

entrepreneurial journey in fast-forward" (lines 4–5), cueing the reader that the time-course will run from the past towards the present. Using the journey metaphor, she is hinting at the progression of her story with apparent highs and lows. Thus once again the beginning is very informative about how she is going to portray her life course and what kind of storyworld she is going to propose (Herman 2009a, 112).

6. *It all began [in the urban municipality's] DAY CARE SEMINAR, in so-*
7. *called semppu. I amazed my classmates, NB over three decades ago,*
8. *by announcing that my dream is to set up a private day care centre.*
9. *It was totally an absurd idea! However, dreams have the tendency to*
10. *bother us people until they come true, if they are possible. So after working*
11. *in the public sector for a few years, and after my children had grown up so*
12. *that my youngest had started school, I started my own "school" by buying*
13. *a private day care centre which had just come onto the market. The*
14. *craziest thing was that I had always hated paperwork and said that I*
15. *never want to be a manager... That's that, "never say never". I was a*
16. *manager, even executive manager as it said on the headed paper. And*
17. *from the beginning the paperwork took a big part of the week especially*
18. *because I had not received any training for it and I wasn't quick at it. But*
19. *there was enough challenge! I got to express myself and shape my day care*
20. *centre the way I had always wanted. The exterior was not luxurious but*
21. *cosy, which was noticed when the parents were choosing day care places*
22. *for their children. Likewise the staff were enthusiastic and building our*
23. *livelihood along with me. From the beginning there were new activities,*
24. *which had not yet been anywhere else. They were welcomed with joy and*
25. *the clients began to show up from even farther away. We worked together*
26. *with our hearts. Of course there are always those in the group who weren't*
27. *that excited to come to work resulting in a worsening atmosphere at*
28. *times. Usually this was solved by talking. (w19)*

Leila pinpoints the beginning of her entrepreneurial journey to three decades ago, emphasising the importance of time by using "NB". With the adverb suggesting time (Heikkinen 1999, 228) – "over three decades ago" – she is building a suitable reflector of her own personal growth as she begins to tell her journey (line 7). Thus she positions herself as someone who surprises her classmates by announcing her dream of starting a day care centre of her own, indicating that she is taking up a powerful position through verbal expression (Halliday 1994, 140). We can assume that at that time there were not many private day care centres in Finland, or at least that it was unconventional, as "*it was totally an absurd idea!*" (line 9). It appears that she is

cueing the reader to construct her as someone with a long history of entrepreneurial dreams, while simultaneously hinting that there was something quite extreme about her idea. However, an unspecified number of years later, when her family responsibilities made her entrepreneurship possible (also Koski & Tedre 2004, 131; Pöllänen 2002, 560), she bought a private day care centre and started her “school” (lines 11–12). This formulation suggests that her entrepreneurship is a learning experience or trial of some sort, with completion or graduation to follow later.

Next she describes the start-up phase of the business as a time of enthusiasm, challenges, and uneasiness with both the paperwork and the employer role, which resulted in a moment of self-realisation. Saying that “*I have always hated paperwork and said that I never want to be a manager*” (lines 14–15), she emphasises the change that occurred with adverbs; with the phrase “*never say never*” (line 15), a common expression that also indicates time, she then takes back her words. By announcing to the world what she is not like, with negative phrases, she implies that that is important for her self-positioning. Moreover, by referring to her being called a manager, she wishes to further emphasise her uneasiness with that role (line 15). The combination of being a day care teacher and becoming an entrepreneur with paperwork and personnel management issues comes across as something that is important to mention, and hence as challenging (also Åkerblad 2009, 324). It also implies possible gendered and classed contrasts between day care teachers and entrepreneurs. Next she begins to outline what it has been like to be an employer.

29. *But I often carried things as a burden for a long time. And that takes the*
30. *strength out of you. At times it felt like just when things were ok somebody*
31. *came up with a new thing to complain about. For years I was an employee*
32. *so I don't think I was a “steamroller” boss type. Rather, sometimes I heard*
33. *that I was too nice! I understood as much as I could, many would have*
34. *shown them the door! In the name of truth it must be said that “Siberia*
35. *teaches you” efficiently in this field, now 16 years later my hide is tougher*
36. *and work has taught me more than any textbook or the most expensive*
36. *lecture! But that's how amazing people are, the best time of all as far a*
37. *community spirit goes was the time of economic recession. In the middle of*
38. *a depressive situation the community spirit was strong as steel! NOBODY*
39. *complained about anything and everybody was willing to cut their*

40. *workdays so that nobody would get laid off! Luckily, at the end I did not*
 41. *end up in that situation. The only one who didn't get paid was me. And I*
 42. *didn't pay myself for years anyway, only small amounts of dividends in*
 43. *some years. I was in the fortunate position that my husband provided for*
 44. *me and I got to concentrate on improving my day care centre. I got to*
 45. *increase my "salary" by saving every extra coin for the future. The idea*
 46. *was that if someday I sold my company that would be time to receive*
 47. *salary from the work. Eventually I started to pay myself a real salary, but I*
 48. *wanted to make sure that I could really afford it. I had heard too many*
 49. *stories of overspending entrepreneurs!*
 50. *One has to also remember that the family of the entrepreneur is in one*
 51. *way or another involved! My husband did an incredible amount of work*
 52. *doing renovations etc. not to mention the enormous emotional support! He*
 53. *had enough strength to believe in "the huge workload" I had started, even*
 54. *during times when it felt like everything fell on me and there was no light*
 55. *at the end of the tunnel! It's the basis of everything, the support and*
 56. *encouragement of those close to you! Doubts from outsiders increase your*
 57. *determination, but underestimations from one's inner circle would*
 58. *definitely be dangerous! My children learned to work in my business and*
 59. *know to appreciate entrepreneurship. I started with 32 children and five*
 60. *employees.*
 61. *Later on I expanded, with two more day care centres with over 100*
 62. *children and a staff of almost 30 employees. Three years ago I sold my first*
 63. *day care centres and set up a new one. So again there are three of them*
 64. *and around 100 children. It has been quite a journey. It was supposed to*
 65. *be hobby/work, but somehow it got bigger and bigger. "Word of mouth"*
 66. *has worked as a positive marketing tool and there has been enough clients.*
 (w19)

"*But I often carried things as a burden*" (line 29) emerges as a disruption, as the situation changes after the easy beginning phase of the business. Beside using the adverb "*often*" to indicate time, she also says that "*at times*" (line 30) she felt exhausted by her new position as an employer. Since she does not think she "*was a 'steamroller' boss type*", but rather that she was "*too nice*" (lines 32–33), she characterises herself as someone who is unfamiliar with the employer role, while suggesting with a negative expression that employers are regarded as dominant and not very nice. The issue of employers being too accommodating and unassertive has also been found in surveys of care entrepreneurs, and has been attributed to a lack of management training (e.g. Sankelo & Åkerblad 2008, 835). As Leila reminisces "*now 16 years later*" (line 35), she now portrays herself as being tougher and more experienced. "*But*

that's how amazing people are" (line 36): when there is shared difficulty there is more solidarity.

Here she is portraying herself as a survivor of hard times, as a winner, and she describes those hard times as a learning experience. She refers back to the economic recession as a time when there were fewer problems with employees. That period emerges as a point of comparison with regard to employees and learning how to deal with them. As well as its effects on community spirit in the workplace, the financial recession meant awareness of her personal economic situation. She portrays herself as making sacrifices for the sake of her employees, which she could afford to do thanks to her husband's income. Nonetheless, she states that she is wary of "*stories of overspending entrepreneurs*" (line 49), presenting an entrepreneurial image she wants to avoid and proposing the opposite image of a proper, thrifty entrepreneur. Furthermore, her family's support when "*everything fell on me*" and the way that doubts increase "*your determination*" (lines 54, 56–57) further support the positioning she wishes to convey. The remark that her children have become acquainted with entrepreneurship (lines 58–59) suggests that she is passing on to her children something she has realised late in life.

In relation to her reasons for telling her story and what she wishes to convey, the use of multiple exclamation marks is noteworthy, as this indicates a point of disruption that changed her views of entrepreneurship. Furthermore, the reach and significance of her decision to become an entrepreneur unfolds in the phrase "*it has been quite a journey*" (line 64), repeating her journey metaphor.

67. *Now however my enthusiasm related to work has faced a setback when*
68. *my home municipality made changes to their support, pulling the rug from*
69. *under me. Back in the day I set up the day care centres in the area where*
70. *they were desperately needed at the municipality's request. The*
71. *municipality was saved from having to set up new houses and there were*
72. *also savings when the municipality bought the day care places. When*
73. *compared, a municipal day care place costs considerably more than one*
74. *bought from a private entrepreneur. I felt as if my work had been wiped*
75. *out when the payments signed in the summer were cancelled half a year*
76. *later and everything had to be restarted. At the start of the new operating*

77. *period a large proportion was cut from the prices they had promised me.*
78. *Of course the municipality can do that since the contracts are made*
79. *annually. It just feels strange when no other price is going down, not to*
80. *mention the salaries. So one was forced to cut the staff and make larger*
81. *groups of children. The smallness had been one of the selling points!*
82. *Luckily our group sizes still aren't as big as in the municipality, but it all*
83. *comes out of my own salary. The labour costs are of course a chapter of*
84. *their very own. There would be a lot of amendments to them. One above*
85. *all is maternity and parental leave in a women-dominated field. A small*
86. *firm has a lot to do when even three employees can have maternity leave*
87. *at the same time. Everyone needs a substitute and one needs to pay six*
88. *salaries for three months. Kela (the social insurance institution) will cover*
89. *part of it afterwards, but not the full amount. And when pregnant women*
90. *are also often absent due to nausea etc. one needs always to rely on the*
91. *substitutes. And then Kela will only compensate after 10 days of sick leave.*
92. *Also when the children get sick... it is all right that a mother takes care of*
93. *her sick child, but it can't be right that the employer pays for it. When I*
94. *started as an entrepreneur the law didn't require us to pay a salary for*
95. *temporary care for a sick child, but one was required to give a maximum*
96. *of three days off. At the time hardly anyone was away due to a child*
97. *becoming sick. When the law about the obligation to pay a salary became*
98. *effective, absences began the following week. Nobody couldn't get carers*
99. *for their sick child any more... This is really a thing that shouldn't be paid*
100. *by the employer. In 1997 came the long-awaited time when private day*
101. *care entrepreneurs were allowed to get support from Kela and*
102. *municipalities (not all)! It was a great relief, not just for entrepreneurs but*
103. *also for the parents! The cost of the day care place was still higher than in*
104. *the public sector, but much less than before. This was also the reason that*
105. *brought other entrepreneurs into the day care sector. However, sometimes*
106. *one still feels like the last resort in the eyes of municipal officials. And the*
107. *people in public day care are often dubious about us. Whether the attitude*
108. *is due to jealousy or ignorance, I don't know. (w19)*

After getting a lesson on how to be an employer, she continues from the perspective of the present, beginning with the adverb “now” (line 67). Here her view changes again because of an experienced disruption. She “faced a setback”, felt that the municipality was “pulling the rug from under me” and that her work was “wiped out” (lines 67–69, 74–75), as something unexpected disrupting her journey. The changes made by the municipality are described as unfair and uncalled for, particularly as the municipality is portrayed as having initiated the business in the first place (also Sinkkonen & Kosola 2004). The experienced unfairness leads to a general evaluation of entrepreneurship in Finnish society, and of how the legislation relating to labour costs has caused her distress. Again she makes an allusion to employees’ flaws, as they are depicted as taking

advantage of the legislation for their own benefit. She portrays herself as a puppet, with the municipality, legislation, county officials and employees pulling her strings. However, after some relief when the legislation changed in 1997 (lines 105–106) – “*however sometimes one still feels like the last resort*” – she again returns to her continual experience of being undervalued.

109. *However, the work has been rewarding in many ways! The attitudes of*
110. *parents are mostly very positive! They work on behalf of the day care*
111. *centre by holding the parents commission, by organising many wonderful*
112. *things etc. And what comes to the whole “orchestra” of the day care*
113. *centre, time mellows us all. The dissonances decrease and practice makes*
114. *perfect. We know one another, even learn to understand that not everyone*
115. *needs to know how to do everything! As a “conductor” I try to get the*
116. *musicians tuned to a such a good pitch that after the “show” we can all*
117. *enjoy the same notes!*
118. *I’m getting close to retiring. Many of my friends have already totally or*
119. *partly retired. A wonderful change came into my life as sweet twin girls*
120. *were born into my firstborn’s family! Becoming a grandmother was an*
121. *incredibly wonderful thing! I feel that now would be the time to turn a*
122. *new page. To give the little girls something that maybe nobody else can*
123. *give... while still in good shape and with a head full of things to do! But*
124. *then there won’t be enough time in the day to run three day care centres.*
125. *The smallest one, at the most... (w19)*

With the phrase “*however, the work has been rewarding in many ways!*” (line 109), Leila is expressing her contentment with the situation as a whole, again with the exclamation mark indicating something unexpected arising from difficulties. The orchestra metaphor (lines 112–117) illustrates the continuous learning process that she considers meaningful in her narrative. Using the negative phrase “*not everyone needs to know how to do everything!*” (lines 114–115), she comes to the conclusion that she has learned from her journey, survived and lived to tell the narrative. Furthermore, at the end she refers to her forthcoming retirement, and to another change in her life since becoming a grandmother: “*now would be the time to turn a new page*” (lines 121–122). Thus she ends in the present, in a linear sequence with the continual changes and disruptions across her life course. The last sentence, referring to running three day care centres (lines 104–105), comes across as ironic while, also illustrating her amazement at the situation she has ended up in.

The life course in this storyworld illustrates how Leila attended the school of entrepreneurship and graduated as a grandmother. The expected thing would have been to not have had such crazy dreams in the first place, and not to have become an entrepreneur doing paperwork and becoming an employer. She presents lot of surprising things that she had not expected and which she has survived, leading to a very different state from that in which she started. Something unexpected happens between the beginning and the ending, which is backed up by her use of the time-course (Herman 2009a, 129). Thus she is cueing the storyworld of her particular journey to her current situation and self-understanding, since writing her narrative has offered her an opportunity to reflect on her own development and self-knowledge. There are multiple disruptions along the way that change her views of things, ending with a conclusion in which she has survived those disruptions as lessons to be learnt and passed on to others. These disruptions appear to be the main reason for telling the story, and are what is emphasised in the experience of care entrepreneurship.

4.2.3 Adapting

Ulla

1. *Going into the care sector and entrepreneurship:*
2. *To start, I am against this kind of name, "the care sector". I don't see*
3. *myself as some kind of mother who just gives care, instead I am a person*
4. *and I feel I am doing very professional and occupationally demanding*
5. *work. (w2)*

The beginning of Ulla's narrative is another example of how to indicate concisely the landscape of the storyworld to follow (Herman 2009a, 113). In this case the beginning is well thought out and planned, suggesting both her stance when she begins to write and her reasons for telling her story by using the adverb "to start" (line 2). She takes up the label given in the writing request

by positioning herself against it. The opposition between “care” and “nursing” relates to the blurred line between the Finnish terms “*hoiva*” and “*hoito*”, as well as to the differences of status according to which nursing is seen as more professional than caring (e.g. Julkunen 2006, 241). Consequently, she connects the term “care” to motherly care as something that is “*just*” natural, as opposed to being something more: “*a person...doing very professional and occupationally demanding work*” (lines 3–4). As the term “*mother*” (“*emo*”) (line 3) is gendered, it is the removal of the elements attached to women that portrays care work as more professional and skilled. Thus there is a concern that if they are seen as women rather than professionals, care workers will not be taken seriously (e.g. Rasmussen 2004, 523). This could also be read as an argument that gender has no place in business (Lewis 2006). After characterising herself in this way, Ulla starts to recap her work history.

6. *I originally chose youth work as my training. I graduated from the*
7. *university [of a certain city] with a degree in youth work, which gave me*
8. *the title of Bachelor of Social Sciences. I went on to educational sciences,*
9. *but later on I dropped out because I felt I got frustrated there. Besides, at*
10. *the time those with a degree in education were a bit of a useless*
11. *professional group and there was no proper work to be had with that*
12. *degree. So at first I travelled the paths of [a certain] city in a day care*
13. *facility and as a care worker in [a certain] home for students in secondary*
14. *education. As a town-dweller my husband has always wanted to move to*
15. *the countryside and I did not resist this wish since I grew up in the*
16. *countryside. So I got the post of social welfare inspector in [a small]*
17. *municipality. In this job I got to do a lot child welfare work and of course I*
18. *was involved in the custody and placement of children. When there was a*
19. *custody case for four siblings I suggested to my superior that there should*
20. *be a public family home established in the [rural] municipality and that*
21. *there was also an estate ready for it. Obviously (s)he did not understand*
22. *any of it and did none of the preparatory work in any direction. In general*
23. *(s)he did not do anything, which was good for the employees in the sense*
24. *that one could do what one wanted. Well, then came a situation where I*
25. *was unable to place this one teenage girl who had requested to be taken*
26. *into custody herself. So I was pissed off since the girl was not school*
27. *material in any case. And so she came to my house where I had two*
28. *children of my own, a two-year-old girl and a five-year-old boy. That is how*
29. *our career as foster parents began. Beside the monthly compensation for*
30. *care we got a special grant to buy a mattress, which is still in our house*
31. *since the girl did not want to take it with her (when she left). This job*
32. *contract lasted 15 years and then I had had enough. I went to work in the*
33. *mental health office [in the next municipality] and very soon I realised*

34. *that this was not yet the job for me when I wanted to laugh because of the*
35. *incredibly vivid thoughts of the patient in serious therapy.sessions. So*
36. *quickly I signed up to work at [a private home for the young]. I had*
37. *already been invited there before as a consultant and that is how*
38. *the employment was set up.*
39. *There were big changes in the house so I was almost forced to take on the*
40. *financial responsibility too and became an entrepreneur. This I have*
41. *regretted many times, and enjoyed just as much. (w2)*

After positioning herself as a “*professional*” at the very beginning, she now devalues her former decisions and tasks. Her university degree is evaluated as having been pointless and as something that made her “*frustrated*” (line 9) because it did not offer appropriate work opportunities. Thus while care itself is naturalised and motherly, an academic degree is no guarantee of professionalism either: “*there was no proper work to be had with that degree*” (line 11–12). In addition to differentiating herself from those who “just” give care, she also differentiates herself from those who continue at university. Thus she portrays herself as breaching canonicity (Bruner 1991, 11), meaning the expected occupational positions that she assumes as conventional.

She goes on to write about being on her own until she attained a post as a welfare inspector, a post she held for 15 years. She portrays her superior in this post as unprofessional: “*obviously (s)he did not understand any of it*” (lines 21–22). With the naturalising adverb “*obviously*”, Ulla assumes that the reader shares the stereotype of the “ignorant boss”. She also mentions that because of the incompetence of her superior, she took on responsibility for a young girl and became a foster parent. With the reference to the mattress (lines 29–30) she indicates the low pay for foster family work, as well as the moral goodness of her own actions.

Here she is portraying a disruption in her storyworld, as she finds herself in an unforeseen position and takes responsibility on behalf of those who are apparently unable to take it themselves. Likewise, she soon finds that she is “*almost forced to take*” (lines 39–40) financial responsibility for the organisation she has been working for and to become an entrepreneur. Thus she is very dubious about taking an entrepreneurial position: it does not appear to be a desirable or enviable position, but in a way it is a familiar one and a kind of logical progression from her previous work. “*This I have regretted*

many times, and enjoyed just as much" (lines 40–41): with this statement, and with the hinting adverb "*many times*" indicating time (Heikkinen 1999, 228), she is pointing out the temporal juncture (Herman 2009a, 96) of her narrative where it is possible to choose between the alternative paths of regret or joy. With this phrase she is also cueing the reader to the narrative progression towards the present, and to an evaluation of her decision.

42. *Being an entrepreneur has at times been monstrous and I have thought all*
43. *kinds of things in my head. We have been near bankruptcy due to the*
44. *effects of devaluation on the house and so began our road to the Arsenal*
45. *(the place where bankruptcy issues are settled). At the same time came*
46. *the financial difficulties in the municipalities, and a good official does not*
47. *authorise an expensive replacement for a public care facility. So at*
48. *home I had to prove the meaningfulness of the work and generate faith in*
49. *myself to believe in this work etc. For the employees I had to learn to be*
50. *a boss, a financial genius on the basis of social work education etc. and*
51. *naturally at home I had to be able to be a mother to four children.*
52. *In the year '91 the journey to become a family home of our own began and*
53. *the number of children grew immediately with a series of siblings. At first I*
54. *leaned on the employees too much and they found it very distressing when*
55. *I poured out my worries about the finances [of the youth home] to them*
56. *all the time.(w2)*

Here Ulla continues to assess herself: "*being an entrepreneur has at times been monstrous*" (line 42). She positions herself as totally lost, and as being forced to learn to be an entrepreneur, a "*financial genius*" and a "*mother to four children*" (lines 50–51). As she learns and familiarises herself with these new requirements, she points out that her educational background did not include knowledge or experience of managing these kinds of task. Here she is pointing out the apparently gendered features associated with finance, being an employer and being a social worker, as her schooling did not answer to the demands of her new position. Moreover, she is performing her ongoing duties as a mother while also doing the emotional work of combining entrepreneurship with a family. This all leads to another disruption that further redirects her views of her role as an employing entrepreneur.

57. *Then the national awakening happened and I found myself. I realised that*
58. *my journey as a boss cannot continue this way. I cannot envy my*
59. *employees for their right to demand their salaries and other benefits. The*

60. *Arsenal was really our saviour, I believe I got something out of that to take*
61. *to work, even though I was saying with heart in my throat that the*
62. *economy will grow. Additionally I started to understand some financial*
63. *principles for this work. At this same stage I got experience from outside*
64. *that there was more approval for privately run care service firms, so there*
65. *seemed to be a need for this kind of work in the local area.*
66. *Now the situation in my workplace is quite good. I can say that one of the*
67. *basic factors for me has been my staff. Without them nothing would have*
68. *worked out. The employees have been about the same over the 14*
69. *years, so we have had time to develop things together. (w2)*

Affected by the events of that time – “*the national awakening*” (line 57) – Ulla here is situating her narrative in relation to the shared discourse of the financial recession at the beginning of the 1990s. As a consequence, the employer and employee roles are depicted as having been forced to separate somewhat. Consequently, she portrays herself in a situation where she was again forced to realise her role as an employer. She describes a disruption, since she “*found herself*” (line 57) and realised something that changed her outlook on herself and her role. This also sheds light on the earlier evaluation of her former boss, as it reinforces the disruption of having to learn to occupy new positions as the main reason for telling the story (see Herman 2009a, 97). Accordingly she now, at the present time, takes on the position of the one who says how things are, using a verbal process: “*I was saying... that the economy will grow*” (lines 61–62). After the realisation that she is the boss and an entrepreneur, it appears to get easier for Ulla to picture herself as in charge, as the one who now knows and says how things have happened. She also describes herself as becoming familiar with the financial side of the business, and feels welcome in the field of social services.

Since this narrative is written from the present perspective, there is apparently also a requirement for some sort of continuity in her story. Thus she writes about being the one required to take responsibility during her own initiations. First, she portrays herself as having been pushed into becoming a foster parent because of her ignorant boss. Later she finds herself pressured to take on financial responsibility for the company and become an entrepreneur. She ends her narrative by briefly stating the present state of her business from her current perspective. Since the purpose of the narrative has been to portray

the growing process she has had to go through to get to this point, no future plans are presented.

The most emphasised narrative elements in Ulla's narrative are the disruptions and overcoming them, indicating that these are the main reasons she is telling her story and important in her entrepreneurial experience. As stated before, the beginning and ending are important for understanding the disruptive elements of a narrative. At the beginning she describes herself as being on the conventional path to becoming a waged worker in the social services, while at the end she finds herself, against all the odds, inhabiting entrepreneurship and the roles it entails. The disruptive moments pile up and accumulate (Denzin 1989, 70–71) until she finally “finds herself” and realises that she has to take responsibility and learn to adopt her new roles. At the same time the disruptive elements in this narrative suggest what she regards as expected and conventional and how she continuously breaches it.

4.3 Signed but unsealed

In addition to the obvious other narrative elements, the emphasis on descriptions and versions of what it is like to be a care entrepreneur differentiates these narratives from those presented above. Thus the narratives analysed in this subchapter mostly orient themselves around the experiencing consciousness by making comparisons, competing versions and “what-ifs”. Moreover, although they hint at continuity in the life course, these writers mostly describe the experiencer's storyworld as it was at the time.

4.3.1 The drifting idealist

Hannele

1. *I saw your interesting request concerning autobiographical material*
2. *about care entrepreneurship and began to wonder whether I would have*
3. *something to give to your material collection? Can I phrase my thoughts*
4. *on paper? Overall, do I have anything to say about the subject? After*
5. *thinking about the subject for a few days I am now sitting in front of the*
6. *computer, in my workplace, monitoring others' sleep. I intend to give these*
7. *thoughts for your use. (w21)*

Hannele begins her narrative by setting up the positions from which she is about to write. Thinking about whether she has anything to give to the researcher and “*overall, do I have anything to say?*” (line 4), she wonders what she can assume that the researcher expects of her and what she has to offer. Incidentally, people tend to undervalue their own texts, as was seen in the research based on writing contests (Pöysä 2009, 228). Hannele ultimately decides to give her thoughts for my use, thereby indicating that there are many thoughts, rather than just one, motivating her to participate to this study.

8. *I am an almost 48-year-old nurse specialising in psychiatrics. For the first*
9. *20 years of my career I worked in the public sector, mainly as a head nurse*
10. *in a psychiatric ward. I was and am quite an idealistic and ethically*
11. *demanding person for myself and others. During the time when my sphere*
12. *of responsibility was developing I proudly worked overtime on different*
13. *projects designed to improve the position of mental-health patients as well*
14. *as the quality and availability of care. The 1980s was an excellent time for*
15. *this kind of development because of the available money and positive*
16. *attitudes to change. In my home area there was positive investment in the*
17. *development of mental-health work; the staff of the hospital multiplied,*
18. *spaces were repaired and made appropriate, we got updated training and*
19. *for the first time care relations were built on individual responsibility and*
20. *not just on paper. And then WHOOSH!... The economic recession came and*
21. *everything dwindled, withered and vanished. Work became a constant*
22. *fight for decreasing resources, never-ending savings at the expense of the*
23. *patients' well-being and the staff's endurance. Work as a ward manager*
24. *was like blowing against a windmill, balancing between those above and*
25. *those below me. Nobody was satisfied and the quality of care disintegrated*
26. *into a conveyor belt on constant overload. There might have been two or*
27. *even three generations seeking treatment from the same family.*

28. *Innocently I thought that it would all be OK; better times will come. They*
29. *never came. (w21)*

Identifying herself as a 48-year-old psychiatric nurse who, like most respondents, worked mostly in the public sector in the 1980s and 1990s, Hannele chooses to begin her narrative by presenting herself as someone who should be taken seriously because of her long history and education in the field (lines 8–9). She recaps her work history from the good times of the 1980s to the turmoil of the 1990 – 20 years altogether. The years appear to be important, setting the time frame for her positioning and her life course in general. Thus she begins by positioning herself as a psychiatric nurse in the public sector between the 1980s and 1990s.

Here she has put time and effort into the beginning, as it suggests a particular point of departure in her storyworld (Herman 2009a, 112). It seems to be meaningful to recount the Finnish economic recession and its consequences. As well as positioning Hannele herself, this also situates her storyworld within culturally shared, recognised and ongoing discourses in the health- and social-care sector, illustrated through the “*constant fight*” and “*never-ending savings*” (lines 21–22). “*Nobody was satisfied*” (line 25) and better times “*never came*” (line 29): with these negative expressions – the adverb “*nobody*” expressing the widespread sharing of this view – Hannele describes how things were at the time, portraying herself as a witness, someone who knows from first-hand experience.

Hannele also employs certainty and continuity in her self-identifications. “*I was and am quite an idealistic and ethically demanding person*” (lines 10–11). This comes across as a point where the writer and the experiencer meet. Thus she indicates early on a wish to remain the same, although she is also hinting that things have changed or are about to change. She has planned how she is going to portray herself in this narrative by positioning herself in the past and cueing her character to what is coming.

30. *Alongside this work that I loved, I got married, had three children,*
31. *studied and did volunteer work. The equation between private life and*
32. *waged work became complicated when because of growing demands*
33. *and diminishing resources I had to do management work at home and*

34. *immediate care in the workplace. I grew tired, cynical and got sick. In*
35. *1997 I was lying in the casualty ward because of disturbances in my heart*
36. *rhythm and I assured myself that there are other ways to live. I spent a*
37. *couple of days thinking and to everyone's surprise I resigned from my*
38. *work. I immediately got a new job in the third sector, I was asked to*
39. *establish a new supported living service. I transferred to daytime work,*
40. *stabilising everyday routines. I felt I was doing meaningful work where*
41. *clients' words and actions had human worth. At the same time a few*
42. *professionals who were keen on development work contacted me asking if*
43. *I would be interested in sorting out the possibilities for realising their idea*
44. *in the local area. The idea had to do with setting up a care unit for mental*
45. *health and rehabilitation for young people. The people behind the idea*
46. *were setting up a limited company to implement the services. I became*
47. *keen on the idea because in my earlier work I had seen people with*
48. *symptoms from the same family in two and even three generations and I*
49. *had often wondered about the possibility of interventions to prevent the*
50. *cycle of hospitalisation. I had once specialised in the psychiatric care of*
51. *children and young adults and this challenge tempted me with its interest.*
(w21)

After running briefly through the life stages of getting married, having children and getting an education (lines 29–30) to establish a picture of these active and busy years, she comes to 1999, when she found herself lying in a hospital ward. She portrays herself as shifting from someone who thought “innocently” (line 28, previous excerpt) that better times were coming to someone who “*grew tired, cynical and got sick*” (line 34), expressing the intensity of her experience. Unsurprisingly, this specific moment in 1999 is portrayed as a disruption, since it redirected her views about what was important for her and how to work.

After “*a couple of days thinking*”, and having “*assured*” herself (lines 36–37), she sets out on a new phase in her narrative. It appears that keeping her post would have been the expected decision: its breach is reported as causing astonishment in others, as well as requiring some self-assurance. If the better times had come, these “*other ways to live*” (line 36) would not have been necessary, and this points to a temporal juncture suggesting alternative paths (Herman 2009a, 96). Since the better times did not come, the explanation for entrepreneurship is established.

Hannele then runs briefly through the actual starting of her business; describing it in detail is not presented as meaningful or interesting for her

entrepreneurial experience or her storyworld in general. However, she finds it important to mention that she was approached by other people who had had the business idea; this professional “asked” (line 38) – indicating an indirect quotation (Heikkinen 1999, 174) – whether she was interested in developing their idea. Indeed, instead of using the phrase “asked me to become an entrepreneur”, she puts it more vaguely: “contacted me asking if I would be interested in sorting out the possibilities for...” (lines 42–43). This use of quotation and indefiniteness can be interpreted as a way to maintain a distance from the initiator’s position, since it seems somehow not to fit the picture of the idealistic professional she has been suggesting. Nevertheless, she “became keen” on the idea and describes it as a “challenge [that] tempted”, presenting the opportunity to offer better services for the mentally ill as the main, impersonal reason for starting the business (lines 46–47, 51). Hence she appears to be adding entrepreneurship to her previous profession while keeping her origins in mind (Pöllänen 2002, 561).

52. *The work is challenging and extremely rewarding. When I am able to see a*
53. *young person managing on their own, committing to education, finding*
54. *friends and having supporting adults... the chain of*
55. *misfortune has been broken in many cases!!! When one gets real feedback*
56. *from cooperating partners about the successes and failures, it feels*
57. *magnificent. To be free of the paternalistic, hierarchical system the*
58. *hospital environment represented. Freedom for thought and development*
59. *depends on oneself and the working group alone. Of course, of course there*
60. *are legislation and guidelines in the background, but still there is lot of*
61. *new things to develop in order to achieve better quality of care. Then, that*
62. *other side of entrepreneurship. To always be ready, alert and marketing-*
63. *spirited. To sit nights through doing calculations, disquisitions and*
64. *reports. To think about the sufficiency of money and the quality of the*
65. *product. To answer to other stakeholders about thousands of things. To do*
66. *all the undone work on behalf of others if someone gets sick or does not*
67. *feel up to it. To really be personally responsible for the blunders made. But*
68. *personally the most important thing: do we do our work for money or to*
69. *maximise our clients' well-being? In entrepreneurial care work this*
70. *question is not at all straightforward. I have heard and listened to worn-*
71. *out clichés in numerous get-togethers of entrepreneurs in the field, such as*
72. *“entrepreneurs also need to make ends meet” and “public healthcare costs*
73. *too”. I totally disagree with those entrepreneurs in care work who see*
74. *their own financial gain as the only “point” of entrepreneurship. Of course,*
75. *a person needs to manage on what they earn, and preferably have a little*
76. *more than the bare essentials, but for me the value of entrepreneurship*

77. *lies elsewhere. The important values are freedom of thought and action, a*
78. *healthy professional identity, the chance to develop and be developed and*
79. *to provide work for people. Money is needed in an equal flow and sufficient*
80. *quantity, not for personal aggrandisement. You can't take the euros with*
81. *you to the grave. "No need to show off to people" as my wise late father-in-*
82. *law used to say. (w21)*

Here Hannele catches up with the present, and then turns to describing and reflecting on her entrepreneurship, that is, on what it has been like to experience something (Herman 2009a, 21), in this case entrepreneurship. Having breached the social expectation of continuing as a waged worker in care work by becoming an entrepreneur, she is now re-evaluating and taking a moral stance – that is, a given perspective on things (Ochs & Capps 2001, 46) – against the failings of public services as well as of other care entrepreneurs.

Thus she places entrepreneurship and private services in relation to public services, but is cautious not to be “too entrepreneurial”. Although she is freed from the limitations of waged work – “*freedom for thought and development depends on oneself and the working group alone*” (lines 58–59), a characteristic that is commonly attached to care entrepreneurship (e.g. Rissanen & al. 2004; Heinonen & al. 2006a; Sankelo & Åkerblad 2009) – she still reminds us “*of course, of course*” (line 59), that there is legislation and other boundaries guiding the work. Consequently, she portrays herself as not “too” idealistic either. Moreover, after going through the positive sides of the experience, she turns to a competing account of the experience (Herman 2009a, 151): “*then, that other side of entrepreneurship*” (lines 61–62). For example, “*to always be ready*”, doing most of the work and carrying the responsibility, are depicted as wearing (line 62).

After the comparison between different versions of what it is like to experience something (Herman 2009a, 152), she draws her conclusions and relates her own stand on the matter. She states that the question of making money versus providing the best possible care “*is not at all straightforward*” (line 70), but is something to be reflected upon. The “*worn-out clichés*” she has repeatedly heard in the entrepreneurial gatherings she has attended are brought forward in opposition to her own values. Thus she implicitly brings her peers into the discussion in which she is engaging, giving them a voice (e.g.

Bakhtin 1986; Tannen 1989), referring to things they have apparently said while “*totally disagreeing*” with them. By using the adverb “*totally*”, she emphasises the intensity of her opposition to the view of “*financial gain as the only ‘point’ of entrepreneurship*” (line 73–74). Moreover, to back up the stand she wishes to make as well as the position she is suggesting, she deploys her father-in-law as a witness of her views and values (Heikkinen 1999, 174) with the quotations “*you can’t take the euros with you to the grave*” and that one should not “*show off to people*” in the way that entrepreneurs in all sectors seemingly do (lines 80–81). Thus she differentiates herself from her peers through her moral outlook on entrepreneurship, which could be read as hinting at classed and gendered features attached to entrepreneurship in this sector.

While evaluating her decision to become an entrepreneur, Hannele is therefore also positioning herself in relation to cultural expectations and discourses around care service entrepreneurship, and entrepreneurship in general. Referring to Karen Throsby (2004, 67), we can argue that Hannele is employing “knowing skepticism”. While she admits that there are questionable aspects related to this kind of activity, she personally strongly withdraws from them by emphasising her text and using quotations. Simultaneously, she also positions herself away from the public sector, as somewhere in between, or somewhere else. In this respect she could be interpreted as countering to a counter-narrative as a means to demonstrate control over recognised cultural discourses (ibid).

83. *What about the future? What will I be when I grow up? My concerned*
 84. *employees and partners in the company kept asking me that as I finished*
 85. *my Masters degree in health sciences during the old days. I understand*
 86. *that this kind of workhorse is important for a small and young business. A*
 87. *workhorse who writes annual reports while monitoring residents’ sleep,*
 88. *does petty cash bookkeeping, bakes buns and answers requests for*
 89. *material for care entrepreneur research. As you will notice as a reader, I*
 90. *am an idealist who “drifted” into entrepreneurship. Does firm faith and the*
 91. *will to do the right thing keep you afloat in the business world? That’s*
 92. *something I frequently need to ask myself. Should the day come when my*
 93. *answer is “no it does not”, I shall probably seek other work. Becoming an*
 94. *entrepreneur has been the means of maintaining my own values at work.*
 95. *A person needs to have dreams, whether one works for someone else or is*
 96. *self-employed. Dreams and fantasies are not just for young people, we*
 97. *old ones dream too. I imagine cutting back my workload little by little as*

98. *the operation becomes stable, and spending more time on my beloved*
 99. *hobby, studying. I wish to at least learn the Estonian language... deepen*
 100. *my understanding of discourse analysis...*
 101. *Oops, it's almost 2.30 a.m. and the dough is coming out of the bowl. I have*
 102. *to stop chattering to myself. (w21)*

At the end she returns to identifying herself as the idealist she indicated at the beginning: *"I am an idealist who 'drifted' into entrepreneurship"* (line 89–90). Although she recognises the expressiveness of the word *"drifted"*, since she puts it in scare quotes, entrepreneurship comes across as something unintentional but necessary, both for the sake of those who need the services and because of the societal situation that led to it. However, it does not change the *"idealism"* in her. Moreover, she leaves the future open, indicating that there are still other directions to take: *"what will I be when I grow up?"* (line 83) others ask as witnesses of her character. The question is intended as an ironic one for a 48-year-old, and highlights the positions she wishes to deploy in regard to her future life. *"We old ones dream too"* (lines 96–97) is her response to an unasked but assumed question, indicating something she wishes to say about her future plans.

By repeating her identification as an idealist at the beginning and the end, Hannele is also seemingly and intentionally guiding the reader through her storyworld by demonstrating coherence and linearity in her self-positioning, since there is no big difference between the initial and end states of the narrative. The beginning is important for understanding the realisation that she is no longer able to work in the same way, which entrepreneurship then redresses. However, in identifying herself she is unavoidably entangled with the prevailing and competing cultural expectations and discourses related to care work and entrepreneurship, which she both recognises and takes a stand on. Thus she finds that she frequently *"need[s] to ask"* (line 92) herself about her beliefs, as if being questioned by someone else.

In light of the occasion for telling – i.e. as a response to the writing request – the statement at the end that *"I have to stop chattering to myself"* (lines 101–102) seems to indicate that she has taken this as an opportunity to reflect on her life and the decisions she has made, which constitutes the biggest part of the narrative. Most of the narrative is concerned with the experiential aspects

of care entrepreneurship. In particular, the figure of the “drifting idealist” sums up the comparison between different versions of what it has been like (Herman 2009a, 152) for her to become an entrepreneur. In the first half of the narrative she recounts the experience of drifting into entrepreneurship. She depicts herself as drifting, since entrepreneurship is portrayed as having been the only possible way to work properly and according to her values at that time, although she also raises critical questions. In the second part of the narrative she concentrates on the experiences of what it is like to be an entrepreneur. She offers the reader her evaluation of becoming as well as being an entrepreneur, and this constitutes the reason for telling the narrative.

4.3.2 The rolling stone

Liisa

1. *HOW I BECAME A CARE ENTREPRENEUR*
2. *The history of the care home begins as early as 1989, when I first*
3. *brought up the idea of setting up a care home. (w16)*

Liisa’s narrative begins by referring to a specific year at the end of the 1980s as a significant point in time, setting up the context and time-course for the beginning of her storyworld. In addition to the headline “*how I became a care entrepreneur*”, her mention of entrepreneurship “*as early as 1989*” (lines 1–2), with the adverb expressing time (Heikkinen 1999, 228), indicates that there is a long history behind her decision to become an entrepreneur, and gives hints to the reader about how the narrative is going to unfold.

4. *At the time I was still in the middle of nursing school studies, but I*
5. *discussed it with a fellow student. After all, I had worked in advertising*
6. *before starting to study, in childcare, in care for the disabled, but also in a*
7. *nursing home. And particularly the elderly appeared to be closest to my*
8. *heart; and my fellow student’s heart too. However, after graduation our*
9. *ways separated because I wanted to return to my home area. The idea of*

10. *the care home got sidelined when I got a permanent job: I was asked to be*
11. *an executive director of a just-established small home for the disabled. The*
12. *birth of my children also transferred my thoughts and energy elsewhere.*
13. *However, over the years I noticed that I missed work with the elderly more*
14. *and more, and also challenges in life. Partners to start the business with*
15. *were nowhere to be found. In 2001 I completed specialist care studies with*
16. *a demented patient in Joensuu, 100 kilometres from my home. At that*
17. *time the thought of the care home began once again to develop, and*
18. *studying in another city was a certain kind of “practice” for what I was*
19. *able to do. In the beginning of the next year the bold decision was made:*
20. *why not become an entrepreneur on my own?! At that time my spouse*
21. *realised I was REALLY serious about it, so it was time for him to accept the*
22. *idea of the care home. And not just accept but he also got excited in his*
23. *own way and became partners with me.*
24. *We negotiated with the management consultant and they did the*
25. *calculations and found them cost effective. We also negotiated with the*
26. *city’s director of social welfare services and in many other directions.*
27. *An appropriate property was found and we managed to get it affordably*
28. *for the company. So let’s start the wheels rolling!*
29. *The summer of 2002 passed in doing renovations. The property of*
30. *approximately 450 square metres had a makeover from the inside.*
31. *We sanded and painted the walls, partly even put boards on them. We put*
32. *new laminates on the floors and renewed the kitchen fittings totally, built*
33. *the toilet for the disabled etc. All of this made this new entrepreneur learn*
34. *new tasks and state that “you can do it, if you only try”. The tiling of the*
35. *laundry room floor was quite an accomplishment in my opinion!*
36. *Afterwards, I have wondered many times whether I would have had the*
37. *courage to engage in this exercise if I had known what kind of summer it*
38. *would be. Beside our own jobs (my husband is an entrepreneur by the*
39. *way!) we renovated the whole property in the evenings and weekends.*
40. *Both of our parents and some friends were helping voluntarily, paid*
41. *workers were not used at all! The renovation took over three months; one*
42. *did not have to think what to do. The children stated that they were*
43. *practically orphans... which naturally caused me to have a guilty*
44. *conscience. (w16)*

As well as discussing the idea of starting a business with a friend in 1989, Liisa states that it was then that she noticed that “*the elderly appeared to be closest to my heart*” (lines 7–8). She gives her work history in advertising and in care work as her reason for having this unconventional dream, indicating that the latter needs to be explained so that she can be viewed as a sufficiently competent entrepreneur. Her previous jobs during the life course now offer backup and continuity as she looks back on her life. Entrepreneurship remained a dream because of family responsibilities (also Koski & Tedre 2004,

131) such moving and having children; however, this also suggests that the possibility had already existed in the 1980s.

Next Liisa leaps forward to the 2000s, the 1990s apparently having no specific meaning in regard to her experience of becoming an entrepreneur. She now finds herself missing “*work with the elderly [...] and also challenges in life*” (lines 13–14), to which she has already referred as having specific meaning for her. In addition to the reference to “*challenges in life*”, the specific distance of 100 kilometres is used as an example of her view of entrepreneurship: “*studying in another city was a certain kind of ‘practice’ for what I was able to do*” (lines 18–19).

She also returns to the initial idea of setting up the business with a friend, as she is looking for a partner. Stating in a negative phrase that a partner was “*nowhere to be found*” (line 15), she assumes that partnership is connected to entrepreneurship and that it therefore requires no explanation. However, there is a disruption as she realises that she can do it on her own – using the negative expression “*why not?!*” (line 20) – and this changes her views for the rest of the narrative. Apparently the alternative path would have entailed co-ownership of the business, which she later suggests would have caused problems. Overall, she takes up an active initiator’s position when putting the business together. However, in the statement that “*the bold decision was made*” (line 19), the passive form implies the support of her husband in making the decision (also Ikonen 2008, 187; Koski & Tedre 2004, 131).

“*You can do it, if you only try*” (line 34), referring to tiling the laundry room floor, is placed inside quotation marks as a cultural saying deployed to describe entrepreneurship as something that requires effort and a willingness to try. Thus this saying is brought forward as an exhortation to always keep an open mind about new things, even though they might seem beyond one’s capabilities. The need to work long hours and at the weekends is presented as obvious, and as shared by her self-employed husband. Additionally, the lack of free time “*naturally caused... a guilty conscience*” (lines 43–44) because of her children. Her use of the naturalised adverb “*naturally*” (Heikkinen 1999, 228) suggests that this assumption that a guilty conscience is an unquestionable characteristic of enterprising mothers is also shared by the reader. As a

consequence, she has “*afterwards*” thought that without the courage she had at that time she would not be in her current situation (lines 36–37). The adverb indicating time (ibid.) suggests there could have been alternative paths for her story if she had known what lay ahead.

45. *The care home has now operated over two years and the operation has*
46. *little by little become stable. How many times I have been grateful for*
47. *having had the courage to engage in this work!! Of course my husband has*
48. *been a good support, but mainly I am in charge of everything. Now I could*
49. *not even imagine having an equal partner; there would have probably*
50. *been confrontations many times! Many have wondered at my courage, but*
51. *I think being an entrepreneur gives only freedom; one does not have to*
52. *negotiate about everything. Of course this binds me, there are only a few*
53. *days off when I can really go without thinking or doing something related*
54. *to this. But many times entrepreneurship is a way of life. One does not do*
55. *this to get rich. I would have earned more in my previous job, in a regular*
56. *day job with less responsibility and less and cleaner work. But it just*
57. *wasn't as rewarding as this! And maybe after a few years when the*
58. *operation becomes stable and the loans are less high, I can give myself a*
59. *decent salary. However I have to say here in between that I have taken*
60. *holidays. One just has to go far away; having a vacation at home just*
61. *would not work. In cases of emergency I can be contacted by phone, but*
62. *the staff have let me be in total peace. I don't turn off my phone totally*
63. *because as long as I know that no one has tried to get in touch everything*
64. *is fine. If it were not possible to get in touch I would be wondering if*
65. *everything is OK all the time. (w16)*

As Liisa's switches to the present day, and to her reflections on entrepreneurship and the decision to become an entrepreneur, she discusses the questions of partnership and the demanding aspects of entrepreneurship, which she also presented at the beginning as important elements in her storyworld. “*Now I could not even imagine having an equal partner*” (lines 48–49): with the adverb “*now*” and the negative phrase, she is again looking back on her life in retrospect. The question of what the experience would have been like is connected to the evaluation of the experience she did have (Herman 2009a, 151). The experience would have been very different, she suggests. Moreover, in reassessing what it has been like, Liisa makes an interesting list of the pros and the cons of entrepreneurship as she goes on to ponder the different effects of her decision.

66. *So, what is so rewarding in this:*
67. *– the thing that one is able to decide about the operation, one is able to*
68. *free up one’s creativity and try out one’s wings,*
69. *– develop the work as one personally sees fit*
70. *– the elderly in themselves are so rewarding; they have experience of life*
71. *and interesting stories from the old days*
72. *– one is able to be with people, there is always new things to deal with*
73. *– a certain freedom, even though these things take more time and hobbies*
74. *have pretty much ceased*
75. *– the feedback one hears in the “village” is also rewarding*
76. *– also shift work and the variability of the work*
77. *What is hard?*
78. *– being the boss is not a big treat, at least not always*
79. *– the commitment: one never knows after the night shift whether one*
80. *needs to stay for a day shift if someone has fallen ill*
81. *– the loneliness; relates to being the boss, there is no peer support. My*
82. *colleagues, meaning the other care entrepreneurs, experience me, the*
83. *latest newcomer, somehow as a threat*
84. *– the responsibility weighs me down sometimes and robs me of sleep; the*
85. *financial factors have a big role*
86. *– sometimes a huge amount of workload; especially during national*
87. *holidays when one is forced to cover others’ holidays*
88. *I have been asked a few times to tell student groups about*
89. *entrepreneurship. The questions of how I had the courage to engage in*
90. *entrepreneurship and if I had the chance to go back in time would I still do*
91. *this, arise every time. I have always said that if only one has a little bit of*
92. *crazy courage, the desire to work hard and a good business idea, then go*
93. *for it! One can certainly get professional help doing the calculations etc.,*
94. *one does not need to know how to do everything. And I really have not*
95. *regretted my decision! It is just nice to watch how my own children have*
96. *already started talking about how one will manage a design office and the*
97. *other a care home when they grow up.*
98. *Oh yes, the future plans: The object is to expand the operation in a few*
99. *years. Possibly enlarging this current one or another care home*
100. *altogether. Also diversifying the operation has crossed my mind, for*
101. *example setting up a night service. But time will tell... there are also other*
102. *challenges ahead: as the year changes I am about to start running the*
103. *local association for people who care for their relatives and friends...*
104. *The rolling stone gathers no moss...*
105. *So, here is some story [from a certain region]. Hopefully this will give you*
106. *some material for your research. The time is 5 a.m. sharp as I am*
107. *finishing this so pardon all the spelling mistakes, leaps of thought etc.*
108. *So I have been writing this during the night shift and occasionally I have*
109. *had to stop by the residents or empty the washing machine or sweep the*
110. *floors etc. (w16)*

Here Liisa reflects on her decision by listing the pros and cons, and picks up questions asked of her by others. More to the point, with this list she is

indicating what other turns her narrative could have taken, as it allows a comparison between different versions of what it was like to experience something (ibid. 152). She wonders what it might have been like if she had had a business partner, and supposes this would have led to unfortunate outcomes. Freedom and its rewards are connected with entrepreneurship as the opposite of waged work. At the same time, the loneliness of being the boss and the workload are highlighted to balance the positive aspects.

The negative sentence “*I really have not regretted my decision!*” (lines 94–95) is an interesting way to express her evaluation, simultaneously implying that there could have been something to regret with the adverb “*really*”. Keeping in mind all the craziness, sacrifices and commitments the decision has meant, her evaluations come across in a “believe it or not” kind a way. Thus she points out for the second time that other people have wondered at and asked about her “crazy courage” to start a business – as witnesses of the character (e.g. Bakhtin 1986; Tannen 1989) she wishes to portray –and whether she would do it again if she could go back in time (lines 88–91). Thus the expected life course would have been not to take those risks, and to be a waged worker with a better salary and without challenges in life.

In comparison with the time she spent thinking about becoming an entrepreneur, there are now more things happening for her in shorter time frame as she makes future plans to expand her business and become the leader of a local association (lines 98–103). With the common phrase “*the rolling stone gathers no moss*” (line 104) she is positioning herself similarly to Hannele in the previous narrative, as an active agent both now and in the future. She cues the storyworld in terms of having enough courage and belief in oneself to select a path from other alternatives. Moreover, like the figure of the drifting idealist in Hannele’s storyworld, the rolling stone metaphor sums up the experiential aspect Liisa wishes to convey in her narrative. Thus the motivation for responding to the writing request comes across as a desire to share something that is impossible and amazing, and also to hand down her experiences to those interested in becoming entrepreneurs in this sector.

As with Hannele’s story, the focus of this narrative is on the experiential aspects from the perspective of what it was like before as well as what it is like

now. Consequently, more than half of Liisa's narrative is devoted to evaluating what it has been like to be an entrepreneur, particularly from the perspective of what it would have been like if she had not had the courage to take up the challenge. In addition to the implied comparison between having and not having a business partner, the list makes explicit comparisons between what it is actually like and what it would have been like if she had stayed in waged work. These competing accounts or compared versions of the experience (Herman 2009a, 151) are summed up as either staying still to "gather moss" or becoming an entrepreneur.

4.3.3 The independent annoyance

Salme

1. *Thanks for letting me help you in conducting the study.*
2. *I am 48 years old, educated as an institutional cook, a home care worker,*
3. *a social welfare worker. I have worked in municipalities since I was 18*
4. *years old, in the elderly, disabled and family work sectors more than 24*
5. *years altogether, and now the last five years as a care entrepreneur*
6. *offering care and assistance services, guidance, advice and trusteeship for*
7. *families in the jungle of social bureaucracy.*
8. *The reason why I became an entrepreneur in this field was partly due to*
9. *moving to another locality and because the availability of social services*
10. *in municipalities became more difficult and the demand for the private*
11. *sector increased. In the beginning I worked of course for the municipality*
12. *we had moved to, but it became clear that they only used my know-how*
13. *with periodic employment contracts and on the minimum wage. I went*
14. *into entrepreneurial training and got start-up money and believed blindly*
15. *that my help is needed in the field and that's why I am still an*
16. *entrepreneur. (w3)*

Salme begins her narrative by thanking me for letting her participate in the study, indicating simultaneously that she has something she considers important to relate on this matter, namely the entrepreneurial experience she wishes to share. Like Hannele, she states her age, education and 24-year history in care work in the public sector (lines 2–5). Thus she positions herself as an

experienced care worker “*in the jungle*” (line 7) of the social services and their bureaucracy, and as having an overview of the public services. Briefly giving her move to another location as her reason for becoming an entrepreneur, she states that nevertheless “*in the beginning I worked of course for the municipality*”, using the adverb “*of course*” (line 11) to refer to the self-evidence of work in public sector. However, after being “*used*” as a waged worker (lines 12–13) she turns to entrepreneurship, and this also results in the intense feeling of “*blindly*” believing that she is needed (lines 14–15).

17. *It now just happened that there was a change in my personal life two*
18. *years ago, I remarried and moved even further away to live.*
19. *During this time I have tried to get work from my present place of*
20. *residence through marketing, but have not succeeded very well. So I go to*
21. *work far away and the drive comes to 300km in a day, it takes a lot of time*
22. *and burns a lot of money. In this situation no agencies have wanted to*
23. *help, not the tax office, not the social insurance institution, not the*
24. *employment office and not even the Centre for Economic Development, to*
25. *everyone entrepreneurs are like a pain in society's butt.*
26. *In my opinion in this kind of situation some relief should be obtained from*
27. *somewhere since I even had to give up an extremely productive care*
28. *service site due to lack of time!! And my company income collapsed by a*
29. *third. They even said at the Centre for Economic Development that my*
30. *services are distorted because of the right to deduct 60% of the work done*
31. *for tax purposes. Certainly, the 60% deduction has brought in customers,*
32. *but it is wrongly directed when it favours only the well paid and many of*
33. *those who need help are left without. The families with children have had*
34. *nice help and have used the services. For the nursing services there has*
35. *been relief on value-added tax charges.*
36. *As an entrepreneur one's own activity has considerable significance,*
37. *information must be continuously sought and one's eyes and ears must be*
38. *kept open, there is training, of course, available.*
39. *I consider the entrepreneur's weak social security as the biggest problem,*
40. *when one becomes sick without getting anything for nine days, among*
41. *other things!! One gets to pay the expensive payments, Yel payments*
42. *[insurance for the self-employed], every month, of course, why are we*
43. *treated this way? And otherwise the bureaucracy is considerable even*
44. *though as an entrepreneur we employ a whole group of other agencies. I,*
45. *for one, buy a significant amount of fuel every month. I take my*
46. *paperwork to the parish accountant since the tax authorities do not trust*
47. *that I would make the payments myself. The banks rob all kinds of service*
48. *fees even though I make my payment through the Internet? Telephone*
49. *services are more expensive for entrepreneurs and no bonuses are*
50. *permitted to us. Sometimes it feels like everyone just wants to take*
51. *advantage of those who become entrepreneurs!*
52. *It is generally imagined that a person who becomes an entrepreneur*

53. *makes a lot of easy money from somewhere and it's a load of crap since it*
 54. *is the most easiest to be working for somebody else. (w3)*

With the phrase “*it now just happened that...*” (line 17), Salme depicts a disruption and switches her narrative to the evaluation of what it has been like to overcome this change in her life as it affects her entrepreneurship. Using negative sentences, she lists the agencies that do not “*want to help*” her (lines 22–24), thereby suggesting that they are actually supposed to offer assistance. Furthermore, she uses an indirect quotation (Heikkinen 1999, 174) from the people at the Centre for Economic Development (lines 29–31) to further emphasise her point that she is unsupported and undervalued as an entrepreneur. By highlighting particular and specified disadvantages, she simultaneously informs the reader about these issues to illustrate the situation she is in.

After the disruption at the beginning, Salme immediately turns to evaluate what it has been like to be an entrepreneur. Being active and doing one’s best does not seem to be enough. Using negative expressions – “*when one becomes sick without getting anything for nine days*” (line 40), “*the tax authorities do not trust that*” (lines 46–47) and “*no bonuses are permitted to us*” (lines 49–50) – she states how things should be, not just for her personally but for all entrepreneurs, by using the plural form “us”. As a result she identifies herself and other entrepreneurs as “*a pain in society’s butt*” (line 25).

55. *However, despite the difficulties I would not return back to being a*
 56. *punching bag for municipalities for any price.*
 57. *There is one’s own freedom to work customer-orientedly which is not a*
 58. *possibility any more in the municipalities’ social services today due to the*
 59. *constant tightening of money, as a consequence some of the elderly are*
 60. *even neglected. I wonder, when did the discussion about the outsourcing*
 61. *service bills die down, since they were supposed to help municipalities at*
 62. *the turn of the year?*
 63. *The municipalities are very reluctant to buy services themselves from*
 64. *entrepreneurs even if the need was essential. How is help obtained for*
 65. *those in need when the number of them will be growing all the time!! It is*
 66. *quite horrible to hear how the home helps in the municipalities visit as*
 67. *many as 10 customers daily and how they must not do this and that any*
 68. *more, one just goes in only to say hello and to state that this one*
 69. *[customer] is still alive...*
 70. *At least for me, the feedback from customers has given me satisfaction and*

71. *with a good conscience I can say that entrepreneurs work 110% on behalf*
72. *of the clients' interests and needs as the most important criteria for the*
73. *service. One should be able to cooperate with the municipalities but where*
74. *is the help. I have been discussing with municipalities but one cannot talk*
75. *about any cooperation, at least not yet.*
76. *How could Finland become more entrepreneur-friendly?*
77. *I only hope that I will get to be healthy and have the strength to do this*
78. *work with my own convictions and in my way to help clients to get by in*
79. *their own homes. The best thanks come from the work done and from*
80. *satisfied customers. (w3)*

Although “it is generally imagined” (line 52, previous excerpt) that entrepreneurs are after easy money – the adverb “generally” indicating the number who share this view (Heikkinen 1999, 229) – Salme states the opposite in order to correct this misapprehension. Thus she appears to be distancing herself from the cultural expectation that entrepreneurs are after financial gain, which suggests masculine and middle-class features (e.g. Komulainen & al. 2008). However, instead of just reporting the negative experiences of entrepreneurship, she also gives a comparative version of what it is like (Herman 2009a, 152): “despite the difficulties I would not return back” (line 55). What follows are the positive experiences of being an entrepreneur. While distancing herself from the presumed and suspect entrepreneurial image, she highlights the lack of basic care in the public sector and emphasises clients’ interests and needs as her priority, thereby presenting a more working-class entrepreneurial image (see Komulainen & al. 2008, 186–188). Consequently, situating her narrative in relation to the ongoing discourse around the worsening quality of care in the public sector and the changing division of tasks among care workers (lines 65–69), she pictures herself as free from these issues and their effects on the client’s well-being as the receiver of those services.

Using multiple negative phrases in her narrative, she suggests that if it were not for these difficulties her experiences would be different. She also poses questions to the reader: “*why are we treated this way?*” (lines 42–43, previous excerpt) and “*how could Finland become more entrepreneur-friendly?*” (line 76). These questions emerge as her reason for responding to the research request and writing her narrative. Consequently, most of her writing is devoted to

evaluating what it has been like to be an entrepreneur. In contrast with Hanneles's and Liisa's narratives, Salme's focus is not on the experiences of becoming one, but on those of being one. Nevertheless, even though negative experiences are emphasised in this narrative, Salme suggests a competing account of her experiences (Herman 2009a, 151) by showing that she does not regret her decision either. Instead of being "*a punching bag*" (lines 55–56) she prefers independence, although this has nonetheless resulted in an experience of being "*a pain in the butt*" (line 24), a sort of annoyance. Depicting herself as an "independent annoyance" crystallises the twofold experiential aspect of her care entrepreneurship abstracted from her storyworld.

4.4 Summary: deploying narrative elements

How is narrativity used when telling about care entrepreneurship, and what does the emphasis on different narrative elements tell us about the experiences of care entrepreneurship in this particular time and situation in Finland? What kinds of storyworld has the writing request evoked? Although narrative elements are inevitably intertwined and operate by degrees, as stated above, pointing out the differences in their use can both highlight the different kinds of storyworld and experiences of care entrepreneurship, and also reveal something about the subject matter in general.

As pointed out in subchapter 4.1 above, the narratives chosen for closer scrutiny in that subchapter strive to master time by cueing the reader to the life course. What emerges as the most important is the portrayal of the writer's continuity of character through constant evaluation in relation to other people and to categorisations with gendered and classed features. In her research on the polyphonic nature of subjectivity, Katri Komulainen (1998, 304–307) identified the different story types used by female students training for social welfare work. One of these is narratives of permanence. These are based on the rhetoric of a genuine self that has always existed but is kept hidden, and that is

the opposite of the socially conforming self (also Felski 1989, 127). The continuity in these narratives is drawn from constancy rather than change, since there are no surprises or disruptions in the narratives. Instead of analysing subject positions of these care entrepreneurs, there are still some similarities to be found in their ways of telling their lives. In particular in these narratives, the “genuine and permanent self” is further manifested and performed in care entrepreneurship.

It has been argued that the need to portray oneself as believable and with a coherent identity results in an emphasis on continuity and permanence in the life story (e.g. Georgakopoulou 2010, 395). It could be that in order to convince the reader of this continuous identity, care entrepreneurship is depicted as a way to work in a manner that the protagonist wants and is accustomed to in a changing societal situation. Thus by cueing the continuity of the time-course, entrepreneurship is explained as unavoidable. From this perspective, these narratives could be interpreted as countering to the cultural expectation that waged work offers meaningful and satisfactory work and good care. The alternative paths perhaps suggest or warn about the possibility of ending up in meaningless, unsatisfactory and unchallenging work and performing badly as a waged care worker.

What is common in the progression of these narratives that emphasise the time-course element is that they are told from the perspective of the present, so that the current state is explained by past experiences. Specifically, there is an effort to portray continuity in life, such that the writers have always been a certain kind of person, in an enduring and accumulating state from beginning to end. They continually repeat the thing by which they identify themselves. Nevertheless, what happens in between has specific effects on how the desired continuity can be conveyed. Different points in life are harnessed to support the continuity of their character. What is common is that whatever happens in life, there is always something that remains the same, untouchable even by entrepreneurship. As a result, in these narratives care entrepreneurship comes across as a means to maintain the ways they identify themselves, their working styles and values. The agricultural and working-class background, values and ways of working are portrayed as inherited cultural property in order to depict

a respectable care entrepreneur with moral worth. Entrepreneurship becomes inevitable, something for which they are destined early on because of their character, yet something that is also surprising and unexpected in connection with care work.

The narratives analysed in subchapter 4.2 emphasise the difference between the beginning and end. As shown above, these narratives are constructed around disruption(s), portraying not only the experience of care entrepreneurship (which takes up most of the duration of the narratives), but also what it was like to survive it. Somewhat similarly, Komulainen (*ibid.*) also designated some of the social welfare students' life stories as transformation narratives. In these narratives the idea is to achieve a certain coherence by using a rhetoric that contrasts the past, external self with the present, inner self. Komulainen describes this type of narrative as progressive, since no analogies are drawn between the past and present selves, only some justifications.

In the narratives emphasising disruptions, the writers have responded to the writing request in order to portray the unexpectedness of their life course. Instead of having had specific plans to become an entrepreneur, they describe themselves as having drifted or been pushed into this position. The storyworlds suggested in these narratives portray care entrepreneurship as something so culturally and personally unfamiliar that the writers could not have predicted becoming entrepreneurs. Moreover, it appears to lead to positions and situations that were unimaginable beforehand. Thus the narratives result in descriptions of surviving disruptions, surviving becoming a care entrepreneur and surviving being one. The focus is on what the teller of the narrative has learnt from this experience, and how against all the odds the writer today can depict herself as an entrepreneur.

In addition to such narratives of emphasised disruptions, what is interesting in other narratives is that disruptions in these storyworlds are not automatically about becoming an entrepreneur, or even about the realisation that one wants to become an entrepreneur. Instead, the disruptions that change the writers' positions can be related to the internalisation of their role as employers, for example, or more generally to their coming to terms with

themselves. The focus is therefore on the contrast between family background and vocational education on the one hand, and gendered and classed entrepreneurship and being an employer on the other – and on how to resolve the discrepancy. Moreover, whether entrepreneurship is presented as a possible point of departure, a turning point or the end point has an effect on how care entrepreneurship is experienced and done in these narratives.

Furthermore, as shown in subchapter 4.3, some storyworlds of care entrepreneurship portray disruptions in a way that renders them somewhat beside the point. Thus in some narratives the emphasis is on the phases of life as they were experienced at the time. As in other narratives, there is a certain drive towards a coherent life story, but in these writings the coherence is not as predetermined or planned as in others. Instead, the alternative paths are important, as the significance of the action taken depends on the other possibilities: how we evaluate and judge the present, and what other possibilities are suggested or perhaps warned against, depends on the possibilities available.

So what can be said about the narratives that emphasise the experiential aspects of what it is like to *be* a care entrepreneur? By presenting contrasting versions of their experiences as care entrepreneurs, these writers suggest that it is not relevant to ask their reasons for becoming an entrepreneur. Instead it is more important to concentrate on what it means and has meant to become and be one. Therefore they focus on relating their situations on the basis of their personal experiences, and see this as potentially having some influence through their participation in this study. As well as being learning experiences for the writers, these storyworlds are offered as lessons for the reader. Thus instead of explaining it is their experiences that are foregrounded.

The writing request predictably evoked different ways to perform: experience and do care entrepreneurship, conveyed through narrative means. On the basis of the analysis of the degree of narrative elements in these writings, I would suggest that these stories are written to display the continuity of character, survival of becoming and being an entrepreneur and evaluation of possible and made decisions. The storyworlds depict care entrepreneurship as a deliverer and preserver of the appropriate ways to do care work, as a trial to

overcome in order to triumph, but also a blessing that includes the experience of displeasure in the context of the somewhat contradictory gendered and classed expectations related to care and entrepreneurship.

These stories define the meanings and experiences attached to care entrepreneurship by emphasising the linearity and coherence of the time-course, disruptions and their overcoming, and competing versions of experience. However, although the narratives foreground different kinds of performances with entrepreneurial experience, there appears to be a shared underlying effort to combine entrepreneurship with care or care with entrepreneurship in order to achieve an acceptable and communicative whole by deploying and emphasising different narrative elements.

In relation to this kind of variety in depicting, telling, experiencing and doing care entrepreneurship, I consider Hannele's remark (chapter 4.3.1) on her peers' contrasting reasons for becoming a care entrepreneur to be an informative example of the power of presumed cultural expectations when one is defining oneself in an institutionally non-established situation, and of how those expectations are deployed and managed when we are telling about ourselves. I will return in the next chapter to the gendered and classed cultural expectation, as they evoke, condition and shape storytelling.

5. Disharmonious environments and expectations

In the previous chapter I pointed out the different kinds of storyworld that the women in my study suggest in response to the writing request in order to make and do care entrepreneurship. I analysed how narrativity is deployed when writing about their life courses and positioning as care entrepreneurs. In particular, I explicated how the narrative elements identified by Herman (2009a) are utilised to varying degrees in these writings, constituting different kinds of storyworld. Thus the purpose of that chapter was to explicate the ways in which these storyworlds portray entrepreneurial experience in care sector.

In this chapter I will focus on making inferences from the writings in relation to the narrative environments that surround, evoke and are also shaped by those writings. Instead of concentrating on specific writings, this chapter moves to another level by concentrating on the research material as a whole in order to discuss and evaluate the cultural expectations embedded in these environments. I will analyse how cultural expectations are proposed, tested against other expectations, and modified or abandoned if necessary, in order to make inferences about the narrative environments of these writings.

As explained in chapter 3.2, I approach narratives as embedded in their narrative environments: they are enabled by and build on the interplay of the institutional and interactional environments that shape storytelling. These are inevitably present, since narrative cannot exist without contextualisation and interaction (Gubrium & Holstein 2008, 256–261). Taking this as my starting point, I will make inferences about the gendered and classed features of the cultural expectations that shape narrative environments as a template for narrative resources. To be more precise, I will adopt influences from literary research, linguistics and discourse analysis to direct attention to the contrasts and choices deployed in the texts. Comments, evaluations and writer-reader

roles are based on the oppositions and choices presented, but they are also indications of having, obtaining and using power (Heikkinen 2000c, 322). A focus on adverbs and negations, headlines, cultural sayings and circulated discourses will be used to track down the cultural expectations that shape the writing. I will also point out the suggested writer and reader positions by taking note of verbal processes, quotations and personal pronouns.

In this chapter I use all 33 of the narratives in order to gain an overview of the narrative environments in which they are embedded. Evidently the issues on which they concentrate vary from one narrative to another. However, as the “care entrepreneur” label itself is combination of two separate spheres, this also comes across in the narratives. Although the two are always intertwined, some narratives focus more on entrepreneurship, and others more on care. The evident contrasts between care and entrepreneurship expose gendered and classed cultural expectations related to care entrepreneurship. I will begin by focusing on the discussions, expectations and values attached to entrepreneurship in the writings, and I will then move on to issues surrounding care.

5.1 Entrepreneurship: expected and unexpected careers

According to Ann Gray (2003, 492), stability is history, and flexibility is the keyword regarding career routes for women. These routes can be guided not only by personal economic reasons and labour market situations, but also by family responsibilities. Thus standing out from some of the narratives are expectations relating to careers in waged work or entrepreneurship as predictable and stable. The gendered and classed aspects of these expectations seem to be based on moral statements relating to good and bad care, and to good and bad employers and employees.

5.1.1 A professional person

The title of this subchapter is taken from Ulla's narrative, analysed above in subchapter 4.2.3. She begins her narrative with an important rejection of the label "mother" ("*emo*") as opposed to "professional person". The beginning of a narrative is important, as it is the place where the writer orients herself in relation to a desired position. Instances where authors disagree with some statement or characterise themselves as rebellious are noteworthy, as they indicate the authors' orientations (Jones 2004, 175). Thus these kinds of beginning are informative points that sum up the content and also indicate the author's stand (Heikkinen 2000a, 100), in this case on care entrepreneurship.

Another care entrepreneur has similarly headed her narrative with the old Finnish regional saying: "Do what you like, but know that there needs to be an effort" (w31). This phrase is a reminder that whatever one does in life, it needs to be done with an effort and in the proper manner. Right after the headline she begins to tell her story: "*in fact, I have grown up in an entrepreneurial family, because my parents owned a small farm, so I have been a part of the business since childhood*" (w31). The commenting adverb "in fact", indicating certainty or uncertainty (Heikkinen 1999, 227), highlights the explanation of entrepreneurship that is being deployed. Additionally, by using the adverb "since", she is taking this shared saying as a lens through which to look back at her childhood. Likewise, in many of the writings written by women born in the 1940s and 1950s, farming is often presented as entrepreneurial, even though it was the most common form of livelihood in Finland at the beginning of the 20th century, and perhaps was not seen at the time as entrepreneurial in the sense in which that term is now understood. Mikko Peltomäki (2002, 142) has stated that after the wars and during the reconstruction phase, waged work became common to such an extent that the entrepreneurial label was no longer appropriate to everybody.

However, instead of making a generational distinction, the same desire to write about one's entrepreneurship since childhood – to create linearity in the

life story – can also be read in narratives from the younger care entrepreneurs' generation:

Excerpt 1

1. *I consider my former background as a competing athlete as an advantage*
2. *and a resource. I was in the individual sports [event] in the*
3. *adolescents' national team, so I am used to working hard in order to*
4. *reach what I want. One must have character (guts) if one wants to*
5. *manage as a small entrepreneur. (...)*
6. *Orienting to the field and the vocational views inherited from my mother*
7. *who is a teacher, I got knowledge, experience and a model for*
8. *entrepreneurship from my aunt. I worked in her business 1½ years after*
9. *secondary school before my studies (the field however was not the same). I*
10. *got a spark and much valuable information during the time in question.*
(w15).

Counting the extra qualities, experiences and inherited cultural capital she has gained during the 33 years of her life, this writer is listing the things one needs to have – using modality (lines 4–5) – if one is thinking of becoming an entrepreneur. Simultaneously, she makes interesting remarks about what she does and does not regard as entrepreneurial. In writings that emphasise the legacy aspect of entrepreneurship, it is common to refer to entrepreneurship in general as having been inherited from the father, while the entrepreneurial working style is described as inherited either from the mother or from both parents. In the excerpt above, the professional interests are said to have been inherited from the schoolteacher mother, passed on from mother to daughter, while the entrepreneurship is learned from the aunt (lines 6–8). However, in parentheses (line 9) she uses the adverb “*however*” to state the difference between entrepreneurial fields, suggesting that there is something specific to this area of business.

In addition to the varying use of gendered meanings attached to entrepreneurship and care, the decision to become an entrepreneur is presented as something to be written down and explained. The trope of the entrepreneur as an exceptional person (Ahl 2002, Komulainen 2004; 2005) seems to be the recognised way to write about one's life as a care entrepreneur. More to the point, in addition to explaining entrepreneurship and care through

in terms of one's genes or work ethic, there seems in particular to be a certain kind of "I was always different" script that is used to explain the presumed unexpectedness of becoming an entrepreneur in a female-dominated sector.

Excerpt 2

1. *I have always felt that I want to solve many matters related to work*
2. *myself. Perhaps it is significant that I am from an entrepreneurial family.*
3. *(...)*
4. *My husband and I had a dream of our own business for a couple of years.*
5. *Through my father we were introduced to [our current locality's] care*
6. *home for the mentally ill which at the time was not doing so well and*
7. *needed a new owner. We left [for the current locality] without knowing*
8. *anybody here and the first couple of years indeed felt quite lonely. (...)*
9. *Now this summer we have already renovated a third care home which*
10. *opened in August. (...)*
11. *Of course, the increased number of residents and the number of employees*
12. *brings its own challenges but it also adds more life. In the beginning when*
13. *we were operating with a small number of employees in our little home, it*
14. *sometimes felt frustrating. Not any more. The days go so quickly and there*
15. *is always something to do. (w14)*

If contrasts (Heikkinen 2000c, 322) are revealing of constructed naturalisations, we can assume that those who do not feel that they have "always" been different (line 1), using the adverb indicating time, will have stayed on the expected path in public-sector care work. When they refer to themselves as exceptional, care entrepreneurs are simultaneously pointing out the expected course of a career in care work, which is naturalised as something that does not need to be explained. As has also been found in other studies on care entrepreneurs (Rissanen & al. 2004, 69; Heinonen & al. 2006a, 76), they portray themselves as having left a "safe job" in the public sector, which might also have included leaving family and friends behind. One could argue that being a waged worker in care appears rather conventional, and could therefore also be depicted as more working-class in nature, as entrepreneurship is associated with the middle class (Komulainen 2008 & al., 192).

As in excerpt 1, this writer also highlights her views of entrepreneurship by using an evaluative adverb (Heikkinen 1999, 227), "perhaps", to refer to the impact of her family background (line 2). She refers to her desire to be in

charge of things and to achieve things in life. According to Komulainen and others (2008, 186), career success and the achievement of an independent position through intelligence and ambition are usually attached to middle-class representations of entrepreneurship. In many narratives, further study or a geographical move in pursuit of entrepreneurial opportunities are depicted as necessary for the fulfilment of one's ambitions or dreams. Consequently, according to their descriptions, the women appear to have not just cultural capital but also social and economic capital when they enter entrepreneurship, perhaps thereby lessening the risks and fears associated with such a change. In addition to the cultural capital received at home, family members are also mentioned as sources of financial or emotional support, and as those who draw attention to the need for services, as in excerpt 2 above (line 4).

Very unusually for the research material overall, the writer of excerpt 2 expresses her satisfaction having more than one unit to operate (lines 9–14). Her narrative could therefore be interpreted as giving a middle-class representation of career success, since risk-taking and business growth tend to distinguish middle-class entrepreneurship from both working-class entrepreneurship and women's entrepreneurship in general (Komulainen & al. 2008, 176) But as well as career advancement, "middle classness" might also mean the possibility of having a variety of responsibilities and work tasks.

Excerpt 3

1. *Different courses according to one's needs always give more energy and*
2. *enthusiasm for developing and thinking about one's work possibly from a*
3. *new angle. I have been on various short courses and also on some longer*
4. *ones, for example the executive director course and the two-year training*
5. *for community care were rewarding. Last spring we adopted a quality*
6. *manual in our company (quality levels, of which levels 1, 2 and 3 have*
7. *been achieved). The quality work was time-consuming and demanding*
8. *and it would have been difficult to survive it if the whole staff had not been*
9. *involved. When everybody is involved in development it seems that what is*
10. *on paper also comes to life in the work.*
11. *There is enough challenge to keep the present atmosphere going*
12. *within myself and in the work group. Also the others are enthusiastic with*
13. *us and I even receive praise for the fact that I do the everyday work with*
14. *them and keep placing importance on the generation of community spirit.*
(w14)

For those who lean heavily on their own professionalism, the most emphasised and problematic position, beside that of simply being an entrepreneur, seems to be that of employer. It seems that having employees differentiates one care worker from another, and opposing and contradictory positions emerge around this issue in the writings. Most of the negative phrases seem to relate to the dissimilarities between being an employer and being an employee: *“I have not kept weekly working hours as my primarily goal”* (w22); *“Myself I haven’t had more than three days sick in 10 years”* (w22); *“I cannot envy my employees for their right to demand their salaries and other benefits”* (w2); *“My employees didn’t have any experience working in a private company”* (w32).

Having more management responsibilities – while also often participating in practical care work to save on high employment costs (also Åkerblad 2009, 317) – seems to have puzzling and unexpected consequences for the writers, as I will further discuss later. Having multiple roles is said to demand strong leadership. Thus the distribution of work tasks and roles is seen to have negative influences on the employer’s motivation (Ollila 2004, 35).

It could be argued that the writers demonstrate their expectations of professionalism by distancing themselves from practical work by means of certain “detachment strategies”. Cynthia Solari (2006) found in her research on home care workers that while some rejected the identity of paid worker, emphasising their personal relationships with the clients, others created professional relationships with the clients, keeping their emotional distance and retaining a strong identity as workers. In particular, the “professionals” in Solari’s research were proud of their skills and training certificates, while the “saints” talked about God’s work and calling (also Kendall 2001, 367). Similarly, the writer in excerpt 3 above uses an adverb indicating time (Heikkinen 1999, 228) to point out that training courses *“always”* give more energy and will to work (lines 1–2). According to Solari (2006, 326), professionalism does not mean a renegotiation of femininity, but it does lead to unexpected work practices. Rather than emphasising nurturing and emotional work, which are

taken as self-evident, the professionals concentrate on contracts, certificates, and the boundaries between professional and personal relationships.

Excerpt 4

1. *The family home cooperates a lot with separate agencies/levels. Good*
2. *cooperation with the children's parents is extremely important. Also the*
3. *relationship with the municipal social welfare authorities who have*
4. *placed the child is of primary importance. There is a joint meeting*
5. *between the staff at the family home and the municipal social welfare*
6. *authorities at least every six months, that is when the child's care plan is*
7. *checked, among other things.*
8. *The parents of children in the family home hope that county inspector*
9. *will visit the family home regularly once a year.*
10. *The family home makes an annual operations report to the county council*
11. *every year. The parents of children in the family home are in contact with*
12. *the county council and consult them if necessary. Likewise there is*
13. *cooperation with psychiatric departments for children and*
14. *adolescents. Every child has their own partner who is consulted in*
15. *matters concerning the child.*
16. *The cooperation with the authorities is generally good but for example the*
17. *fast turnover of municipal social workers is a problem also from the*
18. *family home's point of view.*
19. *Also a report is continuously written on every child. Visits to the*
20. *occupational counsellor are done once a month and also telephone*
21. *consultation is possible if necessary. Without the work supervision the*
22. *child welfare work would become too heavy. (w24)*

In addition to their felt need to list their training, qualifications and work experience, some writers place an emphasis on the cooperation, legislation, agreements and paperwork as the basis of their business, which apparently in this case has "*generally*" been good (line 16). This quotation is from a narrative by an entrepreneur in the child welfare sector, writing on behalf of herself and her husband; the narrative is heavily based on cooperation and legislation. However, entrepreneurs who provide other care services are also very aware of these issues and the framework within which they operate. The attitude towards this framework varies according to what and whom they are understood to serve. For example, cooperation and legislation can be experienced as undermining and limiting, but for others also a tower of strength for the whole business.

If we analyse these narratives from the point of view of the narrative environments in which they are embedded, the writers appear to be drawing on expectations of the entrepreneur as both extraordinary and professional. As well as highlighting its exceptionality, the narratives present entrepreneurship in contrast with wage work. They appear to be countering the presumed and prevailing cultural expectation that one will study for a profession in care work and then work in the public sector until retirement. In particular, they reveal the narrative environment of a diversification of possibilities in the care sector thanks to changes in the service structure that offer more and new opportunities for care workers who are not willing to settle for the conventional.

None of the writers present childhood dreams or desires to become a care worker; instead it is entrepreneurship that is depicted as meaningful in their past. Moreover, their entrepreneurial heritage is what they assume they should write about, rather than merely the idea of one day becoming an entrepreneur. Becoming an entrepreneur is portrayed as a good thing and a blessing, but also as something that needs to be explained as some sort of destiny. Moreover, although the change of career from waged work is usually described as good move in terms of well-being in work (e.g. Sankelo & Åkerblad 2009, 3198), this view is not completely shared. Nevertheless, what appears to be characteristic is that their stand or attitude towards care is taken as self-evident, something requiring no explanation. The combination of care and entrepreneurship in itself is hardly ever commented on. Instead of focusing on an opposition between “love and business”, these writers both recognise and withdraw from gendered and apparently classed care work with its connotations of unprofessionalism in daily care practices.

Comparisons have been made between entrepreneurship as embracing the more middle-class features of professionalism, and waged work as more working-class and as associated with unprofessional femininities (see Komulainen & al. 2008, 192). The moral statements running through these narratives depict good care as the result of an appropriate care worker drawing on training and qualifications, becoming an employer and a go-ahead

attitude and cooperations; the narratives reject the gendered naturalisations that threaten that moral stance.

Overall, these writers are proud of themselves and want to tell their story, and this is their motivation for responding to the writing request. While giving advice to the reader, they also appear to be simultaneously reminding us about life's inconsistencies. Although they emphasise their autonomy, have survived on their own, and display the most positive attitudes of all respondents towards the combination of care and entrepreneurship, these writers are not without questions or problems.

5.1.2 A child from a working-class family

Excerpt 5

1. *There had certainly been entrepreneurial courses at school, but I attended*
2. *them carelessly without listening or by quarrelling with the teacher.*
3. *Entrepreneurship did not quite fit into my view of the world as a child*
4. *from a working-class family, never mind the nursing field, never. (w8)*

Through the contrast between the use of "certainly" – a naturalising adverb (line 1) – and the emphasis on "never" – a negative expression (line 4) – this writer explicitly points out the contradictions (Heikkinen 2000c, 290) between care and entrepreneurship, and also draws an opposition between care work as working class and entrepreneurship as middle class. With the commenting adverb (ibid. 1999, 227) "*did not quite fit*", she makes her stand on entrepreneurship (line 3). More to the point, she sets up an unexpected course of life for a child with a working-class background. Later she continues: "*Furthermore, we have licences in reserve for 10 home care customers, so far we have not considered it necessary to start to expand into that sector. The staff should be increased too, otherwise we would tear ourselves in even more directions, we are not interested in that at the moment. [...] How I am at the moment satisfied in my life and my job, in my income level and in my family*

situation” (w8). Even though she has obtained the licences to expand the business, by using a negative clause she states that she is not interested – at least not “*so far*”, a hinting adverb suggesting (ibid. 228) the possibility that she might be in the future. Seemingly, she is answering a presumed cultural expectation that entrepreneurs in general are interested in expanding their business. Thus money and the size of the business appear as a means to measure one’s success and competence as an entrepreneur. The phrase “*tear ourselves in even more*” suggests the anticipated results of expanding the business. While there is some focus on opportunities for getting ahead in her professional life, this entrepreneur – although she mentions expansion as a possibility – describes herself as satisfied with less.

Consequently, this writer seems to be distinguishing her business from middle-class entrepreneurship, emphasising her working-class background and her satisfaction with her current income and the simplicity of her life without taking on more challenges. She makes explicit reference to class to draw a distinction between working- and middle-class values in relation to entrepreneurship, unlike the majority of writers, who refer more implicitly to what I take to be working-class backgrounds. Her change from waged work to entrepreneurship is connected to class, marking her separation from her parents and her childhood family. Apparently, she has become “more” middle class.

Although the research material as whole contains only a few direct references to classed positions that depict the cultural expectations attached to care entrepreneurship, different characteristics related to these positions can be read from the descriptions, which usually portray not only the writer’s family background but also her educational and work choices and opportunities.

Excerpt 6

1. *Entrepreneurship did not belong to my future plans at any stage of my*
2. *childhood. However I admired the work of the couple running our village*
3. *shop and even dreamed that I would become a shop assistant when I*
4. *grew up. Later on I also dreamed about many other professions, of*

5. course, usually my dream was based on the projected view and image of
6. the person doing my dream job. When I was in the first years of
7. primary school I wanted to become a teacher because my teacher was
8. beautiful and well dressed, a fine woman and furthermore, because I was
9. the teacher's pet according to other pupils. However, during my whole
10. childhood there was a dream of becoming a childminder in the back of
11. my mind. I was already able to carry out this dream in my childhood by
12. helping my mother to take care of my younger siblings and I was blessed
13. to have more of them nearly every year.
14. After finishing my compulsory education I left for the metropolitan area
15. and also for Sweden for a while which was typical at that time, there was
16. no shortage of women's jobs if only one agreed to do whatever and for
17. whatever salary. Not much importance was placed on the content of the
18. work. (...)When the so-called financial depression of the decade hit,
19. weekend work and other gigs ended immediately. No longer did the
20. employers send a wish list of the weekends I would have been ready to
21. work during the coming weeks and months.
22. So I had to start thinking about something else in order to secure the
23. livelihood of my family. It was important also because my spouse, working
24. in the metal field, had many unemployed periods and the chances of him
25. getting work were weaker than mine.
26. I found my way into training for entrepreneurs in the social services which
27. was meant to encourage professionals of the field to become
28. entrepreneurs. (...)
29. During the training it also became clear that it is not possible to get
30. financial aid from the humanitarian organisations (RAY etc.) for the
31. establishment of a business in the care sector, instead the financing would
32. have to be self-arranged in other ways.
33. Indeed I considered the fact that I get the contract for buying services
34. made between the social services of municipalities and my company to be
35. extremely important. The negotiations were time-consuming and
36. laborious but worthwhile. The outsourcing contract I managed to make
37. with my own municipality has held good for 11 years, in other words since
38. the establishment of the business. (w27)

Describing her childhood occupational dreams, this writer lays out all the possibilities there could have been on the basis of her observations in the village where she lived. Entrepreneurship was not one of those options. In the negative statement that "*entrepreneurship did not belong to my future plans at any stage of my childhood*", (lines 1–2), particularly with the adverb "*any stage*", she is suggesting the cultural expectation that an entrepreneur will have dreamed of entrepreneurship from childhood and will therefore write accordingly, an expectation that is indeed recognised and fulfilled by many other respondents, as discussed in subchapter 4.1. As a counterweight she

turns to a description of her apparently more appropriate childhood dreams of becoming a teacher or childminder, using the adverbs “*whole*” (line 9) and “*already*” (line 11) to indicate the continuity of time (ibid. 228) in her childhood. The images she discusses are portrayed as more feminine than entrepreneurship, with descriptions of embodied gender and implicit class features. Thus instead of the “entrepreneurial course of life” deployed by writers in the previous subchapter, this writer places more emphasis on her own caring attributes. All the same, she is on the lookout for hints of what is to come: “*however, I admired the work of the couple running our village shop*” (lines 2–3). Her use of the commenting adverb “*however*” (Heikkinen 1999, 227) suggests that she shares the expectation that an entrepreneurial life course is linear and starts from childhood. In fact, in the Finnish language, entrepreneurship has historically been associated with commercial activities and tradespeople such as shop owners (Peltomäki 2002, 42). As a result the narrative forges the apparently necessary image of a childhood with some entrepreneurial elements.

Nevertheless, instead of studying for an occupation the writer goes straight into employment, referring to the shared knowledge that at that time there was lot of work available for women without vocational training (lines 15–17). By pointing out the uninteresting nature of the work content and the low pay at that time, she is presumably suggesting that these factors are more important nowadays (lines 16–18). However, later she passes an unspecified degree and works part-time until the “*financial depression of the decade*” (line 18). The financial depression is presented as shared information, circulated discourse, since it does not need any clarification (Heikkinen 2000a, 86). The notion of a permanent career henceforth becomes inappropriate, and she portrays herself as someone who then takes responsibility for thinking about new and necessary options.

Instead of describing entrepreneurship as an outcome of cultural capital as in the previous subchapter, these narratives present entrepreneurship as means to earn a living. However, since entrepreneurship is a way to replace waged work, it does not seem to include the entrepreneurial elements that are usually attached to it, such as the need to organise one’s own funding in excerpt

6. It is rather the revelation (lines 29–32) that she is not entitled to financial support to start her business from RAY (Finland’s Slot Machine Association) that is representative of how this writer regards entrepreneurship and what it entails. Moreover, if negative articulations are signs of supposed confrontation (Heikkinen 2000c, 290), there appear to be many such articulations in the research material as a whole that focus on the evaluation of entrepreneurship as similar to waged work. “*One is not doing this to get rich*” (w16), “*my plan is not to expand the operation*” (w28) and “*from my years as a stay-at-home mother I am used to living within a narrow budget, so even a small salary can be put to good use*” (w25) are a few examples of formulations that express a modest perspective on entrepreneurship common in the Finnish entrepreneurship overall (Stenholm & al. 2011).

What characterises many narratives that portray this kind of unpredictable life course towards entrepreneurship is that the writers find themselves in previously unimaginable positions that are portrayed as being at odds with their origins. The realisation that one’s position has changed is often described as a personal learning experience.

Excerpt 7

1. *Operating as a leader was not one of my wishes when founding the*
2. *business, I didn’t quite find the job my own. When my partner had to leave*
3. *in 1998 I unexpectedly had to take responsibility for the whole company*
4. *myself. I didn’t have to start from scratch but it was sudden. Myself I*
5. *feel that I have grown into this leader’s role. I have had to have a lot of*
6. *discussions with myself (...)*
7. *Thinking about it afterwards, the hiring of the staff is quite a miserable*
8. *process. One couldn’t think what kind of person one was looking for. It felt*
9. *as if all nice people qualified. (...)*
10. *Only now could one know what kind of a person is suitable for this work,*
11. *however I still do not know if I could see these characteristics on the basis*
12. *of a short interview. The social manager [of the urban municipality] at the*
13. *time said to me don’t hire any trade union activist. Only afterwards did I*
14. *understand this message. The entrepreneurial spirit is also a precondition*
15. *for the employee. By the entrepreneurial spirit, in this case, I mainly mean*
16. *that employees remember all the time that customers are not automatic,*
17. *we need to deserve them and they are aware of that. Also, in my opinion*
18. *the entrepreneurial spirit means that when there is work, it is done*
19. *together, and when there is the opportunity to breathe, it is done so too.*
20. *The rights of the employees are quite impossible in the beginning of a*

21. *business. An employee carefully counting their hours is fairly difficult,*
 22. *there is so much work. I myself experienced that the workers almost tested*
 23. *us on these matters at first, whether we are able to hold on to their rights*
 24. *here. My employees didn't have any experience of working in a private*
 25. *company. In the beginning there was a feeling that one needs to be*
 26. *personally present constantly in order for everything to go as I hoped. In*
 27. *hindsight this was of course due to my own inability to run a business.*
 28. *At the moment there is an employee in my firm who has a good view of*
 29. *enterprise due to her husband's company and it certainly comes across*
 30. *positively in the way she works. (w32)*

This suggests that being an entrepreneur is synonymous with being a manager, and for some people becoming both at once is a childhood dream and tailor-made career. In contrary – as in excerpt 6 – this writer also describes the manager position as undesirable and unfamiliar, something she had not planned professionally (lines 1–2). More to the point, in excerpt 7, the quotation from the director of the social services in her municipality – “*don't hire any trade union activist*” – (lines 12–13) illustrates the contradictory cultural expectations connected with being an employer and being an employee. The ideological juxtaposition between employers and trade unions is explicitly stated, as well as the confusion about being in a new position. This change of viewpoint is so new and unpredicted that it is portrayed as having taken time to internalise with the adverbs “*only now*” (line 10) and “*afterwards*” (line 7), and as having been learnt the hard way (also Åkerblad 2009, 318).

Thus it appears that some writers depict entrepreneurship in the care sector as a rise from a shared and more equal position as waged workers, bringing classed features of the employer's difficulties into the narratives. However, the cultural expectations connected to being “the boss” are treated as unfamiliar, and the employer position is presented as a surprise of some sort. I can assume that the unexpectedness of becoming the boss might relate not only to being a woman, but also to expectations of waged work in care work. At the end of the excerpt above, the writer uses the adverb “*of course*” to refer to her lack of her management skills (line 27), thereby naturalising (Heikkinen 1999, 228) these difficulties in staff management as something that is relevant to all. Thus she is assuming that the reader shares the notion of the incompetent woman manager in the care sector, since it is presented as a self-evident phenomenon.

Similarly, Leena Åkerblad (2009, 320) found in her research that instead of accepting the manager label, care entrepreneurs preferred the label “hostess” (*emäntä*). According to Veijola and Jokinen (2008, 170–171), some of the aspects of “hostessing” which are based on feminine virtues and domestic skills are expected of everyone in a new job. These include not just simultaneous multitasking, but also a tendency to blur the lines between conventional contradictions, such as that between the professional and the affective. According to Åkerblad’s study (2009, 325–326), management is based on professional knowledge and values, on sharing the basic bodily work, on equality between the employer and employees, and on delivering responsibility to the employees. As well as hostessing, management also includes assertive organising and taking care of things. A certain chumminess with employees as a strategy for personnel management is said to differentiate private-service providers from public-sector managers (Ollila 2004, 36).

Furthermore, the move from one social position to another might affect the writers’ experiences of those positions, as affective aspects also contribute to the making of class (Reay 2005). Sharon Bolton (2005, 175) found in her research that the gynaecology nurses she studied felt themselves to be “other” compared with other nurses because of their involvement in dirty work. Since dirty work is regarded as lower-status work (e.g. McDowell 2009, Tedre 2004b), becoming an employer could be connected to higher-status work. However, although dirty work is regarded as lower-status work, being an employer might not directly mean a rise in status, at least not in the private-care sector. Instead it can arouse negative connotations relating to morals and values, thanks to the long history of trust in public-sector care and of equality of status among its employees. Although the label “hostess” is not used in these narratives, I assume that if it were generalised it might have been used in these narratives as a way of resisting the cultural expectations of exploitative employers in the private sector. Thus the term “socially tainted position”, which Bolton (2005, 176) uses to refer to gynaecologists, might not be too extreme to use of employing care entrepreneurs as well. As well as being positioned as “others” because they are entrepreneurs in care work, the writers

can also be described as “others” in the sense that they are employers with no achieved or recognised merit.

Writing about “the entrepreneurial spirit”, the writer of excerpt 7 draws a further contrast between employers and employees (lines 14–15). Referring to this spirit, she writes “I *mainly mean that*” (line 15), using an adverb to hint at an amount of something (Heikkinen 1999, 228); thus she is careful not to generalise her views on this subject too much. With the phrase “*customers are not automatic*” (line 16) she points out the differences between public- and private-sector care. Moreover, “*we need to deserve them*” (line 17) comes across as something about which she has reminded her employees. Thus she describes the difficulties of getting employees tuned into this entrepreneurial spirit, at least in the sense of leaving their public-sector work habits and requirements behind when they enter the private sector. To compensate their efforts she also points out the flexibility in the positive sense of the private firm as a workplace (also Åkerblad 2009, 319). The entrepreneurial spirit is something that both employer and employees can learn from experience, like the employer whose husband is an entrepreneur: “*it certainly comes across positively in the way she works*” (lines 29–30). Using “*certainly*” as a naturalising adverb (Heikkinen 1999, 228), the narrative presents the “*spirit*” as the direct outcome of an entrepreneurial background and experience, and of a positive attitude towards it. In an analysis of the curriculum for state enrolled nurse training, the adoption of the employer’s viewpoint has been cited as an example of a desirable attribute connected to the middle class (Lappalainen & al. 2010, 205). However, in the context of care work and its available narrative environments, this viewpoint is presented in the narratives as a foreign and new requirement, and not as something that is simply inherited, as it appeared in the previous subchapter.

As well as being a sort of revelation, entrepreneurship can also mark a specific chapter in one’s life, particularly for those who portray it as way to provide for themselves.

Excerpt 8

1. *Now I'm wondering how long this work will continue because the age of*
2. *the disabled veterans is high and many of them pass on every year. One*
3. *starts to think how long will there be enough work for three*
4. *entrepreneurs. I myself have begun to seek work from elsewhere, positions*
5. *fitting my education. One possibility would be to get more training*
6. *(apprenticeship training). Although being an entrepreneur, there is*
7. *a certain freedom, there is also the dark side. One must always think if*
8. *there is enough work for every month because mandatory expenses must*
9. *be covered and to get some salary for oneself instead of just having the*
10. *mere joy of work. If you worked for someone there would always be*
11. *regular income, one could afford to be sick and to go on holiday. When you*
12. *have a company like this taking a holiday is always at my own expense as*
13. *well as becoming sick. People [customers] cannot be put on a shelf during*
14. *holidays instead there must always be someone taking care of them. (w13)*

Here there is a certain nostalgia associated with waged work, while entrepreneurship is depicted as the opposite. Moreover, the writer's previous qualifications (as a state enrolled nurse and masseuse) do not seem to fit with entrepreneurship, since there are more suitable work opportunities she can look for (lines 4–5). She is writing on behalf of entrepreneurs in general – “*being an entrepreneur*” (line 6) – and there are a lot of modalities – “*must always think*” (line 7), “*must be covered*” (lines 8–9) and so on – which are presented as common to entrepreneurs as a whole. Similarly, with the repeated use of the word “*always*” as an adverb expressing time (ibid. 1999, 228) there seems to be some form of continuous compulsion, whether in entrepreneurship or in waged work (lines 7, 10, 12, 14). In entrepreneurship these demands are characterised as negative, and in waged work as positive; this results in a wish to return to waged work. The inability to put people “on a shelf” (line 13) and go for a holiday is peculiar to this kind of entrepreneurship. Waged work can offer a way out this prison of solicitude.

Thus one view of care entrepreneurship offered to the reader in some narratives is that it is just a way to provide for oneself in the local area (also Ikonen 2008), as an alternative to paid work. The reasons for starting the businesses are often related to the lack of work opportunities – a discourse that is available thanks to the financial depression of the 1990s. Being familiar with the presumed expectations relating to portrayals of “the entrepreneurial

course of life”, these writers appear to find “the caring person” a more adequate and desirable portrayal. The paid care worker in care work is naturalised in these texts, since any deviation from that status has to be explained. By making explicit and implicit distinctions between waged work and entrepreneurship, as well as between being an employer and being an employee, these writers portray themselves as balancing between these contradictions while remaining true to their waged-work origins and working-class values. The working class therefore still needs to be emphatically portrayed as respectable, even in an entrepreneurial setting.

When we examine the cultural divisions and expectations relating to entrepreneurship and care that are deployed and reproduced in these narratives, it appears that changes in position and status are portrayed as extraordinary and difficult to internalise because of the writer’s background, gender and field of work. Thus entrepreneurship and especially the managerial role emerge as gendered and to some extent classed, as an unfamiliar and thus somewhat questionable position in which the writers surprisingly and unwillingly find themselves. These writers make few explicit evaluations of what constitutes good or bad care, and tend more to evaluate their own values and morals concerning being an employer and what employees are and should be like. Compared to those in the previous subchapter, who emphasised their professionalism as the basis of good-quality care, these writers comment on the necessity of learning the expected “entrepreneurial spirit” to the necessary degree in order to earn their living as entrepreneurs, as well as to escape cultural expectations of the exploitative employer, which presumably can also give rise to connotations of bad-quality care. Similarly, Valerie Walkerdine (2003) found that working-class women who become more middle class feel guilt about abandoning their origins in order to “become somebody”, i.e. an entrepreneur as a neoliberal subject.

5.1.3 Guiding novices

As previously stated, by addressing the reader and taking on a variety of writer positions, writers of narratives simultaneously shape and reproduce the cultural expectations embedded in the narrative environments around care entrepreneurship. Since reader roles are more revealing than writer roles (Heikkinen 1999, 220), I have approached the narratives from the point of view of the addressed reader, while bearing in mind that this is intertwined with the writer's positions. I understand myself as the addressed reader as the recipient of these writings, but it is also evident that the audience for the writings appears to be extended in many cases, as in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 9

1. *Why did I become an entrepreneur? My motto is: "for good or bad, the*
2. *main thing is to try". One does not remain a spectator of one's own life.*
(w12)

If we take beginnings and headlines as informative points in narratives (Herman 2009a, 113; Heikkinen 2001, 100), this is the beginning of one narrative in which the writer directly answers the addressed reader's question "why". Giving this old Finnish saying as her personal motto, the writer apparently wishes to crystallise not only her stand on entrepreneurship, but also the position she wishes to take as the writer. The addressed reader is depicted as someone who is asking the writer her reasons for having become a care entrepreneur, and the writer's job is to provide the answers. As well as giving explanations, which all of the narratives do, some writers tell a pre-planned narrative about how they realised their dreams, as an encouragement to others. Consequently, they often comment on the expected and unexpected courses of professional life, whether as "a born entrepreneur" or by suddenly finding one day that they have become one. They are writing on the basis of their personal experiences, and do not distance themselves from the texts.

Thus on an interpersonal level some of the writers appear to occupy the position of the expert, someone who knows about all the important aspects of care entrepreneurship and how to master them. These aspects might be useful to pass on to others or warn others against, or may be used to attract and encourage. Thus the writers are describing and encouraging, but also warning. The addressed reader's position is that of the novice who needs guidance, and the writers take on the role of the advisor and learned professional, speaking from experience and giving advice. Consequently, it is the reader's responsibility to acknowledge these aspects as well as to learn from them.

Excerpt 10

1. *When you get the idea of establishing a business, conduct some market*
2. *research: is there a clientele for your idea. Find out the laws and*
3. *regulations concerning enterprise and what it costs to hire a workforce.*
4. *Find out if there are already other entrepreneurs in the same field.*
5. *Interview them about their experiences. Belonging to an entrepreneurial*
6. *organisation opens doors to new cooperation partners and you become*
7. *acquainted with experienced entrepreneurs from whom you can get*
8. *valuable advice and support.*
9. *If you are a woman you can get a woman entrepreneur loan from the*
10. *social insurance institution and all beginning entrepreneurs can get start-*
11. *up money from the labour office. There are good leadership and finance*
12. *courses available. If you are not an expert on economics, I*
13. *recommend outsourcing the bookkeeping. That way financial statements*
14. *and tax returns and the calculation of pay will certainly be legally and*
15. *correctly done. (...)*
16. *The secret of success in entrepreneurship is honesty. You keep your*
17. *promises, really do your best on behalf of your customers, in my case, on*
18. *behalf of the children and their parents. When the children are happy in*
19. *day care doing meaningful activities, the parents are also satisfied. Finally,*
20. *separate advertising to get customers is not necessary. Work well done*
21. *comes back as new customers. Satisfaction spreads to neighbours and*
22. *acquaintances. The grapevine works. (w26)*

This writer seems to consider it important to give very concrete advice when writing about her entrepreneurship. Using modality, she advises us to “conduct”, “find out” and “interview” about things (lines 1, 2, 4, 5). It appears that she is highlighting themes and topics in accordance with her assumptions about the things a care entrepreneur might face that could cause problems. In

particular, in deploying the double-deictic “you” (Fludernik 1994, 302) – “*you become acquainted*”, “*you can get*” and “*you keep your promises*”, among others (lines 6, 7, 16–17) – she is writing with a specific reader in mind. This use of the second person appears curious, since I can assume that she is aware that she is writing to a researcher, not to a person who is thinking about becoming a care entrepreneur. Furthermore, as well as describing my current work, I also explained my own entrepreneurial background in the writing request. I can therefore only suppose that “you” refers to a wider audience than just me as the recipient of the narrative.

This writer’s account of the reality of entrepreneurial practice has many features in common with other narratives in which the reader is addressed as someone who needs to learn from information. An interesting detail is her use of the negative phrase “*if you are not an expert on economics*” (line 12), which assumes that this is a shared characteristic of the audience she is addressing. It comes as no surprise that the challenges of operational and personnel management also appear in her narrative, especially in her quotations from other people, as in this excerpt:

Excerpt 11

1. *I remember when I chatted with a day care entrepreneur who had to close*
2. *their business after the fourth year of operation. This was not in [the city],*
3. *but in some small place [in another area.]. They said that it is a pity to*
4. *close right now when everything has made a good start and the operation*
5. *has been made clear to everyone. I thought that it cannot be possible that*
6. *one must be in business for four years before the operation is clarified.*
7. *This was the case for me too and now I understand that it cannot take*
8. *place much earlier. I felt that the idea was fairly clear to me, but whether*
9. *we think in parallel or I can assume that everyone thinks like myself is not*
10. *quite so simple. (w32)*

According to Sankelo and Åkerblad’s survey of Finnish private care service providers (2009, 3196), the most difficult and stressful period is the start-up phase of the business. By referring to what her colleague told her (lines 3–5), the writer of the above excerpt points out an unexpected aspect of entrepreneurship of which the reader should be aware. There are also few

questions to be asked, such as “is this what I want?” and “can I do this?” “*Afterwards it is easy to say and indeed I do say: I have been allowed to carry out the task of my life*” (w22). As well as taking up this kind of tutoring role, in some narratives the writers intentionally use others as witnesses to their bold character who underline their willpower, their determination to seize an opportunity, and their courage.

Overall, those adopting this kind of guiding, encouraging and warning writer position are commenting on development and self-understanding as the greatest part of entrepreneurship. Thus they are reproducing the cultural expectation that entrepreneurship is something special and extraordinary, and particularly that it is something that is strange to care workers. They are evaluating their own learning and development: owning and running a business is no pushover; it is portrayed as requiring a lot of work, self-understanding and development. This kind of development and self-knowledge is the personal responsibility of entrepreneur. As a consequence, the reader is addressed as someone who will be able to offer their best professionally by learning about new things and about themselves, meeting demands and reflecting on their life, learning and growing.

5.2 Care: public versus private?

Some of the narratives address especially issues around care, particularly around the split between the public and the private, rather than entrepreneurship itself. In these narratives care appears as something permanent, self-evident and naturalised, in contrast to entrepreneurship.

5.2.1 Confusion about entrepreneurial ideal and care

Excerpt 12

1. *But personally the most important thing: do we do our work for money **or***
2. *to maximise our clients' well-being? In entrepreneurial care work this*
3. *question is not at all straightforward. (w21) (my emphasis)*

This is an excerpt from Hannele's narrative, analysed in detail in subchapter 4.3.1. The excerpt makes an explicit confrontation between care and entrepreneurship. By writing that "*this question is not at all straightforward*" (lines 2–3), using a negative phrase as well as the adverb "*at all*", the writer is hinting at a level of complexity, as well as pointing out her own attitude (Heikkinen 1999, 229) to entrepreneurship in order to naturalise this as a shared issue among care entrepreneurs. It is presented as an either-or situation and as "*personally the most important thing*" (line 1) about which to make a choice, since "they" apparently cannot have it both ways. The value attached to financial gain – a form of masculinity generally attached to entrepreneurship – is presented as the opposite of care and its values, and as constituting a threat to the quality of care. The entrepreneurial ideal appears to exclude both femininity and the work attitudes and traditions of the working class, resulting in a middle-class and masculine image of the entrepreneur (Komulainen & al. 2008, 176). Hannele's question therefore makes implications about gendered and classed expectations in the traditional sense by opposing care and entrepreneurship.

Her use of the plural "*we*" (line 1) and the question mark in the quotation indicate that Hannele's question is directed not just at herself, but at all care entrepreneurs gathering them as a group. By presenting this as an inevitable question on which she has to take a stand, she is pointing out the cultural expectations related to care entrepreneurship, as well as her own stand on the issue. Consequently, care work itself and entrepreneurship in general are naturalised as something we all know and share, but care entrepreneurship requires explanation.

This confused positioning also emerges in other respects. As well as reporting ambivalence between care and entrepreneurship, descriptions of differences within care work that give rise to questions and bafflement can also be found in some of the narratives.

Excerpt 13

1. *First of all, I am now almost in the middle of the fifth year.*
2. *There is a matter which has only now cleared up. This trouble is unclear to*
3. *me, and especially to my customers. Especially to old woman customers. A*
4. *care entrepreneur term!*
5. *It is the unclear title for an entrepreneur who offers home help services,*
6. *such as me. The nursing field and the care field are continually mixed with*
7. *each other. I am a home help entrepreneur, not a care entrepreneur. I will*
8. *clean but I'm not allowed to put a sock onto a foot, since I don't have any*
9. *training in nursing.*
10. *The home care worker is a different creature but certainly does*
11. *important work and also physically really heavy work. And I have*
12. *experienced the mental side as a very important part of my whole service*
13. *process, since I have often stayed at the client's coffee table only in order*
14. *to chat with them even about difficult matters. We have cried together*
15. *and pondered the torrent of words which have arisen from the current*
16. *news. Overall, I am rather independent, going my own way, rather than an*
17. *underpaid cleaner and company dogsbody. I have been that too, due to the*
18. *conditions before "throwing myself" into entrepreneurship. I made quite a*
19. *big leap into the unknown when I did that. (w7)*

Beginning with the adverb “*first of all*” (line 1), this writer sets out to recount several things she wishes to convey. Apparently, she finds it difficult to label herself appropriately, since she regards the terms available as inadequate to describe her position and services. She rejects the term “care entrepreneur” while emphasising the difference between care work and nursing and how they are “*mixed with each other*” (lines 6–7), using the passive voice. However, despite her efforts she does not seem to fit under the nursing label either, since she is “*not allowed to put a sock onto a foot*” (line 8), which she defines as a part of nursing: by using this negative sentence she differentiates between the two. Yet she goes on: “*the home care worker is a different creature*” (line 10). Here she is making a statement on behalf of all home care workers, while the term

“creature” appears to refer to the complexity of that position. To further clarify this peculiar position she continues that this worker “...*certainly does important work*” (lines 10–11), using “*certainly*” to naturalise (Heikkinen 1999, 228) a shared view of the status of that work, even if there is some doubt about its nature.

To make self-identification and labelling even more complex, at the end of the excerpt the writer makes a distinction between cleaning and giving emotional support to the client, which is understood to be part of care work (lines 11–15). Instead of just focusing on the low-status, repetitive, dirty nature of cleaning and body work (e.g. McDowell 2009; Wolkowitz 2002; Tedre 2004b), she is emphasising the interactive aspect of the care she offers. Apparently, she is aware of the arbitrary line between care and cleaning in her profession, and this affects how she describes herself even though in practice the line is blurred. Furthermore, she is also entangled in the entrepreneurial position. Her “*big leap into the unknown*” (lines 18–19), which is echoed in other entrepreneurial research (e.g. Ikonen 2008, 200–201; Koski & Tedre 2004, 127), implies not only the courageousness of her action, but also the unfamiliarity of entrepreneurship. In conclusion, she is not a care entrepreneur, but nor is she a qualified care worker or a nurse; instead she is a cleaner who does care work. However, from others’ point of view she portrays herself as a creature who she hopes is appreciated for the work she does. By making these contrasts within the care profession, the writer is pointing out power struggles inside the care work sector.

What is also interesting in excerpt 13 is the mention of elderly women clients’ difficulties in understanding the boundaries and lines within the profession (line 3). Different presumed views about what is included in this entrepreneur’s services and how they should be done emerge with gendered and classed features, and as entangled with the label of home care entrepreneur. Therefore, in order to avoid the position of the personal or domestic servant – which has even lower status, as was found in a study of migrant home care workers (Solari 2006) – the writer points out the gendered, classed and generational expectations of care among members of the same gender. While the elderly woman client apparently expects to be served by a

younger woman, the writer is distancing herself from that position with a continual relabelling that does not seem to lead to any specific outcome. Thus it appears that the expectations of clients are also portrayed as having gendered and perhaps even classed aspects. Similarly, according to Bente Rasmussen (2004, 521), skills characterised as feminine are assumed to be available to those hiring them, and thus end up being exploited. According to Rasmussen's research, women clients expect women care workers to take their time, give attention and "made it cozy", as if they were their daughters.

While the writers are encouraged by the public discourse demanding that more care service providers act out of self-interest, their confusion about their position appears to lead to a concern about doing so at the expense of others. Some of these writers prefer to have as little as possible to do with the notion of entrepreneurship and the cultural expectations related to it as they write about their life course. Compared to writers discussed in the subchapter 5.1.2, who value their working-class background and values as well as entrepreneurship as a way to earn a living, these entrepreneurs who comment on the divisions between public and private care tend more to characterise themselves as municipal workers, reminding the reader of their role as subcontractors, which is not presented as entrepreneurial per se. The appropriate way to write about one's life (Heikkinen 1999, 222) as a care entrepreneur appears to entail finding ways to be an entrepreneur in the care services without being defined negatively in a social and cultural context that conventionally expects waged workers. Consequently, instead of the entrepreneurial ethos, the ethos of hard work as cultural capital inherited from home (Koski & Tedre 2004, 130) appears repeatedly in these writings, as shown in subchapter 4.1. Being in this uncomfortable position of indefiniteness may also be the result of occupying too many positions (Byrne 2006, 70), ending in an inability to use those available:

Excerpt 14

1. *It is indeed a more problematic story to be the manager and at the same*
2. *time the owner and at the same time an employee in a group of others.*
3. *Briefly said, one could easily join the trade union understanding those*
4. *matters but due to the comical nature of the situation I have refrained*
5. *from it myself. (w32)*

There are contradictory consequences of wearing too many hats. Being pulled in different directions may result in a lack of available discursive resources to put to use (ibid. 59). Alternatively, the writers may simply find it difficult to take up a single position: there is no one position that fits, because the prevailing positions do not offer them the means to tell about themselves appropriately. They are not entrepreneurs, since they are care entrepreneurs; they are not care workers either, since they are entrepreneurs (albeit mostly through subcontracting). They are employers, but they also participate in the basic care work. The commenting adverb “*easily*” (Heikkinen 1999, 227) in the phrase “*one could easily join the trade union*” (line 3) is illustrative of the mixed position and contradictory expectations in which this writer finds herself. This phrase also points out the divisions that are made between these positions. Like the writers in subchapter 5.1.2 who trace back their entrepreneurship to more working-class origin and values, this entrepreneur points out the artificiality of her status as manager and owner, since she understands herself as an employee as well. It is therefore no surprise that one consequence of such multiple roles has been found to be a decrease in motivation among managers of private care units (Ollila 2004, 35).

These kinds of underpinning make visible the ways in which the masculinity of entrepreneurship and the femininity of care work affect the writers’ abilities to define and describe themselves. Some writers are confused about the masculine image and middle-class values and expectations attached to entrepreneurship, and simultaneously embrace the more working-class care worker position, which leads to a kind of defensiveness. Power struggles within the care work professions also add to the mix, making entrepreneurial definitions even more difficult. The bafflement that emerges from these narratives may arise from the lack of appropriate positions available for use in

these narrative environments. Thus it could also be argued that the writers lack appropriate cultural scripts, in that they are not able to rely on the “I was always different” script (also Byrne 2006, 58) discussed in subchapter 5.1.1.

Excerpt 15

1. *It is generally imagined that a person who becomes an entrepreneur*
2. *makes a lot of easy money from somewhere and it's a load of crap since it*
3. *is the most easiest to be working for somebody else.*
4. *However, despite the difficulties I would not return back to being a*
5. *punching bag for municipalities for any price. (w3)*

“One generally imagines that a person who becomes an entrepreneur” (line 1): using the adverb “*generally*” and the passive form as indications of naturalisation (Heikkinen 1999; 228), this writer is referring to the prevailing and shared expectations of entrepreneurs that get used against her and others like her. When the writers mention issues relating to entrepreneurship, they often do so from the other’s point of view, in terms of how they are defined by others. The use of the passive leaves it unspecified at whom the comment is directed (ibid. 2000b, 145) in this excerpt, and the accusations are left hanging. The passive also distances the writer from the text and allows her to speak on behalf of care entrepreneurs in general; this use of the passive often occurs in this kind of narrative.

However, reducing the distance in the text by stating her own opinion of entrepreneurship at the end, the writer then states her personal unwillingness – using the adverb “*for any price*” (line 5) – to return to waged work, despite the difficulties she has faced as an entrepreneur. Verbal processes can be interpreted as forms of interpersonal meaning (Heikkinen 1999; 2000b): it is striking how often these writers in confused positions cite negative comments from municipal officials and employees that leave them “*speechless and wordless*” (w1), without appropriate narrative resources put to use, as well as bitter. Feelings of being misunderstood, envied and unfairly treated are foregrounded in some of the narratives. It therefore seems to be a relatively new experience for the writers to find themselves in a position between two opposites.

Excerpt 16

1. *The only way to be able to do this is not to experience this as a business*
 2. *but as a way of life (...)*
 3. *I never got any help from society and I have not seen fit to ask for any.*
 4. *(...)*
 5. *Sometimes I also feel that an entrepreneur has no protection from the law,*
 6. *only obligations to employees and to the tax authorities. (...)*
 7. *Nor have I learned to deal with tax affairs. (...)*
 8. *So far I haven't saved anything under the mattress even though my own*
 9. *lifestyle is about recycling and simplicity.(...)*
 10. *I feel that society does not support a small entrepreneur in any way.*
- (w5)

In some narratives it appears that entrepreneurship often emerges in relation to negative issues, such as experiences of disrespect, personal financial sacrifice, unfair legislation and a large amount of work without holidays. According to Folbre (2002, 51), goodwill in care becomes exhausted if we receive no rewards for doing the right thing, and this leads to anger, bitterness and cynicism. The negative utterances above, which are taken from the end of Helena's narrative in subchapter 4.1.2, are revealing of her view of her own entrepreneurship. Since "*the business*" is an oxymoron and the employer role unjust, it seems more appropriate to depict entrepreneurship and whatever it entails as "*a way of life*", since that is "*the only way*" to carry on (lines 1–2). The adverb "*only*" implies that other ways have failed to motivate her, emphasising the point she wishes to make. Therefore this lifestyle appears unrewarding in spite of her good and unselfish intentions, of which the reader should be aware. These writers concentrate on portraying their situation as incomprehensible; they portray themselves as having drifted into entrepreneurship for some reason or other, and as having been judged for doing so.

In a study of independent health service contractors in Britain, Laurie Cohen and Gill Musson (2000, 38–43) found that these entrepreneurs construct a business identity that complements their medical identity; however, if the two identities are set in opposition, they will choose the medical identity. The women they interviewed found it difficult to define the term "entrepreneur", and it was often portrayed as either good or bad. There were also some who

felt no sense of identification with the term, either because they felt excluded from it or because they regarded it negatively and did not want to be associated with it. Similarly, an interview study of a journalist who became an entrepreneur found that the entrepreneurial identity enabled to secure the journalist identity in the face of changes at the personal, organisational and societal levels, but that it had not been the journalist's initial goal in life (Hytti 2003, 606).

Thus the experience of injustice emerges as something the care entrepreneurs in this study wish to convey through their writing, since they are torn between competing and contradictory cultural expectations, which might explain why there is little room for anything else. At first entrepreneurship is described as offering solutions: the opportunity to work where there is a lack of employment, to have more flexible working hours for family responsibilities, to provide more suitable care for the clients, and to acquire meaning and contentment from one's work. However, there is no passion for or ideology behind entrepreneurship in itself. Here the tables turn and entrepreneurship is depicted as holding out false or imaginary promises. Thus the writers focus on a consideration of the consequences, rather than reflecting on the reasons for their problems. The emphasis is more on enduring hardship than on actively overcoming it.

Taken together, these entrepreneurs are commenting on the possibilities and limitations of care entrepreneurship from their non-established institutionalised positions – as unfamiliar “creatures” – among service providers. Thus these writings are situated in relation to the ongoing discussion of structural changes in the service sector, and to the reorganisation of work and responsibilities within the care work professions. In particular, the writers do not seem to share the same definition of their businesses as entrepreneurial. Furthermore, their situation is mixed, as they bear personal responsibility while also being a subcontractor for the municipality. As a result, they seem unable to find any agency that shares their views implicating a lack of appropriate narrative resource available, and this leads to a bitter tone in the narratives. There was a sentence in the writing request that suggested the possible difficulties of combining care and entrepreneurship because the

activity is labelled private while being mostly purchased by municipalities. This might have encouraged some writers to focus on these particular kinds of experience. I can assume that some entrepreneurs might have read the writing request as asking what the outcome of becoming a care entrepreneur had been.

Thanks to the presumption that these entrepreneurs have unselfish motivations, the provision of good care is naturalised as self-evident. Instead of engaging in a discussion of what constitutes a good quality of care and how to provide it, the writers highlight the presumption of an equation between a bad quality of care and the private services. Additionally, a good employer is an equal with the employees, while good employees are aware of the mixed positions these entrepreneurs are in. These confusions are portrayed as leading to a situation in which the writers depict themselves as moral subjects who are no longer appreciated as entrepreneurs.

As well as portraying their unsettled position in relation to waged work, these writers also foreground how they are viewed by their clients. Their in-between position in this respect is most evident in the case of home care services. "*At first many [elderly clients receiving home care] were willing to pay for the services, but in the end nobody was willing to pay anything themselves*" (w13). Thanks to the long history of the welfare state, people are used to publicly purchased services and therefore find it strange that anybody should require personal payment for it. Moreover, since these services have traditionally been invisible work done in the private sphere, usually by women, the service provider's situation appears to be ambiguous. Furthermore, because they are often considered to be managers who have somewhat similar values to entrepreneurs, these women appear to be blurring the supposed divisions between these contradictory positions. As stated above, as an alternative to the status of manager, the hostess status (Åkerblad 2009) is a good example of the kind of relabelling, with gendered and classed features, that is considered necessary and representative in these cases.

5.2.2 Naturalised femininities of care

In addition to those who emerge as confused and accused, as lacking narrative resources to use, other writers draw on the public-private division to further emphasise the “love-money dichotomy” (see Bolton 2005). This dualism casts care as non-work, unskilled and naturally female, and money as the opposite. In particular, caregiving and nurturing in some narratives emerge as natural attributes of women. Care workers are depicted as having specific personal qualities and a “quasi-religious devotion” to their work, which may be understood to compensate for the poor wages and low status of this work (Dyer & al. 2008, 2031; McDowell 2009, 163).

Excerpt 17

1. *I was working as a departmental head in a hospital, I didn't like the*
2. *illness-centred way of thinking or the bureaucracy. It seemed that*
3. *different schools mostly had the need to prove their own validity = their*
4. *frame of reference in relation to the suffering human being. The*
5. *dominating idea of man was very random, in other words whoever was*
6. *the strongest “won”. At times the so-called biological idea won, at times*
7. *the behavioural, at times some sort of Christian, Marxist, gestalt*
8. *psychological nonsense... no wonder that schizophrenia is increasing.*
9. *I do not like manipulation; I cannot bear slipping political, religious*
10. *views of one's own into nursing. (...)*
11. *I become moved, very excited from happiness when I meet a sincere person*
12. *who has an inborn gift to listen to others, to walk in another person's*
13. *shoes. AND THERE ARE THOSE, A LOT OF THEM AMONG*
14. *ORDINARY PEOPLE (NOT AMONG PROFESSIONAL HELPERS),*
15. *which I even represent myself.*
16. *WHEN I GO NEAR THE OTHER PERSON (A HUMAN BEING WANTS TO*
17. *BE HELPED) I AM ALSO IN IT! HERE IS AN ANSWER TO THE*
18. *QUESTION OF WHY I AM AN ENTREPRENEUR. I cannot stand MAKING*
19. *EXCUSES, “UPRIGHT TIGHT FISH TAPEWORMS” AS CARE*
20. *WORKERS, NOT THOSE KNOW-IT-ALLS... – WHEN YOU ARE REAL*
21. *YOURSELF – YOU WON'T BURN YOURSELF OUT AND WILL KEEP*
22. *YOURSELF OPEN TO LIFE – THAT'S IT – (w12)*

This writer is making a distinction between people who are natural and “ordinary” (line 14) and professional care workers in waged work. This is the direct opposite of the “professional being” stand discussed in subchapter 5.1.1,

in which vocational qualifications are seen as indicators of a good quality of care. Thus there appear to be two sides of the “mothering” coin. Mothering can be associated with unprofessionalism and in that sense imply untrustworthiness, but it can also be an indicator of trustworthiness, since the lack of it in waged work results in a worsening quality of care.

By referring to a “*sincere*” person (line 11) with an “*inborn gift*” (line 12), this writer is deploying a generalisation about the natural qualities of women in reference to care work. According to her, too much “*very random*” theory, knowledge and skills leads to a neglect of the most important aspects of care, and spoils the encounter between the caregiver and the cared for (line 5), which constitutes the basis of care. Thus she is explicitly taking a stand on waged work. She also uses negative utterances to describe the things she does not like or cannot stand (lines 1, 9–10, 18–21), pointing out a common outlook on care in the public sector and thereby separating herself from it. Using the double-deictic “you” (see Fludernik 1994; Mildord 2006), she generalises while giving the advice to be genuine in order not to burn oneself out, suggesting that this is what happens to those who are not genuine (lines 21–22).

With the graphic use of words and capital letters she lays out the story “Florence Nightingale meets the professional performer in the 21st century”. Apparently, she wishes to reveal what waged care workers are like: they lack the feminine skills, qualities and altruism required for good-quality care. However, while opposing the religious and political aspects of the “Nightingale script”, she also deploys a similar kind of separation between the “saints” and “professionals” of care work, a separation that was also found in Solari’s (2006) research on migrant care workers in the US. Even so, it remains unclear whether the professionals she refers to previously possessed these altruistic qualities and subsequently relinquished them, as the next excerpt indicates.

Excerpt 18

1. *It is quite horrible to hear how the home helps in the municipalities visit as*
2. *many as 10 customers daily and how they must not do this and that any*
3. *more, one just goes in only to say hello and to state that this one*
4. *[customer] is still alive ... (w3)*

One reason for their apparent lack of the necessary attributes might be that waged care workers have become more restricted by the boundaries of their assignments, since they are not able to perform adequately “*any more*” (line 2), a hinting adverb relating to time (Heikkinen 1999, 229). Indicating the situatedness of this narrative in the time of the writing (ibid. 222), this writer seems to recognise and deploy the ongoing discussions within care work in which task divisions are being redrawn (e.g. Henriksson and Wrede 2004).

As discussed in chapter 2, one example of this reorganisation is that cleaning has been removed from home services and relegated to the private sphere of individuals, making it invisible (e.g. Tedre 2004b). More to the point, the adverbs used and the expression “*just goes in only to say hello*” (line 3) demonstrate that home care is defined in terms of the time spent with the client, over which the recipients of care themselves have no control. Thus the workers have to master both time and space as well as the distance between the spaces, and this has become a challenge in the context of increasing demand for and decreasing supply of services. As a consequence, one may choose whether to do the work according to the duties assigned and merely keep the client alive (line 4), or to emphasise the moral obligation to do more. As a reader I cannot help but get the impression that just keeping the client alive in excerpt 18 suggests a lack of basic care, which might include for example cleaning and bathing (e.g. Twigg 2000). Since these kinds of intimate task and demanding physical work are regarded as the work of lower-status groups in the profession, perhaps there is no fight over who gets to do those tasks when checking the client (see Witz 1992). It has been stated some workers are unable to respect patients’ bodily autonomy and needs, and that it is scarcely surprising that some of those workers turn to entrepreneurship in order to have a different kind of relationship with the bodies they take care of (Wolkowitz 2002, 504). The opposite argument can form part of the rhetoric of better care.

Sankelo’s and Åkerblad’s (2009, 3197) survey of 338 Finnish nurse entrepreneurs found that the respondents reported autonomy as the key feature and main strength in comparison with their experiences of working in

the public sector. The caricature of the waged worker is someone who is controlled and managed by others, and who lacks authenticity. It is therefore no wonder that an analysis of negative clauses in the narratives as indications of cultural expectations (Heikkinen 1992, 18) repeatedly finds that those who emphasise the difference between working for someone else and working independently tend to evaluate themselves through comparisons with waged care workers: *“as an entrepreneur I do not count my salary by the hour, nor my holiday pay, number of days off, nor do I even plan a holiday... I avoid a lot compared to those who work for others; no holiday stress, no scheduling, no feeling that on my holiday I could not get this and that done...”* (w6), and more to the point: *“I cannot envy my employees for their right to demand their salaries and other benefits”* (w2). In addition to making the contrasts visible by showing what waged workers apparently are like, these negative phrases also illustrate the difficulty of changing one’s position from waged worker to entrepreneur, and suggest the kinds of reassessment this change involves.

The question of money is particularly value-oriented, and occasionally touched upon in the writings. There appears to be certain ambiguity related to this question, since it is mostly avoided, but is implicitly denied. Shared understanding and cooperation with municipalities forms the basis of the business, as the welfare mix of the service structure is well understood; however, some remnants of prevailing entrepreneurial expectations can still be found in some writings. Additionally, the need to expand the business is recognised as something associated with entrepreneurship, but is transformed from a personal desire into a request that comes from outside, as the demand for services is depicted as growing. Again, however, although the writers mainly differentiate themselves from employees, entrepreneurship also carries cultural expectations that are often simultaneously regarded as questionable: *“money is needed in an equal flow and sufficient quantity, not for personal aggrandisement. You can’t take the euros with you to the grave. ‘No need to show off to people’ as my wise late father-in-law used to say”* (w 21).

Overall, instead of totally rejecting or dismissing the professional requirements of the work, the writers who emphasise their naturalised femininities suggest that traditional vocational know-how no longer appears to

offer the proper means for a good quality of care. Instead of explicitly describing entrepreneurship, they describe waged work and its limitations in reference to their own values and abilities. Thus the entrepreneurial position enables criticism of public care and its workers. More to the point, these narratives operate as if there is a certain shared view of what constitutes good quality care, and consequently of those who need care. Drawing on the category of “other”, these writers take on the status of being different and special (also Bolton 2005), unique, and sometimes even morally superior to those around them (also Jones 2004), as they are the only ones who can take care well. While the employer category appears to be blemished or at least problematic, as in the previous subchapter, this personal uniqueness is moralised in a positive way through its apparent and unquestioned gendered features.

Excerpt 19

1. *I have been in the care field my whole life. I have drifted from one job to*
2. *another and always moving ahead.*
3. *As a young person I began my working life in childcare, as a tutor, a*
4. *teacher for a children’s club for a few years. Then I had my own children*
5. *and had to be at home. The private childcare degree was studied on*
6. *the side while taking care of the children and in the daytime there were*
7. *four other children in addition to my own two (...)*
8. *The loneliness is huge among the elderly; the relatives are busy and live*
9. *far away and not all have relatives. In this work one cries and laughs with*
10. *the client, all one’s feelings are put into play.*
11. *Rich humour in the middle of every day is a part of my care work principle.*
12. *Hugs, touching, appropriate closeness. Holding one’s hand, even without*
13. *talking, is a sensory experience for a visually impaired old person and a*
14. *good feeling takes over the mind. One feels necessary in this work: the*
15. *elderly call one an angel, the one who brings them good spirits. This work*
16. *keeps one’s mind happy when one is able to give joy and love and also*
17. *receive them oneself. The joy of work must not be forgotten. I hope that I*
18. *can still help people for a long time. (w30)*

Compensating for the lack of care from relatives who are busy and live far away, this writer is emphasising her role as indispensable for her clients. Again using specific feminine qualities and practices as resources, she also values her own practical experience gained during her life course as a young woman

working in childcare, as a mother (also Ikonen 2008), and as a private childminder (lines 3–7). For example, Bolton (2005,174) has noted that women report being attracted to nursing and care work because of the possibility to use skills they already possess as women, as well as because of their familiarity with the gendered division of tasks in their social sphere (also Vainio-Korhonen 2002). In the phrase “*always moving ahead*” (lines 1–2), her use of the adverb “*always*” suggests that the writer considers continuity to be essential to her narrative about becoming an entrepreneur.

In addition to the kinds of communication skill referred to in excerpt 19, there has been a growing interest in care research in embodiment as an indicator of the essential elements of daily care work practices and their gendered nature (e.g. McDowell 2009; Wolkowitz 2002). In excerpt 19 the relationship with the bodies being cared for is portrayed as more unrestricted than is the case in excerpt 18, where it is just a question of the clients being greeted by the waged workers. Although the detailed description of care practices and of the impulse “*to give... and receive*” joy and love (lines 16–17) might at first sight appear to be trivial features of life as care entrepreneur, the writer above appears to be using them as examples to demonstrate what she understands as good-quality care. The hand-holding, “the art of touch” (Van Dongen and Elema 2001), could be defined as the basis of care; in the light of NPM discourse and of discussions of the division of tasks in waged work, it might also be seen as a form of luxury from the client’s perspective. This reading would set such feminine practices against the elevation of care work to a professional status that designates everything that is close to the body as unprofessional, easy, natural and low-status work (e.g. McDowell 2009). By commodifying care these entrepreneurs are emphasising these practices to their own advantage, while simultaneously stating their unfamiliarity with the entrepreneurial concept in a subordinate clause.

Thus these writers are repeating the gendered nature of care work and using it to their own benefit, since they are aware of and circulate the “lack of trust in public services” discourse that has appeared, for example, in the Finnish media during the last decade. As well as being described in terms of natural femininities and body work, good-quality care can also be discussed in

reference to place. Public institutions in health and social care presumably fulfil all the relevant requirements in relation to space, but they are also accused of failing to provide comfortable, stimulating and supporting environments or atmospheres for care and recovery, as in the following passage describing a psychiatric ward in a big hospital:

Excerpt 20

1. *It must be difficult to return to reality from a psychosis in such a*
2. *[hospital] environment. Fortunately he was taken into care but now I*
3. *noticed the shocking environment in which the chronic patients had to be*
4. *rehabilitated. A 20-year-old young man in the long-term ward where eight*
5. *men slept in the same room with such narrow bed spaces that the bedside*
6. *tables didn't fit between the beds. There was a shelf above every bed for*
7. *personal things. Then one just walked the aisle back and forth from*
8. *morning till night, went to the smoking room and watched TV. (w10)*

Finding herself in a new situation when taking her son to the psychiatric ward, the writer “now” (line 2) grasps the physical and social environment of the hospital, resulting in an eye-opening experience of the reality of hospital care. Later in her narrative she describes her own rehabilitation home in the countryside as providing the opposite of these conditions.

The concept of “high-touch” business has been used to discuss the relationship between care work and the kinds of classed features with which it is intertwined (e.g. McDowell 2009; Komulainen & al. 2008, 190). The term “high touch” is applied to the home, caring and the service sector as spheres where women’s cultural and emotional capital can be made into a sellable product. Komulainen and others (ibid. 187, 192) describe high-touch entrepreneurship as a middle-class representation emphasising feminine skills. In the background there is a separation between embodied, feminine, working-class work and middle-class masculine entrepreneurship, which in combination with ambition and intelligence results in “high touch”. Thus these writers’ emphasis on their natural femininities as resources for their entrepreneurship could be interpreted as enacting middle-class representations of high-touch business. Despite the emphasis on natural femininities and “touch” as bodily work and the hints of carefulness about the

entrepreneurial position, it would be a misrepresentation to deny that there is ambition for accomplishment and success, the “high”, in the writers’ careers. However, these objectives are invested with moral values and altruistic aims.

Nevertheless, those who provide care services find it confusing to set and charge a price that reflects the value of their contributions. While claiming that their work practices are special, they are aware of how they are valued as entrepreneurs. The experienced and shared cultural expectation of the “good caring woman” as the expected position from which to write does appear in these writings, but it is simultaneously affected and more or less constrained by the views and values attached to entrepreneurship. According to Rasmussen (2004, 511), it is not surprising that these caring qualities are seen as natural, since it is difficult to separate the service from the person giving it, and also difficult for those who give care to draw such distinctions themselves. However, the combination of the two (care and entrepreneurship) implies that there is something more to be attained. Therefore the writers come across as seeing not only the personal but also the societal possibilities of entrepreneurship.

Although they describe themselves as going back to basics like holding hands, emphasising bodily work and feminine skills and thereby situating themselves in relation to discourses around the quality of care, these writers nevertheless avoid associations with passivity, irrationality or weakness (also Bolton 2005, 178). Entrepreneurs have been defined as the opposite of passive, security-seeking, home- and comfort-centred persons (Komulainen & al. 2008, 182). In these narratives the waged workers are portrayed as sharing the latter qualities, and as lacking those required of “high-touch” entrepreneurs, which combine natural and moral values as well as agency and effort. Consequently, the moral thing to do in this particular situation is to start a business of one’s own.

Although the focus is on the juxtaposition of private and public care, these writers are also drawing boundaries and making exclusions within entrepreneurship. It appears that these women highlight their feminine features and skills because of the presumed masculine ideal of

entrepreneurship. Instead of renegotiating their femininity, they use naturalness as a resource to enable them to reframe the masculine stigma of entrepreneurship as “high touch”. The capitalisation of femininities is deployed against the immoral middle-class entrepreneurial ideal, even though it derives from neoliberal views. Unlike the thick descriptions of personal values and good-quality care practices, the decision to start a business is stated in a sentence or two. Thus while the entrepreneurial position has middle-class attributes, the writers accept this to the extent that it does not compromise feminine care work values. These kinds of subtle distinction within the middle class (also Byrne 2006, 57) seem to provide a means to elevate their position through moral statements of offering better care.

5.2.3 Enlightening and defending

These women have all been approached by the researcher with the request to tell about their lives as care entrepreneurs. The writing request therefore puts the entrepreneurs in the position of writer, and the researcher becomes the assumed reader, with the readers of this study as a secondary audience. One of the most obvious interpersonal positions that emerges from the analysis of these narratives is that the reader is addressed as an explorer, someone in search of an explanation, while the writers appear to take on the position of explainer. Every writer can be seen as offering an explanation of her decision to become an entrepreneur. Nevertheless, there are some differences in how the reader is addressed.

Excerpt 21

1. *I have not regretted becoming an entrepreneur. There is so much work for*
 2. *one person to do. Yes, I still plan to continue, I am not tired of my work.*
- (w33)

This kind of yes/no answer is illustrative of how the position of the presumed and addressed reader fuses with that adopted by the writer (Heikkinen 1999, 215). There were no questions in the writing request about whether the entrepreneurs had regretted their decision or thought about closing down their business. Nevertheless, this writer assumes such a question as one of the cultural expectations of the narrative of “my life as an entrepreneur”. Moreover, by using negative clauses she points out some expected features of being an entrepreneur: the possibility that one will regret becoming an entrepreneur, as well as exhaustion from the amount of work. It appears that she assumes that the reader recognises and shares these expectations of entrepreneurship.

There also seems to be something else of which the reader should be aware if they are to understand the decision to start a business of one’s own.

Excerpt 22

1. *I was often in contact with the nurses and asked if there could be more*
 2. *activity on the ward, like disco evenings. The answer was that such things*
 3. *were organised on the adolescents’ ward, but not on the adults’ ward any*
 4. *more. So, those who were 18 years old saw their future through their*
 5. *chronic old room-mates. No wonder it would get depressing. (...)*
 6. *[Later] I took my son back to the hospital and this idea of setting up a*
 7. *rehabilitation home in the countryside slowly started to grow inside me.*
- (w10)

As stated above, the speech of the other is often used as a strategy to convince the reader of the writer’s desired role (Heikkinen 2000a, 109). To emphasise her point here, the writer uses the verbal process of asking for more activities (line 1) to invoke the nurses as witnesses (e.g. Bakhtin 1986; Tannen 1989) to the unsettling reality of hospital care. Instead of just mentioning the discourse of bad conditions of care in the public sector, she hopes to affect the reader with this particular example. Giving this as a reason why she had no choice but to set up a business of her own, she is simultaneously taking on the position of having been cheated and disappointed by public services. Thus the reader is positioned as someone who ought to know about the reality, if they do not already do so, as she portrays herself as having been amazed by that reality.

This “arbitrator” role of the writer appears especially in narratives that emphasise gendered and classed naturalisations of care.

When the writers are enlightening the reader about their reasons for starting their business, they often depict themselves as having been asked to become an entrepreneur: “*the idea for the business came from the municipality. There was an announcement in the local newspaper that the municipality was looking for private day care providers*” (w15). They also use quotations from other people in order to back up their own character: “*the close relatives made a plea that I would sing a song they wanted at the church [at the client’s funeral]*” (w33). These witnesses and quotations indicating entrepreneurial modesty could be interpreted as attempts to gain the understanding and approval of the reader. It seems that, because of the cultural expectations related to entrepreneurship, the reader needs to be convinced of the nature of their endeavour, even though the writers occupy an elevated position by comparison with waged workers.

Excerpt 23

1. *On the whole, I am extremely satisfied with becoming an entrepreneur. I*
2. *can carry out my own views about working ways, entrepreneurial*
3. *operations considerably better than when I was working for someone else.*
4. *A new care service culture can also be created by entrepreneurs and in*
5. *this way I also feel I am influencing society. (w27)*

As well as needing to become aware, the reader also needs to become convinced of the contrasts between private and public care, on which the writer is offering an insight from her point of view. Although she had no power in the public sector, this writer is now demonstrating power over how she does her work. Additionally, by using the passive voice (“*a new care service culture can be created ...*”, lines 4–5) she is speaking on behalf of all entrepreneurs in the field about what entrepreneurship in general can offer. Thus as well as being an evaluator of other service providers, the writer seems to be taking on the position of innovator.

Thus the writers present themselves by writing from personal experience and assuming that the reader accepts the explanations given. At the same time,

because of the combination of care and entrepreneurship, the reader apparently needs to be convinced of the quality of their care. Therefore in some narratives the reader position is constructed as that of someone who will gain an understanding of these kinds of life decision and will perhaps even become enamoured of the writers. These entrepreneurs are reproducing the cultural expectation of a split between the public and private services, especially from the perspective of quality of care. When evaluating and explaining their care entrepreneurship, they therefore take up positions as evaluators of good- and bad-quality care, as people who are disappointed in public services, and as innovators of better services.

In addition to those who take the position of informants, some writers commenting on the division between public and private care appear to take up a position as defenders against accusations and disrespect. In these cases the ideal reader is addressed as someone who, if not downright suspicious, is at least curious about the possible conflict between entrepreneurship and care. The meanings attached to care entrepreneurship are negotiated with the reader who takes on this inquisitive role (Heikkinen 2000c, 325). These kinds of writer position can be particularly read from the narratives in which there is confusion about the writers' own position within that division, but they are also visible in narratives that evaluate other aspects of entrepreneurship.

Excerpt 24

1. *We were the first business like this [in the province] and that of course*
 2. *caused wonder and wondering. Nearly everyone thought that the business*
 3. *was condemned to failure and had no possibility of success.*
- (w23)

By using the plural “we”, this writer is speaking from the position of those who set up the business, since she was not alone. In this way she distances herself from the position of the experiencing subject, while nonetheless writing from a “we” position that indicates a little more agency than, for example, the use of the passive would have done. Since “*nearly everyone*” (line 2) has doubts, by using this kind of indirect quote from others she is aiming to convince the

reader of her desired role as the writer (ibid. 109). The writer's position comes across as that of someone who succeeded against all the odds, while the reader is invited to be captivated by her ordeal. Moreover, by using the adverb "of course" (line 1), she points out that these suspicions came as no surprise to her.

Excerpt 25

1. *There are a lot of comments against entrepreneurship written in the*
2. *newspapers. Many do not understand that we are only supporting public*
3. *supply and people are afraid of many things: the attitude, meaning*
4. *resisting entrepreneurship in the care sector, fears of weakening quality,*
5. *high prices, the loss of job. The outsourcing policy of the municipalities is*
6. *quite undeveloped, so this certainly brings problems when inviting private*
7. *services in nine municipalities to tender. (w14)*

To make her defence of her position, this writer deploys indirect quotations from things that have been written about entrepreneurship in the newspapers. According to Heikkinen (2000b, 145), the use of the passive leaves it unclear at whom a comment is directed. Since she has no directly suspicious quotations to use, the writer here takes on the voices of others by listing the misapprehensions attached to her and others like her (lines 2–4). This list is presented not just as something that has been connected to care entrepreneurs by unspecified others, but also as something of which the reader should become aware. Consequently, as with the use of "we" in excerpt 21, a kind of us-and-them dynamic is set up in this excerpt. Moreover, in the phrase "*we are only supporting...*", the adverb "*only*" (line 2) naturalises the role of the public services as the main service-provider, as well as stating the care entrepreneurs' position.

Some writers in particular come across as spokeswomen for themselves and their colleagues, and address the reader as someone they hope can make a difference to things, thereby potentially adding further value to their message. Thus some writers can be characterised as convincing advocates for their own cause, positioning the reader as potentially persuadable and possibly even instrumental.

Excerpt 26

1. *And my company income collapsed by a third. They even said at the*
2. *Centre for Economic Development that my services are distorted because*
3. *of the right to deduct 60% of the work done for tax purposes. Certainly,*
4. *the 60% deduction has brought in customers, but it is wrongly directed*
5. *when it favours only the well paid and many of those who need*
6. *help are left without. The families with children have had nice help and*
7. *have used the services. For the nursing services there has been relief*
8. *on value-added tax charges. (w3)*

Pointing out the defects in the legislation and regulations guiding private provision, this writer takes on the position of someone who understands the impartiality of the system, perhaps rather better than those who established it. Rather than being written in the first person, this narrative too includes a certain distancing from the experiencing self, as the writer is taking on the role of speaking behalf of all care entrepreneurs. Having been accused of distorted business practices, she diverts the distortedness onto the system. By using a quotation (lines 1–3) from the staff of the Centre for Economic Development, she further emphasises her position as the defender. Moreover, she takes on the role of being active and questioning, while the reader needs to be informed of the facts.

Overall, the reader's position in these writings emerges as inquisitorial, since the writers take up defensive positions when explaining their decisions to become care entrepreneurs. The addressed reader is expected to be somewhat impressed by the writers' ordeals, which are characterised as unjust. The writers explain the things happening around them by using plural and passive formulations. Thus the writers are addressing the reader as someone who needs to be made aware of the disadvantages of this field of business, as well as someone who can make a difference with this study. It is therefore no wonder that the writers seem to take the floor to speak their minds on behalf of care entrepreneurs in general. Drawing on the stability and continuity of the ideological differences associated with the public and private sectors, these entrepreneurs are striving for a better and wider understanding of entrepreneurship, including the peculiarities of care entrepreneurship.

5.3 Summary: shared, contested and reconciled expectations

The American nurse entrepreneur Esther Muscari (2004, 179) writes the following in the *Oncology Nursing Forum Journal*:

Capitalizing on talents or services can help nurses secure new positions or keep endangered ones. Nurse just need to remember to market their talents and offerings. Too common is the pitfall when nurses assume that their value, potential, and abilities are recognized. Patients and colleagues do not know what nurses are capable of unless they tell them and show them.

This passage displays the cultural expectations surrounding care entrepreneurship analysed in this chapter. Although Muscari is writing explicitly about nurses in the United States, in the Finnish context I find it unnecessary to make a distinction between nurse entrepreneurs and other care entrepreneurs, since the issue at stake is not specific to the private healthcare sector in the sense that private doctors have more institutionalised status.

The first sentence of the quotation above links expected and new vocational positions in care work with endangered positions. The expected positions have become vulnerable, while the new ones have yet to become established. Similar notions can be found in my own analysis: there are those who embrace new opportunities in the profession, as in subchapter 5.1.1 on “professional being”, and those who keep their position as a municipal waged worker alive by emphasising their subcontracting role, like those discussed in subchapter 5.1.2. Those who embrace the new possibilities implicitly recognise gendered “natural” attributes as cultural expectations of care workers, but distance themselves from them by means of professionalism based on degrees and training. In a society where socio-economic hierarchies are based on the level and amount of education (Julkunen 2010, 135), further training is used to as evidence of enhanced qualifications. On the other hand, some narratives

contest the cultural expectations surrounding one's position as a waged worker or entrepreneur, or as an employer or employee. As a result, these cultural expectations become reconciled in such a way that the writer's entrepreneurship is not "too entrepreneurial".

Furthermore, according to Muscari's article, in order both to maintain the more traditional positions and to make the new ones secure, nurses are now required to capitalise on their talents, offerings and services. According to Veijola and Jokinen (2008, 176), the new work entails making use of gendered capabilities to one's own advantage, but although these capabilities are beneficial to men they often go unnoticed when it comes to women (Adkins 2001). According to Muscari, nurses need to remember to offer these capabilities on the market. Apparently some nurses forget or do not comprehend this. A possible consequence is that this ignorance will cause bafflement about one's position. This kind of confusion arguably becomes apparent in the narratives that focus on misapprehensions related to the combination of care and entrepreneurship, like those discussed in subchapter 5.2.1. The cultural expectations of a good quality of care in the public sector and a bad quality of care in the private are contested in these narratives, but due to lack of appropriate narrative resources they are nevertheless left unreconciled, and this leads to uneasiness. Following Muscari, these women misguidedly assume that they are valued automatically, without having to display their capabilities and talents.

In order to avoid being left without recognition, nurses need to learn how to capitalise on their abilities (Muscari 2004, 179). There do appear to be some women in these narratives who have understood how to market their services – or at least found narrative resources to combine care and markets. Since it is considered unnecessary to clarify these services and one can just put a price tag on them, the services are apparently naturalised, as seen in subchapter 5.2.2 on "naturalised femininities of care". According to Skeggs (2004b, 96, 98) some aspects of working-class culture can have particular exchange value, resulting in a situation where aspects that were previously regarded as immoral, like profiting from care, are now being revalued in order to open up new markets and new resources for the production of particular selves.

Consequently, by modifying cultural expectations about the femininities of care in line with the new possibilities in the service sector, a better quality of care can be achieved. As stated by Muscari, nurses have talents, value, abilities and offerings that are invisible until they are displayed. I understand this as a suggestion that nurses and other care workers not only have apparently naturalised abilities thanks to their gender, but also that they have something more – something valuable – which is not seen by others, by patients or by the nurses themselves. Instead of just giving care, they need to recognise and put their full potential to use. This potential has financial value if acknowledged and utilised. It could also entail a rise in the status of care work in general, in their own eyes as well as others'. More to the point, the use of terms such as "capitalising" and "marketing talents", "value", "potential" and "abilities" in relation to nursing emerges as something that is targeted at an audience that considers them appropriate and perhaps already familiar from the American context. Muscari appears to be informing the readers, assumed to be nurses and others, of the new possibilities, while also defending, guiding and warning nurses about these opportunities, and about the consequences if they do not acknowledge their own capabilities.

Although there appear to be some interesting similarities between the cultural expectations – i.e. the discourses around care and entrepreneurship and their gendered and classed features – attached to nurse entrepreneurs in the US and care entrepreneurs in Finland, the narrative environments with institutional and interactional interplay analysed in this study are embedded in this particular cultural and historical context. For example, Muscari appears not to recognise that as well as being expected to market their abilities and services in order to receive respect and visibility, care workers may also be culturally required to draw on feminine attributes – thereby by undermining their entrepreneurial identities – in order to avoid the accusation that they are immoral and out for financial gain. I return to this issue in the concluding chapter.

6. Concluding remarks

In this study I have analysed how care entrepreneurs are performing; making, doing and commenting on care, entrepreneurship, gender and class when they write about their lives. In particular, although they are intertwined, I have separately analysed the suggested storyworlds in chapter 4 and the situatedness of the narratives in narrative environments in chapter 5. I have asked how care and entrepreneurship are connected, and how this connection – referring to entrepreneurial experience – is perceived and told through emphases on different narrative elements. I have also analysed the cultural expectations embedded in the narrative environments in order to draw conclusions about the narrative resources available to care entrepreneurs. I will now make some suggestions of what the narratives about care entrepreneurship are commenting on, and draw some conclusions about the societal and cultural context in which they are operating. Moreover I am thus participating on the discussion on neoliberal ideals and the feminisation of work (e.g. Adkins 2005; Skeggs 2005; Veijola & Jokinen 2008).

6.1 Summary

To summarise, this study is based on narrative analysis of 33 written entrepreneurial autobiographies collected via writing request from care entrepreneurs providing different kind of social services around Finland. The ongoing transition in the Finnish social service structure and the consequences of these changes to those doing care work form the context and the socio-political background for this study. Due to the interest on narrative studies the theoretical and methodological framework derives from considering narratives

as performances. Particularly, I have drawn from cognitive narratology as well as taken methodological influences from literary research.

In order to answer my first research question, I analysed the writings by applying mainly David Herman's (2009a) arguments about the degree of variance along the spectrum of narrative elements in storyworlds. My narrative analysis of the suggested storyworlds has pointed out that the emphasis on continuity and linearity in writings about one's life as a care entrepreneur is mostly connected to care work. Thus entrepreneurship does not compromise care: instead, it can be turned into a means to be able to give good-quality care. Similarly, in survival stories about becoming and remaining a care entrepreneur, disruptions present entrepreneurship and being an employer as ambivalent, while care remains uninterrupted. Apparently, entrepreneurship and being an employer in this field of work are so unfamiliar and surprising that it appears unconventional to write about them as easy or ordinary. Moreover, instead of focusing on their reasons for becoming an entrepreneur, for some writers it appears more meaningful to convey the consequences of that choice by evaluating it against other alternatives. As well as narratives explaining actions and made choices, the writing request thus seems to have evoked narratives that present the everyday experiences of being a care entrepreneur through comparisons with what it would have meant to stay in waged work.

The main purpose of discussing the degrees to which different narrative elements are used has been to foreground the variety of experiences, meanings and content attached to care entrepreneurship in the writings. An emphasis on different narrative elements presents continuity of character, survival of becoming and being an entrepreneur and evaluation of possible and made decisions. Thus care entrepreneurship comes forward as a deliverer and preserver of appropriate ways to do care work, as a trial to overcome and a triumph to achieve, or as a blessing that also includes experiences of displeasure. When comparing narratives that master the time-course, emphasise change or offer competing versions of what it has or could have been like to become and be a care entrepreneur, entrepreneurship is rarely presented as a chosen course of one's professional life. Instead looking

backward – in hindsight – (Freeman 2010) experiences of destiny, drifting and compulsion or necessity are suggested in these storyworlds. Moreover, it is noteworthy that care is presented as evident and permanent while entrepreneurship – whether it is a choice, a surprise or something to inform or warn others about – is something that needs to be assimilated into care so that it does not become difficult or at least laborious to narrate.

Overall, taking into account the situatedness of these narratives and the context of combining care and entrepreneurship, it appears that what characterises these narratives of care entrepreneurship as a whole is reconciliation or accommodation in order to maintain the aspect of care in an entrepreneurial setting. Apparently, narrative means offer writers different ways for reconstructing experiences; helping them form a perception of themselves, helping to reduce information into something meaningful, worth telling for and passing on for, in this particular setting of adjusting care and entrepreneurship. Thus, I suggest that narrativity delivers requisites to do this accommodation and in these writings it is done with the emphasis on different narrative elements. There is a spectrum of possibilities along these narrative dimensions as people strive for coherence while simultaneously wishing to be true to the complexities of their life experiences (Ochs & Capps 2001, 19–24). The shared tendency to create the desired continuity in the life story (e.g. Georgakopoulou 2010, 395) is therefore fulfilled in different ways, since there is no specific narrative element that represents the prevalent way to narrate care entrepreneurship. However, when viewing the storyworlds as a whole, it emerges that narrative means are deployed to represent the experiential side of the aspiration to be understood and accepted as moral and public-spirited entrepreneurs in care work.

My second research question was: what possible ways to narrate care entrepreneurship do the cultural expectations embedded in the narrative environments offer and exclude, and how are they gendered and classed? My findings show that the narratives can be summed up as commenting on two main expectations: one is about personal morality and a vocation for care work, and the other is about the ways in which entrepreneurship can offer an alternative to the cultural expectation that a care worker will have a continuous

career in waged work until retirement. The writers are pointing out the cultural expectations of waged work in the care sector, and simultaneously emphasising the unexpectedness and unfamiliarity of entrepreneurship in care work. Thus while these entrepreneurs apparently inhabit contradictory expectations in relation to gender and class, they are also forming syntheses of those expectations in the narratives. In this sense they might be seen not only as the bearers of cultural expectations, but also as mixing or juggling them. Influenced by Bruni and others' (2004b) findings, I suggest that in these narratives gender and class are performed through a constant movement between waged work and entrepreneurship, as well as between being an employer and being an employee as a subcontractor for the municipality.

My analysis of cultural expectations suggests that the widely recognised and often personally experienced changes in public-sector care work constitute narrative means to portray oneself as something "more": as a product or brand. In some narratives entrepreneurship is utilised to elevate naturalised and embodied feminine care to the level of more professional and respectable work, particularly in the name of providing better care for the clients. As well as this professional elevation on the basis of further education and training, the recognition of the new value of feminine skills and capacities at work can also be deployed and made visible in care entrepreneurship. Thus naturalised embodiment can work both ways: it can be taken as a sign of low-status work that needs to earn more value and respectability, and it can also be turned into a commodified product or brand as a sign of good quality of care.

As well as the opportunity to draw on the alternative or "new" openings in these abstracted environments, the unfamiliarity of entrepreneurship and the non-institutionalised status of care entrepreneurs inescapably also shapes the experiences and the ways to tell about oneself. According to Cohen and Musson (2000, 43), the declared desire to offer a better service to patients is somewhat in tension with the financial aspect of entrepreneurship; this leads to a flexible use of the adjective "entrepreneurial", since the term "entrepreneur" can be seen as too rigid. Similarly, in these narratives the middle-class and masculine entrepreneurial ideal is clearly recognised, but it is rejected in favour of "entrepreneurial waged work", referring to subcontracting. With its reflection

of differences of both gender and class, subcontracting at least provides the possibility of reconciliation. The compromise leads to a vague position between waged work and entrepreneurship, but simultaneously alleviates the contradiction between care and business. Also the characteristics associated to being a hostess rather than middle-classed employer comes forward in the narratives. However, the implementation of diverse and apparently new narrative resources emerges in these storyworlds in unreconciled confusion over the writers' simultaneous occupation of multiple positions, and in the absence of the desired coherent sense of self. This confusion that arises when one falls outside of the gendered and classed norm of waged care work again suggests the contradictory cultural expectations of care work and entrepreneurship.

On the basis of my analysis of the storyworlds, and particularly of the emphasis on the continuity of care and reconciliation, in terms of the neoliberal entrepreneurial self (Peters 2005; Skeggs 2004b, 6) I suggest that entrepreneurship is a personal project built on the basis of the care worker self. If we analyse the cultural expectations embedded in the narrative environments around care entrepreneurship in Finland, it appears that neoliberal views about taking charge of one's own life are deployed when the writers are contrasting their own entrepreneurship with the bad quality of care in the public sector. The narratives appear to show traces of the need to become someone, to which Skeggs (2005, 974) refers as the "compulsory individuality" of the middle class, and which draws on the idea of an authentic inner individuality, and on discourses of choice as the route to compulsory selfhood. Although the considered narrative environments eschew the middle-class and masculine entrepreneurial ideal because it is in contradiction with the values and traditions of care work, at the same time they are open to the neoliberal ideals of branding oneself, commodifying services, and blurring the line between waged work and entrepreneurship.

Since gender and class inform our ability to deploy narrative resources when telling about ourselves in particular contexts, it is no surprise that such oppositions are displayed, reproduced and reconstituted in care entrepreneurship. While feminine care work and the entrepreneurial ideal are

presented in contrast with each other and as in need of reconciliation, the more middle-class concept of “high touch” (McDowell 2009; Komulainen & al. 2008, 189–191) has also become available and partly welcomed. “High touch” could be regarded as a subtle variation of the middle-class entrepreneurial ideal. Conversely, the writings do not suggest that the writers deploy femininity when they define themselves as employers, even though in general the authoritarian and masculine leadership style has long been called into question, and there is more reported satisfaction with women managers than with men (Lehto & Sutela 2008, 103). Writers who resist traditional entrepreneurial and neoliberal notions by rejecting the idea of personal investment in their business do so by taking up the compromise position of waged workers for municipalities through subcontracting, even though they are still regarded as entrepreneurs. In terms of the femininities of care, putting a price tag on holding hands appears to have become more recognised and accepted, but is nonetheless still rather unfamiliar.

Moreover, while ideas around the commodification of care are acknowledged to some extent, the notion of personal risk-taking is scarcely ever embraced. I therefore suggest that neoliberal ideals offer access for care entrepreneurs to middle-class resources for self-making (Skeggs 2004a; 2005), but that these resources are not necessarily fully adopted. This is demonstrated by my finding that features of middle-class entrepreneurship appear to be deployed only when they accentuate a good quality of care based on femininities. Thus Sundin and Tillmar (2008b) have reported quite similar results in their study about care entrepreneurs as change agents, since the elderly care entrepreneur was more positively regarded, since she evoked ideals of good care that were in line with expectations of female behaviour and values in a female-dominated field. By contrast, the nurse entrepreneur was perceived more negatively, since she broke the rules of nursing by taking initiatives and striving for change.

Gray (2003, 493, 503) argues that the characteristics of flexibility, valuable skills and informal knowledge form part of the discourses of enterprise, new management and postmodernity, but that they are also traditionally linked to femininity. Thus flexibility is attached to femininity, but in the post-Fordist era

it is also attached to all occupational groups as an attitude that should be adopted by all. Likewise, skills attached to femininity like listening, supporting, caring and encouraging have also been emphasised. Gray argues that thanks to the consumer culture, these kinds of skills and knowledge have been given new value, enabling women to enter the labour market with “made-up market subjectivities”. However, according to Veijola and Jokinen (2008, 170), feminine virtues are required for every task in the new work, and this benefits men but often leaves women unacknowledged and unrewarded. Thus this mobile project of the self remains strongly gendered (Adkins 2005), for example by neglecting the embodied nature of care work (McDowell 2008, 154). Consequently, while neoliberal ideals have made feminine abilities and skills visible, entrepreneurship in care work also brings them to the fore. In the context of narrating about care entrepreneurship, feminine virtues are presented as mandatory to some extent, because they are in contrast with entrepreneurial virtues. Moreover, there are no apparent – or at least concrete – rewards for deploying these virtues. On the contrary, being “too rewarded” for deploying them potentially implies immorality. Thus as well as being a requirement, feminine skills and abilities are naturalised, invisible and taken for granted in care work – until entrepreneurship puts them in the spotlight by raising questions about them.

The notion of “high touch” also makes visible the often unrecognised embodied nature of care work (McDowell 2009, 224). Leaving the personal touch to assistants, educated nurses have often been said to rely on “high-tech” nursing. The use of impersonal and distancing devices has been validated as a way to prevent psychic strain, and also as a possible means to enhance the patient’s feelings of independence. However, while touch has been replaced with technical aids, there has simultaneously been a growing demand to “humanize this touch” (Van Dongen & Elema 2001, 156–157). In the light of NPM discourse and the discussions related to the distribution of tasks in care work, touch has become “an art” (ibid.) and an indicator of quality of care. It has also been both naturalised and commodified by the care entrepreneurs in this study.

On the basis of my findings, I suggest that these narratives can predominantly be read as comments on the quality of care, headlining the abstracted narrative environments of care entrepreneurship. Within this discussion of the quality of care, the split between public and entrepreneurial care can be found in most of the narratives in a variety of ways. Whether emphasising the good quality of care the entrepreneurs have achieved, or the suspicions of bad-quality care they have endured, these narratives take part in and reproduce the discussion of quality of care. Suspicions about the morality and value of becoming a private service-provider in a sector dominated by public services, and doubts related to the elevation to employer status, appear to resonate strongly with fears of a decreasing quality of care. This is not surprising, since discourses around the quality of care are something these women were very aware of and more or less concerned about at the time of writing, thanks to the structural changes in the Finnish service sector.

Traces of the ongoing public discussion of the quality of care can be found in most of the narratives. For example, the ageing population and subsequent growing demand for care services, and the financial difficulties of municipalities, are explicitly shared and circulated in the narratives. It also appears that discourses of flexibility, client-orientedness and greater individual choice over services have been thoroughly absorbed from the New Public Management (NPM) discourse in some writings. Questions around professional divisions and boundaries are also mentioned. Although they are not deterministic, discourses concerning the quality of care emerge as something that is not easy to avoid. However, the storyworlds analysed in chapter 4 differ as to what is deemed problematic and for whom, as the given meanings and portrayed experiences of entrepreneurship vary.

In addition to pointing out the enduring and alternative ways to tell about oneself, the analysis of the narrative resources deployed has given insight into the divisions and differences made in the texts. As individual accounts of care entrepreneurship, these narratives comment on and against simplifying categorisations, definitions and divisions related to care workers and entrepreneurs. If we take on the reader's point of view – which is always intertwined with the writer's roles – and look at the interpersonal positions

offered in the narratives, it appears that care entrepreneurs are defending themselves against simplified categorisations or boundaries. The writers are informing the reader about themselves in spite of the expected categorisations of care workers and entrepreneurs, and guiding the reader (also Korhonen & al. 2008, 162) about the ways in which care entrepreneurs do not fit such fixed categories and expectations. They take on the position of the one who knows by experience, as well as that of expert and consultant on the subject (also Hyvärinen 1994). Thus as well as discussing the topic of quality of care, the narratives are also displaying the indefiniteness of the writers' positions. The writers' defending, informing and guiding comments portray their varying experiences of care entrepreneurship, and thus reveal disparate narrative environments with tensions around this theme.

6.2 Discussion

Across the trinity of my research questions, research material and methodological solutions, my application of narrative research and methodologies has been guided by my premise that to tell about something is simultaneously to do it in the context of sociocultural conditions and interactions. In particular, I have deployed insights from cognitive narratology to argue that in order to organise experience and understand the self and the wider social world, people employ stories to make sense of things. As well as enquiring into entrepreneurial experiences, my focus has also been on the exploration of individual narratives in their cultural and societal contexts. By analysing the suggested storyworlds, and by showing how narratives that do care entrepreneurship are also simultaneously commenting on issues related to it, I have also shown how narrative resources – narrative environments with gendered and classed cultural expectations – can be read from, and are reproduced by, personal accounts.

However, as well as possibilities there are always constraints on the knowledge produced from specific theoretical and methodological viewpoints (Ronkainen & al. 2011, 14). My collection of written narratives from entrepreneurs, giving them minimal guidelines, has given the writers the opportunity to decide largely for themselves what to write about and how: what they consider important and representative about their experiences as care entrepreneurs, how it is conveyed, and how the imagined reader is addressed. In addition to the facts that relatively few invitees responded – indicating an unwillingness to produce this laborious kind of research material – and that some of the material I received consisted of newspaper articles and CVs instead of narratives, there are other notable shortcomings to collecting this kind of material. The importance of the writing request itself has to be taken into account when collecting and analysing this kind of material, as the narratives are produced in relation to that request. However, written narratives have provided me with adequate material to enter the surrounding narrative environments – with institutional and interactional interplay – that affect the respondents' writing, which was essentially the focus of this study.

As a social scientist doing narrative research, I have been focusing both on and beyond the texts and narratives themselves. I have been interested in implementing methodological influences from different scientific fields, particularly from literary narratology and linguistics, rather than relying on fixed models (Hyvärinen 2010, 91). David Herman's (2009a; 2009b) approach, influenced by discourse analysis, of combining analytical methods from literary research and emphasising the situatedness of narratives in their environments has provided the means and opportunity to make fine distinctions when analysing the storyworlds suggested in the writings. Moreover, Herman's work has offered a method for analysing the narrative resources that are available to the writers. Although Herman proposes the elements of prototypical narrative in the context of analysing fictional narratives, I find his overarching argument valuable for the analysis of non-fictional narratives too, this being the focus of

most social scientists¹⁷. Drawing on linguistics has also made it possible to draw out the implications not just of the form but also of the content of the narratives, since there are no shortcuts to the content (Hyvärinen 2010, 78). In addition to the interpretation of storyworlds, the concept of narrative environments as institutional and interactional has also enabled insights into the social and cultural conventions of writing and narrating, thereby broadening the analysis from purely subjective accounts of care entrepreneurship. The analysis of narrative resources in general, particularly narrative environments, has enabled me to identify those aspects that appear to be lasting and those that have changed, as well as to grasp the kinds of division and difference that are drawn and to understand how they are made when telling about care entrepreneurship.

Accordingly, when drawing socio-cultural conclusions about the results of this study, one cannot avoid the discussion on the connections of care and the feminisation of work. Referring to Adkins (2001; 2005) Veijola and Jokinen (2008, 176) suggest that there is a question as to whether the feminisation of work has had the real effect of increasing equality between or within the genders. As well as referring to the changing content of work, the feminisation of work refers to women's growing share of the labour market, both locally in public-sector care and service work, and globally in the increased migration of women and their care "potentials" (Jokinen 2004b, 287; Vähämäki 2011, 167). Jokinen and Jakonen (2011, 137–138) describe care as boundless and global, since it is constantly moving while also being situated everywhere, in multilateral relationships as well as virtual worlds. Because it is an invisible and undervalued necessity and the organisation of which entails naturalising, sexist and racist presumptions, they regard care as an important political issue for women.

On the basis of the narrative analysis of care entrepreneurs' writings in this study, it is impossible to draw conclusions about, for example, the possibility of increasing unprofessionalism in the field – lower wages, the use of untrained care workers, the deskilling of care work and so on – even though that issue is a

¹⁷ However, I take on view that the line between fiction and non-fiction is a bit arbitrary (Brockmeier 2013).

valid concern (e.g. Eräsaari 2010; Julkunen 2010). Nevertheless, the analysis has pointed out the broadening content of the care work that is done for example by entrepreneurs. In addition to embodied care work, the work entails selling services, participating to competitive bidding, personnel management, cleaning, cooking, and renovating facilities, among other things. However, although the tasks have multiplied and diversified, status, appreciation and rewards have not automatically followed. There has been a somewhat similar tendency in Finland in healthcare, where some of the doctors' responsibilities have been transferred to nurses without sufficient compensation.¹⁸ The requirement of flexibility – drawing on gendered expectations of women as caring as well as on portrayals of care work as a vocation or calling – and the intensification of care work within the profession (Wrede 2008, 130, 138) are evident, bringing to mind the famous line from *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*: “It takes all the running you can do, to keep in the same place.” Moreover, it has become apparent that the positions of care workers in the field have become more diverse, diversification being one of the characteristics of new work: entrepreneurship is one of these positions.

As the established institutions that create stability are growing weaker (Jokinen & al. 2011, 7), I share Julkunen's (2010, 214) view that the division between women as care workers and as recipients of care is not being reformed in a more equal direction. While there is now more autonomy over the work, the hierarchies and power relations among agents in the care sector might go unnoticed. The NPM discourse emphasises networks over hierarchies, but the majority of today's care entrepreneurs operate as subcontractors for municipalities where problematic hierarchies are still present. Moreover, the networks among care entrepreneurs do not appear to be strong or efficient, perhaps because of the municipalities' policy of inviting to tender. However, according to Österberg (2002, 200), the feelings of freedom that care entrepreneurs attach to entrepreneurship are stronger than their feeling that they are in an unequal power relation. Subcontracting might mean that the

¹⁸ [Http://www.mediuutiset.fi/medi_promojuttu/laakarinen+rutiinitehtavat+siirtyvat+hoitajille/a708088](http://www.mediuutiset.fi/medi_promojuttu/laakarinen+rutiinitehtavat+siirtyvat+hoitajille/a708088)

power relation is not quite perceived as such, because it does not encompass the usual entrepreneurial position and expectations.

As well as retaining the illusion of freedom connected to the new work, care entrepreneurs are evidently examples of the process of transferring some of the responsibility for providing services – and the risk that comes with it – from the state to individuals. There are gendered ways in which the economy is said to be taking advantage of women (Julkunen 2010, 53, 146), such as by relying on embodied feminine skills, or casting the rationality of responsibility as naturalised femininity. One could also talk about “greedy institutions”, in this case greedy municipalities, relying on individual caregivers and their services (Rasmussen 2004). Cooperation with municipalities is established without any union-based security for entrepreneurs, who are mostly operating as subcontractors. Care entrepreneurship is currently and commonly based on agents operating at the local level, and this could be seen as an example of the misapplication of responsibility. Narratives that portray a lack of institutional trust in entrepreneurial care highlight the fact that even after being appointed and endorsed, care entrepreneurs can also be abandoned (Julkunen 2006) – literally, as some narratives demonstrate, but also figuratively, as they are left alone to manage the disharmonious cultural expectations as they tell about and define themselves.

Overall, the new work seems to challenge common notions of femininity and masculinity as work-related competencies by appropriating feminine capabilities to make careers and profits (Veijola & Jokinen 2008, 176). However, as Julkunen (2010, 285–286) asks, how do we know when the reliance on femininities, as in the commodification of care, is the result of gendered routines, and when it should be regarded as free self-expression? For example, in light of the power relations and financial dependency on municipalities, and the questionable notion of profiting from care, care entrepreneurship does not appear to be an entirely unconstrained way to express oneself and one’s femininities.

On the basis of the findings of my study, I suggest that the current small-scale care entrepreneurship operating at the local level in Finland is one example of the performance of new work, as well as of the uneasy combination

of the gendered and classed cultural expectations attached to care work and entrepreneurship. By emphasising the reconciliation of care and business, care entrepreneurs are reproducing the ideology that care work and entrepreneurship are an incompatible and confusing combination. In some narratives entrepreneurship is loaded with negative gender and class associations, while care work in general emerges as gendered and classed more positively. In other narratives the question of entrepreneurship versus care work turns into the question of being an employer versus being an employee. The gap between the two lies in the uncertainty over the cultural expectations of entrepreneurship and of being an employer in this particular field. As well as being offered and partly adopted as empowering and challenging, the cultural expectations attached to entrepreneurship (and being an employer) are also unfamiliar, baffling and discordant in ways that highlight their gendered and middle-classed nature. Thus the neoliberal entrepreneurial self is welcomed – although not to the point where it would outweigh care and its feminine values and practices – but is also opposed by the writers’ attachment to an idea of entrepreneurial waged work.

My analysis of abstracted narrative environments suggests that diverse cultural expectations situate care entrepreneurs simultaneously both inside and outside opposing gendered and classed positions. The narratives portray experiences of being simultaneously both in and out of entrepreneurship, in and out of care work, and in and out of positions as employers and waged workers. The differences between work and other aspects of life have been said to dissipate when work tasks entail the use of personal traits. According to Heidi Meriläinen (2011, 155–157) labels such as “entrepreneur”, “waged worker” and “unemployed” do not represent the current reality of people’s lives, but come from an era when those phases and positions were easily separable. The working subject nowadays is seen as more of a combination of abilities, skills, and experiences, of being in work and between work, and as the sum of social relations. This will inevitably influence on what kind of narrative resources there are available and accessible when telling about ourselves from particular positions.

As the writers simultaneously occupy opposing positions, those positions and expectations have also started to blur, mix and cause tension, and this also resonates in the narratives. If we take a broader view in the analysis of care entrepreneurship, we can see some similarities with elements of the precarisation of work. According to Precarias a la Deriva (2009), the situation of precarious women workers is defined by atypical, half- and non-workers who work in conditions of relative instability and under the imperative of flexibility, often leading to vulnerability. As well as their confusing position, the reported experiences of care entrepreneurs in this study are characterised by financial insecurity and vulnerability arising from short-term subcontracts with the municipalities, as well as by the requirement of flexibility on the basis of femininities. Since the experience of indefiniteness and the requirement of flexibility are also signs of the insecurity and vulnerability attached to precarious work, we could easily agree with Precarias a la Deriva that the privatisation of services has made care work more precarious in nature (ibid. 154–155).

In addition to neoliberal ideals and allusions to the precarisation of care work, the NPM rhetoric emphasising privatisation, market orientation, rationalising and efficiency has been incorporated into care entrepreneurs' narrative resources, and traces of these ideals also resonate in their narrative environments. NPM reforms have invited onto the care market larger companies that can more easily meet the demand for efficiency. Hence international companies have entered the Finnish care market, and if they follow developments in Sweden, for example, they might ultimately price small entrepreneurs out of the market, since short contract periods and price competition mean that small and medium-sized firms have difficulties competing in this system (Sundin & Tillmar 2010, 50). Large companies have already bought many small and successful companies in order to expand their operations nationwide. (Sosiaalipalvelut 2012, 18)¹⁹

In the context of privatisation, outsourcing and invitations to tender, it seems that care will become even more commodified, measured, standardised,

¹⁹ The average revenue per unit has grown from 310,000€ to 332,000€ between 2009 and 2010 as a result for large companies buying small ones (Sosiaalipalvelut 2012, 18).

controlled, technologised and hence masculinised in the future. A consideration of the future of Finnish care services raises the question whether the market will become polarised in such a way that small firms will only be able to operate in the rural areas in which large companies are not interested, as has happened in Sweden (see Sundin and Tillmar 2010, 61). Since previous studies (Kovalainen & Österberg-Högstedt 2008, 79, Tillmar 2009, 419) as well as this one have found that trust in care entrepreneurs is based on their familiarity as former public-sector workers, the basis of any trust in the large international firms taking over the market remains to be seen. Tillmar's study (2009, 412–413) in Sweden found that there was more reported trust in small firms than in larger ones, on the grounds that the former employees who became entrepreneurs "*did their job out of burning desire and gave that little bit more*". I am assuming that "desire" and "that little bit more" refer to feminine virtues like flexibility, sense of vocation and altruism, and include things like putting in long working hours oneself in order to keep down the price of the service, which has also been described as a characteristic of precarious work. However, established trust relations do not matter if it is the price of the service that counts when municipalities shop around for services.

In the scenario of international firms it will be important and interesting to see what the quality of care will be based on, since after all, the unavoidable, daily, embodied care work will still need to be done by someone. Will the rhetoric of naturalised femininities and home-like service still be deployed? If the size of units increases, what then will be the difference between private care firms and the old, criticised public services? Can care, cleaning and cooking be more easily separated in large firms, and how does this connect with the "homelike" environments that indicate a good quality of care? What will be the positions of those who do everyday care work in those circumstances, and how precarious will that work be? Moreover in the context of privatising: will the possibility of involuntary entrepreneurship become more common if the public facilities encourage their employees to take charge of the units like in the newspaper excerpts analysed in the introduction of this study? Finally, in the context of care becoming even more global, will "good quality Finnish care" become an export targeted for example to Russia's care markets as endorsed

by the Ministry of Employment and the Economy (Sosiaalipalvelut 2012, 43)? These questions remain for future investigations.

This study has been my contribution to the discussion and research on entrepreneurial care in Finland, guided by my interest in foregrounding the societal and cultural context in which care entrepreneurs are operating through their personal accounts. As well as the apparent individual meanings and experiences attached to care entrepreneurship, this study also shows the ongoing negotiation and reproduction of cultural expectations and their gendered and classed nature stemming from the narrative resources embedded in the narrative environments around this issue. With this study I hope take part, to add to and diversify research on care entrepreneurship in contemporary Finland.

References

Aaltonen, Tarja & Henriksson, Lea & Karttunen, Aija & Kivimäki, Riikka & Palukka, Hannele & Silvennoinen-Nuora, Leena & Tiilikka, Tiina & Valokivi, Heli (2009) Toimijat vanhusten hyvinvointipalveluja ohjaavissa kehittämissuunnitelmissä. *Kunnallistieteellinen aikakauskirja* 3/09, 37.vuosikerta, 336–352.

Aaltonen, Tarja & Leimumäki, Anna (2010) Kokemus ja kerronnallisuus – kaksi luentaa. In Johanna Ruusuvoori, Pirjo Nikander & Matti Hyvärinen (eds.) *Haastattelun analyysi*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 119–152.

Aamulehti (3.6.2010) ”Vaakakupissa ovat innostava työ ja turvallinen työsuhte”.
Aamulehti (3.6.2010) ”Vaakakupissa ovat innostava työ ja turvallinen työsuhte”.

Abbott, H. Porter (2002) *The Cambridge introduction to narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Adkins, Lisa (2001) Cultural Feminization: “Money, Sex and Power” for Women. *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 26 (3), 669–695.

Adkins, Lisa (2005) The New Economy, Property and Personhood. *Theory, Culture & Society*, vol. 22 (1), 111–130.

Adkins, Lisa & Jokinen, Eeva (2008) Introduction: Gender, Living and Labour in the Fourth Shift. *NORA*, vol. 16 (3), 138–149.

Adkins, Lisa & Skeggs, Beverley (2004) *Feminism after Bourdieu*. Lisa Adkins & Beverley Skeggs (eds.). Oxford: Blackwell.

Ahl, Helene Jonson (2002a) The construction of the female entrepreneurs as the Other. In Barbara Czarniawska & Heather Höpfl (eds.) *Casting the Other: the production and maintenance of inequalities in work organizations*. London: Routledge, 52–67.

Ahl, Helene Jonson (2002b) The making of the female entrepreneur a discourse analysis of research texts on women's entrepreneurship. Jönköping: Jönköping International Business School.

Alber, Jan & Fludernik, Monika (2010) Introduction. In Jan Alber & Monika Fludernik (eds.) *Postclassical Narratology. Approaches and Analyses*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1–31.

Andrews, Gavin J. & Kendall, Sally A. (2000) Dreams that lie in tatters: the changing fortunes of nurses who left the British NHS to own and run residential homes for elderly people. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, vol. 31 (4), 900–908.

Anderson, Nickela & Hughes, Karen D. (2010) The Business of Caring: Women's Self-Employment and the Marketization of Care. *Gender, Work and Organization*, vol. 17 (4), 381–405.

Andrews, Molly (2002) Introduction: Counter-narratives and the power to oppose. *Narrative Inquiry*, vol. 12 (1), 1–6.

Andrews, Molly (2004a) Opening to original contributions. Counter-narratives and the power to oppose. In Michael Bamberg & Molly Andrews (eds.) *Considering Counter-Narratives. Narrating, Resisting, Making Sense*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1–6.

Andrews, Molly (2004b) Memories of mother. Counter-narrative of early maternal influence. In Michael Bamberg & Molly Andrews (eds.) *Considering Counter-Narratives. Narrating, Resisting, Making Sense*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 7–26.

Anttonen, Anneli (1994) *Women and the welfare state politics, professions and practices*. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Anttonen, Anneli (1997) *Feminismi ja sosiaalipoliittikka: miten sukupuolesta tehtiin yhteiskuntapoliittinen ja sosiaalipoliittinen avainkäsite*. Tampere: Tampere University Press.

Anttonen, Anneli (2002) Universalism and social policy: a Nordic-feminist reevaluation. *NORA*, vol. 2 (10), 71–80.

Anttonen, Anneli & Valokivi, Heli & Zechner, Minna (2009) *Hoiva. Tutkimus, politiikka ja arki*. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Anttonen, Anneli & Zechner, Minna (2009) Tutkimuksen lähestymistapoja hoivaan. In Anneli Anttonen, Heli Valokivi & Minna Zechner (eds.) *Hoiva. Tutkimus, politiikka ja arki*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 16–53.

Anttonen, Anneli (2009) Hoivan yhteiskunnallistuminen ja politisoituminen. In Anneli Anttonen, Heli Valokivi & Minna Zechner (eds.) *Hoiva. Tutkimus, politiikka ja arki*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 54–98.

Anttonen, Anneli & Sipilä, Jorma (2010) Universalismi Britannian ja Pohjoismaiden sosiaalipoliittikassa. *Janus*, vol. 18 (2), 104–120.

Anttonen, Anneli & Häikiö, Liisa (2011) Care 'going market': Finnish elderly-care policies in transition. *Nordic Journal of Social Research* 2011, vol. 2, 1–21.

Bahle, Thomas (2003) The changing institutionalization of social services in England and Wales, France and Germany: is the welfare state on the retreat? *Journal of European Social Policy*, vol. 13 (1), 5–20.

Baier, Annette C. (1994) *Moral Prejudices: essays on ethics*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press.

Bakhtin, Mihail M. (1986) *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*. Vern W. McGee (trans.), Cary Emerson & Michael Holquist (eds.). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bamberg, Michael (1997) Positioning Between Structure and Performance. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, vol. 7 (1–4), 335–342.

Bamberg, Michael (2004) Positioning With Davie Hogan. Stories, Tellings and Identities. In Colette Daiute & Cynthia Lightfoot (eds.) *Narrative Analysis. Studying the Development of Individuals in Society*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage, 135–157.

Bamberg, Michael (2006) Stories: Big or small. Why do we care? *Narrative Inquiry*, vol. 16 (1), 139–147.

Bamberg, Michael & Georgakopoulou, Alexandra (2008) Small stories as a new perspective in narrative and identity analysis. *Text & Talk*, vol. 28 (3), 377–396.

Barton, Ellen (2007) Disability Narratives of the Law: Narratives and Counter-Narratives. *Narrative*, vol. 15 (1), 95–112.

Blomqvist, Paula (2004) The Choice Revolution: Privatization of Swedish Welfare Services in the 1990s. *Social Policy and Administration*, vol. 38 (2), 139–155.

Bolton, Sharon C. (2005) Women's Work, Dirty Work: The Gynaecology Nurse as 'Other'. *Gender, Work and Organization*, vol. 12 (2), 169–186.

Bremond, Claude (1973) *Logique du Récit*. Paris: Seuil, cop.

Bremond, Claude (1980) The Logic of Narrative Possibilities. *New Literary History*, vol. 11 (3), 387–411.

Brockmeier, Jens (2013) Fact and fiction: Exploring the narrative mind. In Mari Hatavara, Matti Hyvärinen & Lars-Christer Hydén (eds.) *The Travelling Metaphor of Narrative*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Bruner, Jerome (1991) The Narrative Construction of Reality. *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 18 (1), 1–21.

Bruner, Jerome & Lucariello, Joan (1989) Monologue as Narrative Recreation of the World. In Katherine Nelson (ed.) *Narratives from the Crip*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 73–97.

Bruni, Attila & Gherardi, Silvia & Poggio, Barbara (2004a) Doing Gender, Doing Entrepreneurship: An Ethnographic Account of Intertwined Practices. *Gender, Work and Organization*, vol. 11 (4), 406–429.

Bruni, Attila & Gherardi, Silvia & Poggio, Barbara (2004b) Entrepreneuriality, gender and the study of women entrepreneurs. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, vol. 17 (3), 256–268.

Bruni, Attila & Gherardi, Silvia & Poggio, Barbara (2005) Gender and entrepreneurship: an ethnographic approach. London: Routledge.

Bulow, Pia H. & Hydén, Lars-Christer (2003) In dialog with time: identity and illness in narratives about chronic fatigue. *Narrative Inquiry*, vol. 13 (1), 71–97.

Burr, Vivien (2004) Sosiaalipsykologisia ihmiskäsityksiä. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Butler, Judith (1990) Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory. In Sue-Ellen Case (ed.) *Performing Feminisms. Feminist Critical Theory and Theatre*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, cop., 270–282.

Buttner, E. Holly & Moore, Dorothy P. (1997) Women's organizational exodus to entrepreneurship: Self-reported motivations and correlates with Success. *Journal of Small Business Management*, vol. 35 (1), 34–46.

Byckling, Leena 2003. Hyvinvointiyrittäjyyden mahdollisuuksia. *Janus*, vol. 11 (3), 245–255.

Byrne, Bridget (2003) Reciting the self. Narrative representations of the self in qualitative interviews. *Feminist Theory*, vol. 4 (1), 29–49.

Byrne, Bridget (2006) *White Lives: the interplay of 'race', class and gender in everyday life*. London: Routledge.

Carr, David (1991) *Time, narrative and history*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. [Http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.04792](http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.04792).

Carroll, Noël (2001) In the Narrative Connection. In Willie van Peer & Seymour Chatman (eds.) *New Perspectives on Narrative Perspectives*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 21–41.

Cohen, Laurie & Musson, Gill (2000) Entrepreneurial Identities: Reflectations from Two Case Studies. *Organization*, vol. 7 (1), 31–48.

Daly, Mary & Lewis, Jane (2000) The concept of social care and the analysis of contemporary welfare estates. *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 51 (2), 281–298.

Davies, Bronwyn & Harré, Rom (1990) Positioning: The Discursive Productions of Selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior*, vol. 20 (1), 43–63.

Denzin, Norman K. (1989) Interpretative biography. *Qualitative Research Methods Series*, volume 17. Newbury Park: Sage.

Dyer, Sarah & McDowell, Linda & Batnitzky, Adina (2008) Emotional labour/body work: The caring labours of migrants in the UK's National Health Service. *Geoforum*, vol. 39 (6), 2030–2038.

Ehrenreich, Barbara & Hochschild, Arlie Russell (2003) *Global woman: nannies, maids and sex workers in the new economy*. London: Granta.

England, Paula (2005) Emerging Theories of Care Work. *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 31 (1), 381–399.

Eräsaari, Leena (2010) Miksi hyvinvointivaltio on tärkeä naisille? In Tuija Saresma, Leena-Maija Rossi & Tuula Juvonen (eds.) *Käsikirja sukupuoleen*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 210–222.

Etzioni, Amitai (1969) *The Semi-Professions and Their Organization*. Teachers, nurses and social workers. New York: Free Press.

Farrell, Henry & Knight, Jack (2003) Trust, Institutions, and Institutional Change: Industrial Districts and the Social Capital Hypothesis. *Politics & Society*, vol. 31 (4), 537–566.

Felski, Rita (1989) *Beyond feminist aesthetics: feminist literature and social change*. London: Hutchinson Radius.

Fine, Michael (2007) *A caring society?: care and the dilemmas of human service in the twenty-first century*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fludernik, Monika (1994) Second-person narrative as a test case for narratology: The limits of realism. *Style*, vol. 28 (3), 445, 35p, 1 Chart.

Fludernik, Monika (1996) *Towards a 'Natural' Narratology*. London & New York: Routledge.

Folbre, Nancy & Nelson, Julie A. (2000) For Love or Money – Or both? *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, vol. 14 (4), 123–140.

Folbre, Nancy (2002) *The Invisible Heart. Economics and Family Values*. New York: The New Press.

Frank, Arthur W. (1997) *The wounded storyteller. Body, illness, and ethics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Freeman, Mark (2010) *Hindsight. The promise and peril of looking backward*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Freeman, Mark & Brockmeier, Jens (2001) Narrative integrity. Autobiographical identity and the meaning of the "good life". In Jens Brockmeier & Donald Carbaugh (eds.) *Narrative and Identity. Studies in Autobiography, Self and Culture*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 75–99.

Georgakopoulou, Alexandra (2007) *Small Stories, Interaction and Identities*. (Studies in Narrative 8). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Georgakopoulou, Alexandra & Bamberg, Michael (2008) Small stories as a new perspective in narrative and identity analysis. *Text & Talk*, vol. 28 (3), 377–396.

Georgakopoulou, Alexandra (2010) Narrative Analysis. In Ruth Wodak, Barbara Johnstone & Paul E. Kerswill (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. London: Sage Publications Ltd, 388–403.

Gergen, Kenneth J. (2009) *Relational Being. Beyond Self and Community*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gilligan, Carol (1982) *In a different voice psychological theory and women's development*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press.

Graham, Hilary (1983) Caring: a labour of love. In Janet Finch & Dulcie Groves (eds.) *A labour of love: women, work and caring*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 13–30.

Graham, Hillary (1993) Social divisions in caring. *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 16 (5), 461–470.

Gray, Ann (2003) Enterprising femininity. New modes of work and subjectivity. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol. 6 (4), 489–506.

Gubrium, Jaber F. & Holstein, James A. (2008) Narrative Ethnography. In Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber & Patricia Leavy (eds.) *Handbook of Emergent Methods*. New York: Guilford Press, 241–264.

Greimas, Algirdas Julien (1966) *Semantique Structurale: recherche de method*. Paris: Larousse.

Gustafsson, Rolf Å & Szebehely, Marta (2009) Outsourcing of elder care services in Sweden: effects on work environment and political legitimacy. In Debra King & Gabrielle Meagher (eds.) *Paid Care in Australia: Politics, Profits, Practices*. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 81–112.

Haapakorpi, Arja (2007) Työvoimapula ja etnospesifit työmarkkinat – miten edistää korkeakoulutettujen maahanmuuttajien ammatillista sijoittumista. *Työelämän tutkimus – Arbetstlivsforskning*, vol. 3, 213–226.

Halliday, M.A.K (1994) An introduction to functional grammar. Second edition. London: Edward Arnold.

Harré, Rom & van Langenhove, Luk (1999) Positioning theory: moral contexts of intentional action. Oxford: Blackwell.

Harvey, David (2005) A brief history of neoliberalism. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hasanen, Kirsi (2003) Naisten kertomuksia yrittäjyydestä hoiva-alalla. Sosiaalipsykologian Pro gradu –tutkielma, Tampereen yliopisto.

Hasanen, Kirsi (2004) Hoivaa ja liiketoimintaa? Tarinoita elannosta, etiikasta ja ammatillisuudesta. *Työelämän tutkimus – Arbetslivsforskning*, vol. 2-3, 135–144.

Heinonen, Jarna & Kovalainen, Anne & Pukkinen, Tommi (2006a) Global entrepreneurial monitor. 2005 Executive Report Finland. Turku: Turun Kauppakorkeakoulu, Yritystoiminnan tutkimus- ja koulutuskeskus, tutkimusraportteja B2/2006.

Heinonen, Jarna & Kovalainen, Anne & Paasio, Kaisu & Pukkinen, Tommi & Österberg, Johanna (2006b) Palkkatyöstä yrittäjäksi. Tutkimus yrittäjäksi ryhtymisen reiteistä sosiaali- ja terveysalalla sekä kaupallisella ja teknisellä alalla. Työpoliittinen tutkimus 297/2006.

Heinonen, Jarna & Hytti, Ulla (2008) IPREG Country Report, Finland, Executive Summary. Analysis of entrepreneurship and innovation policy in Finland. Turku: Turku school of economics, Business research and development centre, B1/2008.

Heikkinen, Vesa (1999) Ideologinen merkitys: kriittisen tekstintutkimuksen teoriassa ja käytännössä. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Heikkinen, Vesa (2000a) Tekstuaalinen pirunnyrkki. In Vesa Heikkinen, Pirjo Hiidenmaa & Ulla Tiililä (eds.) *Teksti työnä, virka kielenä*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 63–115.

Heikkinen, Vesa (2000b) Teksteihin tunkeutuvat todellisuudet. In Vesa Heikkinen, Pirjo Hiidenmaa & Ulla Tiililä (eds.) *Teksti työnä, virka kielenä*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 116–214.

Heikkinen, Vesa (2000c) Virallisen ideologiaa. In Vesa Heikkinen, Pirjo Hiidenmaa & Ulla Tiililä (eds.) *Teksti työnä, virka kielenä*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 297–326.

Heiskanen, Tuula & Korvajärvi, Päivi & Rantalaiho, Liisa (2008) Sukupuoli ja työ: pysyvyyttä ja liikkahduksia. In Tuula Heiskanen, Minna Leinonen, Anu

Järvensivu & Simo Aho (eds.) Kohti uutta työelämää. Tutkimuksen näköala työelämän kehitykseen. Tampere: Tampere University Press, 109–134.

Henriksson, Lea (1998) Naisten terveystyö ja ammatillistumisen politiikka. Helsinki: Stakes.

Henriksson, Lea & Wrede, Sirpa & Burau, Viola (2006) Understanding Professional Projects in Welfare Service Work: Revival of Old Professionalism? *Gender, Work and Organization*, vol. 13 (2), 174–192.

Henriksson, Lea & Wrede, Sirpa (eds.) (2004) Hyvinvointityön ammatit. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Herman, David (2002) Story logic: problems and possibilities of narrative. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press.

Herman, David (2003) Introduction. In David Herman (ed.) *Narrative Theory and the Cognitive Sciences*. Stanford: CSLI Publications, 1–30.

Herman, David (2007) Storytelling and the Sciences of Mind: Cognitive Narratology, Discursive Psychology, and Narrative in Face-to-Face Interaction. *Narrative*, vol. 15 (3), 306–334.

Herman, David (2009a) Basic elements of narrative. Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell.

Herman, David (2009b) Storied Minds. Narrative Scaffolding for Folk Psychology. *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, vol. 16 (6–8), 40–68.

Herman, David (2012) Exploring the Nexus of Narrative and Mind. In David Herman, James Phelan, Peter J. Rabinowitz, Brian Richardson & Robyn Warhol (eds.) *Narrative Theory. Core Concepts and Critical Debates*. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 14–19.

Hirsjärvi, Sirkka & Hurme, Helena (2000) Tutkimushaastattelu: teemahaastattelun teoria ja käytäntö. Helsinki: Yliopistopaino.

Hochschild, Arlie Russell (2003) *The Managed Heart. Commercialization of Human Feeling. Twentieth Anniversary Edition, With a New Afterword*. Berkley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

Hollway, Wendy (1984) Gender difference and the production of subjectivity. In Julian Henriques, Wendy Hollways, Cathy Urwin, Couze Venn & Valerie Walkerdine (eds.) *Changing the subject. Psychology, social regulation and subjectivity*. London: Methuen.

Holma, Tupu (2006) Hyvinvointipalvelujen tuotteistus – perusteita ja periaatteita. In Heini Lehtoranta & Margit Päätaalo (eds.) *Raportti palvelujen tuotteistamisesta ja laadun kehittämisestä aluekeskuseuduilla*.

Aluekeskusohjelman teemaverkkojulkaisu 2/2006. Downloaded (18.06.2010) from www.karhukunnat.fi/pdf/teemaverkkojulkaisu.pdf.

Hujala, Anneli (2008) Johtamisen moniäänisyys. Johtaminen vuorovaikutuksena ja puhuntana hoivayrityksissä. Kuopio: Kuopion yliopiston julkaisuja E, yhteiskuntatieteet 149.

Hutto, Daniel D. (2008) *Folk Psychological Narratives: The Sociocultural Basis of Understanding Reasons*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hytti, Ulla, (2003) *Stories of entrepreneurs narrative construction of identities*. Turku: Turku School of Economics and Business Administration.

Hyvärinen, Matti (1994) *Viimeiset taistot*. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Hyvärinen, Matti, Peltonen, Eeva & Vilkkö, Anni (1998) *Liikkuvat erot. Sukupuoli elämäkertatutkimuksessa*. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Hyvärinen, Matti (2007) *Analyzing Narratives and Story-Telling*. In Pertti Alasuutari, Leonard Bickman & Julia Brannen (eds.) *Sage Handbook of Social Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks (Calif.): SAGE Publications, 447–460.

Hyvärinen, Matti (2008a) "Life as Narrative" Revisited. *Partial Answers*, vol.6 (2), 261–277.

Hyvärinen, Matti (2008b) *Narrative form and narrative content*. In Irmeli Järventie & Mia Lähde (eds.) *Methodological Challenges in Childhood and Family Research*. Childhood and Family Research Unit Net Series 4/2008: Tampere University Press, 43–63.

Hyvärinen, Matti (2009) *Narrative analysis*. Unpublished paper 27.1.2009.

Hyvärinen, Matti (2010a) *Haastattelukertomuksen analyysi*. In Johanna Ruusuvoori, Pirjo Nikander & Matti Hyvärinen (eds.) *Haastattelun analyysi*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 90–118.

Hyvärinen, Matti (2010b) *Revisiting the Narrative Turns*. *Life Writing*, vol. 7 (1), 69–82.

Hyvärinen Matti. (2010c). *Eletty kertomus ja luonnollinen narratologia*. In Mari Hatavara, Markku Lehtimäki & Pekka Tammi (eds.) *Luonnolliset ja luonnottomat kertomukset. Jälkiklassisen narratologian suuntia*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 131–157.

Hägg, Samuli & Lehtimäki, Markku & Steinby, Liisa (2009) *Esipuhe. Kertomuksen tutkimuksen moninaiset näkökulmat*. In Samuli Hägg, Markku Lehtimäki & Liisa Steinby (eds.) *Näkökulmia kertomuksen tutkimukseen*. Tietolipas 226. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 7–25.

Häikiö, Liisa & Van Aerschot, Lina & Anttonen, Anneli (2011) Vastuullinen ja valitseva kansalainen: vanhushoivapolitiikan uusi suunta. *Yhteiskuntapolitiikka*, vol. 76 (3), 239-250.

Hänninen, Vilma (1999) Sisäinen tarina, elämä ja muutos. Tampere: Tampereen yliopisto.

Härkki, Taija (1996) Työllistyminen mikroyrittäjäksi kotipalvelualalle. Helsinki: Työministeriö, työpoliittinen tutkimus nro. 159.

Ikonen, Hanna-Mari (2003) Maaseudun naiset yrittäjinä - toimijoina, kohteina vai piilossa? *Alue ja Ympäristö*, vol. 32 (1), 46-56.

Ikonen, Hanna-Mari (2008) Maaseudun naiset yrittäjinä. Elettyjä käytäntöjä ja jaettuja tulkintoja yrittävässä yhteiskunnassa. Tampere: Tampere University Press.

Jokinen, Eeva (2004a) Päiväkirjat tiedon lajina. In Marianne Liljeström (ed.) Feministinen tietäminen. Keskustelua metodologiasta. Tampere: Vastapaino, 118-140.

Jokinen, Eeva (2004b) Kodin työt, tavat, tasa-arvo ja rento refleksiivisyys. In Eeva Jokinen, Marja Kaskisaari & Marita Husso (eds.) Ruumis töihin! Käsite ja käytäntö. Tampere: Vastapaino, 285-304.

Jokinen, Eeva & Könönen, Jukka & Venäläinen, Juhana & Vähämäki, Jussi (2011) "Yrittäkää edes!" Prekarisaatio Pohjois-Karjalassa. Helsinki: Tutkijaliitto, 7-14.

Jokinen, Eeva & Jakonen, Mikko (2011) Rajaton hoiva. In Eeva Jokinen, Jukka Könönen, Juhana Venäläinen & Jussi Vähämäki (eds.) "Yrittäkää edes!" Prekarisaatio Pohjois-Karjalassa. Helsinki: Tutkijaliitto, 118-138.

Jones, Rebecca L. (2004) "That's very rude, I shouldn't be telling you that". Older women talking about sex. In Michael Bamberg & Molly Andrews (eds.) Considering Counter-Narratives. Narrating, Resisting, Making Sense. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 169-189.

Julkunen, Raija (1992) Hyvinvointivaltio käännekohdassa. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Julkunen, Raija (1993) Hoivabisnekseen vai nyrkin ja hellan väliin? In Leila Simonen (ed.) Hyvinvointivaltion murros ja hoivan uudelleenorganisointi. Helsinki: Sosiaali- ja terveysalan tutkimus- ja kehittämiskeskus, raportteja 94. 32-47.

Julkunen, Raija (2001) Suunnanmuutos. 1990-luvun sosiaalipoliittinen reformi Suomessa. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Julkunen, Raija (2004) Hyvinvointipalvelujen uusi politiikka. In Lea Henriksson & Sirpa Wrede (eds.) Hyvinvointityön ammatit. Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 168–186.

Julkunen, Raija (2006) Kuka vastaa? Hyvinvointivaltion rajat ja julkinen vastuu. Helsinki: Stakes.

Julkunen, Raija (2008) Sosiaalipolitiikan kansalainen: aktivoitu, valtaistettu, vastuutettu, hylätty? In Petteri Niemi & Tuija Kotiranta (eds.) Sosiaalialan normatiivinen perusta. Helsinki: Palmenia Helsinki University Press, 183–220.

Julkunen, Raija (2010) Sukupuolen järjestykset ja tasa-arvon paradoksit. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Julkunen, Raija & Nätti, Jouko (1999) The modernization of working times flexibility and work sharing in Finland. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Karakainen, Minna (2004) Hoivayrityksen perustaminen ja toimintaa ohjaava lainsäädäntö. In Sari Rissanen & Sirkka Sinkkonen (eds.) Hoivayrittäjyys. Jyväskylä: PS-kustannus, 51–66.

Kainlauri, Anne (2007) Ideasta hyvinvointialan yrittäjäksi. Helsinki: WSOYpro.

Kallio, Johanna (2007) Kansalaisten asennoituminen kunnallisten palvelujen markkinoistumiseen vuosina 1996–2004. *Yhteiskuntapolitiikka*, vol. 72 (3), 239–255.

Kaskisaari, Marja (2000) Kyseenalaiset subjektit: tutkimuksia omaelämäkerroista, heterojärjestyksestä ja performatiivisuudesta. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto.

Kauppa- ja teollisuusministeriö (2005) Naisyrittäjyys. Nykytilanne ja toimenpide-ehdotuksia. Kauppa- ja teollisuusministeriön julkaisuja 11, Elinkeino-osasto. Helsinki: Edita Publishing Oy.

Kautonen, Teemu (2007) Vastentahtoinen yrittäjyys. Työpoliittinen tutkimus 327/2007.

Kendall, Jeremy (2001) Of Knights, Knaves and Merchants: The Case of Residential Care for Older People in England in the Late 1990s. *Social Policy and Administration*, vol. 35 (4), 360–375.

Keskitalo-Foley, Seija & Komulainen, Katri & Naskali, Päivi (2007) Yrittäjämинуuden sukupuoli koulutuksessa. *Kasvatus*, vol. 38 (2), 110–121.

Keskitalo-Foley, Seija & Komulainen, Katri & Naskali, Päivi (2010) Risto Reipas riskinottaja. Koulutuspolitiikan tavoitteleva ihannekansalainen. In Katri Komulainen, Seija Keskitalo-Foley, Maija Korhonen & Sirpa Lappalainen (eds.) Yrittäjyyskasvatus hallintana. Tampere: Vastapaino, 15–36.

Keskitalo-Foley, Seija (2010) "Uusia naisia", entisiä töitä? Näkökulmia naisten yrittäjyyskoulutukseen. In Katri Komulainen, Seija Keskitalo-Foley, Maija Korhonen & Sirpa Lappalainen (eds.) Yrittäjyyskasvatus hallintana. Tampere: Vastapaino, 231–250.

Kinnunen, Merja & Korvajärvi, Päivi (1996) Työelämän sukupuolistavat käytännöt. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Kinnunen, Merja (2001) Luokiteltu sukupuoli. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Komulainen, Katri (1998) Kotihiiriä ja ihmisiä: retorinen minä naisten koulutusta koskeissa elämäkertomuksissa. Joensuu: Joensuun yliopisto.

Komulainen, Katri (2004) Suomalainen – löydä sisäinen yrittäjyytesi! Kansa, kansalaisuus ja erot yrittäjyyskasvatuksen oppikirjoissa. *Kasvatus*, vol. 35 (3), 541–555.

Komulainen, Katri (2005) Sukupuolitettu yrittäjämienä. Sanomalehtiaineiston analyysi. *Naistutkimus – Kvinnoforskning*, vol. 18 (4), 18–30.

Komulainen, Katri & Rätty, Hannu & Korhonen, Maija (2008) Elämä ei ole mitään ilman riskin ottamista. Nuorten kuvittelemat eriarvoiset yrittäjämienät. In Tarja Tolonen (ed.) Yhteiskuntaluokka ja sukupuoli. Tampere: Vastapaino, 175–197.

Komulainen, Katri & Keskitalo-Foley, Seija & Korhonen, Maija & Lappalainen, Sirpa (2010) Yrittäjyyskasvatus hallintana. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Koski, Leena & Tedre, Silva (2004) Maaseudun naisyrittäjien työnteon ehdot. *Työelämän tutkimus – Arbetslivsforskning*, vol. 2 (2-3), 123–134.

Koskiahho, Briitta (2008) Hyvinvointipalvelujen tavaratalossa. Palvelutalous ja sosiaalipolitiikka Englannissa, Suomessa ja Ruotsissa. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Korhonen, Kristiina & Mäkinen, Raimo & Valkonen, Sakari (2001) Sosiaali- ja terveystieteiden tutkimuslaitos työssä. Koulutuksen tutkimuslaitos, tutkimusluentoja 13. Jyväskylän yliopisto.

Korhonen, Maija & Komulainen, Katri & Rätty, Hannu (2008) Työhön liittyvät arvot ja kyvykkyydestulkinnat nuorten yrittäjyystarinoissa. *Työelämän tutkimus – Arbetslivsforskning*, vol. 2, 156–172.

Korvajärvi, Päivi (2004) Gender inequalities in Finland. In Fiona Devine & Mary C. Waters (eds.) *Social Inequalities in Comparative Perspective*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 281–306.

Kovalainen, Anne (1993) At the margins of the economy women's self-employment in Finland 1960-1990. Turku: Turun kauppakorkeakoulu.

Kovalainen, Anne (2002) Luottamus, lama ja hyvinvointipalvelujen muutokset. In Kaj Ilmonen, Anne Kovalainen & Martti Siisiäinen (eds.) Lama ja Luottamus. Swedish School of Economics and Business Administration Research Reports 55, 165–191.

Kovalainen, Anne & Simonen, Leila & Österberg, Johanna, (1996) Sosiaalipalveluyrittäjän muotokuva tutkimus sosiaali- ja terveysalan uusyrittäjistä ja vaihtoehtoisista palveluntuottajista. Helsinki: Stakes.

Kovalainen, Anne & Österberg, Johanna (2000) Sosiaalinen pääoma, luottamus ja julkisen sektorin restrukturaatio. In Kaj Ilmonen (ed.) Sosiaalinen pääoma ja luottamus. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 69–92.

Kovalainen, Anne & Österberg-Högstedt, Johanna (2008) Sopimisen mekanismit sosiaali- ja terveyspalveluissa. Helsinki: Kunnallisan kehittämissäätiö.

Kröger, Teppo (2009) Hoivapolitiikan rajanvetoja. In Anneli Anttonen, Heli Valokivi & Minna Zechner (eds.) Hoiva. Tutkimus, politiikka ja arki. Tampere: Vastapaino, 99–125.

Kuronen, Tanja (2007) Vanhusten kotisiivous – hoivaa vai palvelua? In Antti Karisto, Teppo Kröger & Marjaana Seppänen (eds.) Vanhuus ja sosiaalityö. Jyväskylä: PS-kustannus, 121–138.

Käyhkö, Mari (2006) Siivoojaksi oppimassa: etnografinen tutkimus työläistyöistä puhdistuspalvelualan koulutuksessa. Joensuu: Joensuu University Press.

Käyhkö, Mari (2007) Taipuisaksi ja puhtaaksi siivoojanaaniseksi: työläistyttöjen kasvatusta ja moraalinen sääntely toisen asteen ammatillisessa koulutuksessa. *Kasvatus*, vol. 38 (2), 122–133.

Laakkonen, Maija & Rissanen, Sari (2004) Kunnan luottamushenkilöiden merkitys hoivayrityksille. In Sari Rissanen & Sirkka Sinkkonen (eds.) Hoivayrittäjyys. Jyväskylä: PS-kustannus, 141–151.

Labov, William & Waletzky, Joshua (1967) Narrative analysis: oral versions of personal experience. In June Helm (ed.) Essays on the verbal and visual arts. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 12–44.

Laki yksityisten sosiaalipalvelujen valvonnasta 9.8.1996/603.
[Http://www.finlex.fi/lains/index.html](http://www.finlex.fi/lains/index.html).

Langellier, Kristin M. (2001) "You're marked". Breast cancer, tattoo and the narrative performance of identity. In Jens Brockmeier & Donald Carbaugh (eds.) Narrative and Identity. Studies in Autobiography, Self and Culture. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 145–184.

Lappalainen, Sirpa & Isopahkala-Bouret, Ulpukka & Lahelma, Elina (2010) Kohti työmarkkinakansalaisuutta hoiva-alan ammatillisessa koulutuksessa. In Katri Komulainen, Seija Keskitalo-Foley, Maija Korhonen & Sirpa Lappalainen (eds.) Yrittäjyyskasvatus hallintana. Tampere: Vastapaino, 187–206.

Laurén, Jeannette & Wrede, Sirpa (2010) Työkäytännöt ja institutionaalinen rasismi – lähihoitajien työ. In Sirpa Wrede & Camilla Nordberg (eds.) Vieraita työssä. Työelämän etnistyvä eriarvoisuus. Helsinki: Palmenia Helsinki University Press, 172–192.

Le Grand, Julian (2006) Equality and Choice in Public Services. *Social Research*, vol. 73 (2), 695–710.

Lehtimäki, Markku (2009) Fiktiivisen kertomuksen analyysi ja tulkinta. In Samuli Hägg, Markku Lehtimäki & Liisa Steinby (eds.) Näkökulmia kertomuksen tutkimukseen. Tietolipas 226. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 28–49.

Lehto, Anna-Maija (1999) Women in working life in Finland. In Satu Apo (ed.) Women in Finland. Helsinki: Otava, 101–128.

Lehto, Anna-Maija & Sutela, Hanna (2008) Työolojen kolme vuosikymmentä. Työolotutkimuksen tuloksia 1977–2008. Helsinki: Tilastokeskus.

Lejeune, Philippe (1989) On Autobiography. Paul John Eakin (ed), Katherine Leary (trans.). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, cop.

Lemponen, Virpi (1999) Hyvinvointialan palveluyritykset maaseudulla kokemuksia ja ajatuksia yrittäjänä toimimisesta. Seinäjoki: Helsingin yliopisto, maaseudun tutkimus- ja koulutuskeskus.

Lewis, Patricia (2006) The Quest for Invisibility: Female Entrepreneurs and the Masculine Norm of Entrepreneurship. *Gender, Work and Organization*, vol. 13 (5), 453–469.

Linde, Charlotte (1987) Explanatory systems in oral life stories. In Dorothy Holland & Naomi Quinn (eds.) Cultural models in language and thought. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 343–366.

Lith, Pekka (2006) Yritystoiminta ja kuntien ostopalvelut sosiaali- ja terveydenhuollossa. Kauppa- ja teollisuusministeriön julkaisuja 25. Helsinki: Edita.

Luoma, Kalevi (2003) Seniori-Suomi ikääntyvän väestön taloudelliset vaikutukset. Helsinki: Sitra.

Löschnigg, Martin (2010) Postclassical Narratology and the Theory of Autobiography. In Jan Alber & Monika Fludernik (eds.) Postclassical

Narratology. Approaches and Analyses. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 255–274.

MacIntyre, Alasdair (1984) *After virtue: a study in moral theory*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press.

Maretoja, Hanna (2009) Inhimillisen todellisuuden narratiivisuus ontologisena ja epistemologisena kysymyksenä. In Samuli Hägg, Markku Lehtimäki & Liisa Steinby (eds.) *Näkökulmia kertomuksen tutkimukseen*. Tietolipas 226. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 207–237.

Mattila, Eevaleena (2004) Hyvinvointialan yksityinen palvelujärjestelmä Satakunnassa. Sosiaali- ja terveystieteiden tutkimuskeskuksen tutkimus- ja kehittämistarpeita kartoittava selvitys. Turun kauppakorkeakoulu: Porin yksikkö, julkaisusarja A, nro. A8/2004.

Mattila, Eevaleena (2005) Yrittäjyyteen askel kerrallaan. Yrittäjyysmotivaatiota tukevat ja edistävät tekijät hyvinvointialalla Satakunnassa. Turun kauppakorkeakoulu: Porin yksikkö, julkaisusarja A, nro. A10/2005.

May, Vanessa (2004) Narrative Identity and the re-conceptualization of lone motherhood. *Narrative Inquiry*, vol. 14 (1), 169–189.

McDowell, Linda (2008) The New Economy, Class Condensation and Caring Labour: Changing Formations of Class and Gender. *NORA*, vol 16 (3), 150–165.

McDowell, Linda (2009) *Working Bodies*. Interactive service employment and workplace identities. Malden (Mass.): Wiley-Blackwell.

Mead, Georg Herbert (1934) *Mind, Self and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Meagher, Gabrielle & Szebehely, Marta (2010) Private financing of elder care in Sweden. Arguments for and against. Working paper. Stockholm: Institute for Futures Studies 2010:1.

Meriläinen, Heidi (2011) Palkkatyöyhteiskunnan vaihtoehdot. In Eeva Jokinen, Jukka Könönen, Juhana Venäläinen & Jussi Vähämäki (eds.) "Yrittäkää edes!". Prekarisaatio Pohjois-Karjalassa. Helsinki: Tutkijaliitto, 143–162.

Miettinen, Sonja (2006) Eron aika. Tyttäreiden kertomuksia ikääntyneen vanhemman kuolemasta. Yhteiskuntapolitiikan laitoksen tutkimuksia 4/2004. Helsinki: Yliopistopaino.

Mildorf, Jarmila (2006) Sociolinguistic Implications of Narratology: Focalization and 'Double Deixis' in Conversational Storytelling. In Matti Hyvärinen, Anu Korhonen & Juri Mykkänen (eds.) *The Travelling Concept of Narrative*. Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies.
http://www.helsinki.fi/collegium/e-series/volumes/volume_1/index.htm

Mildorf, Jarmila (2010) Narratology and the Social Sciences. In Jan Alber & Monika Fludernik (eds.) Postclassical Narratology. Approaches and Analyses. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 234–254.

Miller, Nancy K. (1994) Representing Others: Gender and the Subjects of Autobiography. *A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, vol. 6 (1), 1–27.

Morson, Gary Saul (1994) Narrative and Freedom. The Shadows of Time. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Morson, Gary Saul (2003) Narrativeness. *New Literary History*, vol. 34 (1), 59–73.

Muscari, Esther (2004) Establishing a Small Business in Nursing. *Oncology nursing forum*, vol. 31 (2), 177–179.

Muuri, Anu (2008) Sosiaalipalveluja kaiken ikää ja kaikille? In Pasi Moisio, Sakari Karvonen, Jussi Simpura & Matti Heikkilä (eds.) Suomalaisten hyvinvointi 2008. Helsinki: Stakes, 192–216.

Nelson, Katherine (2003) Narrative and the Emergence of a Consciousness of Self. In Gary D. Fireman, Ted E. Jr. McVay & Owen J. Flanagan (eds.) Narrative and Consciousness. Literature, Psychology, and the Brain. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 17–36.

Nieminen, Suvi (2010) Neuvotteluja ammatillisesta jäsenyydestä. Maahanmuuttajasairaanhoidajat terveydenhuollon työyhteisöissä. In Sirpa Wrede & Camilla Nordberg (eds.) Vieraita työssä. Työelämän etnistyvä eriarvoisuus. Helsinki: Palmenia Helsinki University Press, 147–171.

Ochs, Elinor & Capps, Lisa (2001) Living Narrative. Creating Lives in Everyday Storytelling. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press.

Ogbor, John O. (2000) Mythicizing and reification in entrepreneurial discourse: ideology-critique of entrepreneurial studies. *Journal of Management Studies*, vol. 37 (5), 605–635.

Ollila, Seija (2004) Sosiaali- ja terveystalouden julkisissa ja yksityisissä palveluorganisaatioissa osaamisen strateginen johtaminen etsii omaa linjaansa – johtamisen osaamista tukee hallinnollinen työnohjaus. *Hallinnon tutkimus*, vol. 4, 29–40.

Paasivirta, Kirsti (1999) Mikroyrittäjien osaamisen ulottuvuudet hoiva- ja hoitoalalla. In Paula Kyrö, Kari E. Niemi & Tuulia Tikkanen (eds.) Yrittäjyyden askeleita yhteiskunnassa. Helsinki: Yliopistopaino, 100–120.

Peltomäki, Mikko (2002) Maan keskellä mammonan vuori. Suomalaisen yrittämisen henki. Koulutussosiologian tutkimuskeskuksen raportteja 58. Turku: Turun yliopisto.

Peters, Michael A. (2005) The new prudentialism in education: Actuarial rationality and the entrepreneurial self. *Educational Theory*, vol. 55 (2), 123–137.

Peterson, Eric E. & Langellier, Kristin M. (2006) The performance turn in narrative studies. *Narrative Inquiry*, vol. 16 (1), 173–180.

Pietiläinen, Tarja (2002) Moninainen yrittäminen sukupuoli ja yrittäjänäisten toimintatila tietoteollisuudessa. Helsinki: Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.

Polanyi, Livia (1981) What Stories Can Tell us about Their Teller's World. *Poetics Today*, vol. 2 (2), 97–112.

Precarias a la Deriva (2009) Hoivakapina: tutkimusmatkoja prekaarisuuteen. [Precarias a la Deriva translated by Laura Böök & al.]. Helsinki: Like.

Propp, Vladimir (1970) *Morfologie du conte*. Paris: Seuil.

Putnam, Robert D. (2000) *Bowling Alone. The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Pöllänen, Pirjo (2002) Hoivayrittäjyyden aika naisen elämäkulussa. *Yhteiskuntapolitiikka*, vol. 67 (6), 558–663.

Pöysä, Jyrki (2006) Kilpakirjoitukset muistitietotutkimuksessa. In Outi Fingerroos, Riina Haanpää, Anne Heimo & Ulla-Maija Peltonen (eds.) *Muistitietotutkimus. Metodologisia kysymyksiä*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden Seura, 221–244.

Pöysä, Jyrki (2009) Positiointiteoria ja positiointianalyysi - uusia näkökulmia narratiivisen toimijuuden tarkasteluun. In Samuli Hägg, Markku Lehtimäki & Liisa Steinby (eds.) *Näkökulmia kertomuksen tutkimukseen*. Tietolipas 226. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 314–343.

Rantalaiho, Liisa (1994) Sukupuolisopimus ja Suomen malli. In Anneli Anttonen, Lea Henriksson & Ritva Nätkin (eds.) *Naisten hyvinvointivaltio*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 9–30.

Rantalaiho, Liisa (2004) Loppusanat. In Lea Henriksson & Sirpa Wrede (eds.) *Hyvinvointityön ammatit*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 235–242.

Rasmussen, Bente (2004) Between Endless Needs and Limited Resources: The Gendered Construction of a Greedy Organization. *Gender, Work and Organization*, vol. 11 (5), 506–525.

- Reay, Diane (2005) Beyond Consciousness? The Psychic Landscape of Social Class. *Sociology*, vol. 39, 911–928.
- Repo, Katja (2009) Pienten lasten kotihoito – Puolesta ja vastaan. In Anneli Anttonen, Heli Valokivi & Minna Zechner (eds.) *Hoiva. Tutkimus, politiikka ja arki*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 219–237.
- Reynolds, Jill & Taylor, Stephanie (2004) Narrating singleness. Life stories and deficit identities. *Narrative Inquiry*, vol. 15 (2), 197–215.
- Riessman, Catherine Kohler (1993) *Narrative analysis*. Newbury Park: Sage, cop.
- Rimmon-Kenan, Shlomith (2006) Concepts of Narrative. In Matti Hyvärinen, Anu Korhonen & Juri Mykkänen (eds.) *The Travelling Concept of Narrative. Studies across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences*1. Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, 10–19.
- Rissanen, Sari & Sinkkonen, Sirkka (2004a) *Hoivayrittäjyys*. Jyväskylä: PS-kustannus.
- Rissanen, Sari & Sinkkonen, Sirkka (2004b) Hoivayrittäjyys tutkimuksen ja kehittämisen kohteena. In Sari Rissanen & Sirkka Sinkkonen (eds.) *Hoivayrittäjyys*. Jyväskylä: PS-kustannus, 6–11.
- Rissanen, Sari & Rautiainen, Ismo & Sinkkonen, Sirkka & Kosola, Teija (2004) Hoivayrittäjyyden kuvaus ja yrittäjien kokemukset. In Sari Rissanen & Sirkka Sinkkonen (eds.) *Hoivayrittäjyys*. Jyväskylä: PS-kustannus, 68–85.
- Roberts, John Michael & Devine, Fiona 2003. Hollowing out of the welfare reform. *Social Policy & Society*, vol. 2 (4), 309–318.
- Ronkainen, Suvi & Pehkonen, Leila & Lindblom-Ylänne, Sari & Paavilainen, Eija (2011) *Tutkimuksen voimasanat*. Helsinki: WSOYpro.
- Rothstein, Bo (2000) Trust, Social Dilemmas and Collective Memories. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, vol. 12 (4), 477–501.
- Rothstein, Bo (2001) Social Capital in the Social Democratic Welfare State. *Politics & Society*, vol. 29 (2), 206–240.
- Ryan, Marie-Laure (2005/2008) Narrative. In David Herman, Manfred Jahn & Marie-Laure Ryan, (eds.) *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory*. London and New York: Routledge, 344–348.
- Saloniemi, Antti & Virtanen, Pekka (2008) Joustavan huomisen varjossa? In Tuula Heiskanen, Minna Leinonen, Anu Järvensivu & Simo Aho (eds.) *Kohti uutta työelämää. Tutkimuksen näköala työelämän kehitykseen*. Tampere: Tampere University Press, 78–108.

Sankelo, Merja & Åkerblad, Leena (2008) Nurse entrepreneurs' attitudes to management, their adoption of the manager's role and managerial assertiveness. *Journal of Nursing Management*, vol. 16 (7), 829–836.

Sankelo, Merja & Åkerblad, Leena (2009) Nurse entrepreneurs' well-being at work and associated factors. *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, vol. 18 (22), 3190–3199.

Saresma, Tuija (2007) Omaelämäkerran rajapinnoilla. Kuolema ja kirjoitus. Nykykulttuurin tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 92. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto.

Sevenhuijsen, Selma (1998) *Citizenship and the Ethics of Care. Feminist Considerations on Justice, Morality and Politics*. Liz Savage (trans.). London: Routledge.

Sinkkonen, Sirkka & Kosola, Teija (2004) Hoivayrittäjäksi ryhtyminen perustamalla oma yritys: esimerkkinä päiväkotiyrittäjyys. In Sari Rissanen & Sirkka Sinkkonen (eds.) *Hoivayrittäjyys*. Jyväskylä: PS-kustannus, 26–50.

Sinkkonen, Sirkka & Rissanen, Sari (2004) Hoivayrittäjyys hyvinvointivaltiossa. In Sari Rissanen & Sirkka Sinkkonen (eds.) *Hoivayrittäjyys*. Jyväskylä: PS-kustannus, 220–238.

Simonen, Leila (1993) Koti ja laitos – laitokset kodeiksi ja kodit laitoksiksi. In Leila Simonen (ed.) *Hyvinvointivaltion murros ja hoivan uudelleenorganisointi*. Helsinki: Sosiaali- ja terveystieteiden tutkimus- ja kehittämiskeskus, raportteja 94, 91–97.

Sipilä, Jorma (1997) *Social care services the key to the Scandinavian welfare model*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Sipilä, Jorma (2003) Hoivan organisointi: vaivaistalosta markkinatavaraksi. *Janus*, vol. 11 (1), 23–38.

Skeggs, Beverley (2004a) Exchange, value and affect: Bourdieu and 'the self'. In Lisa Adkins & Beverley Skeggs (eds.) *Feminism after Bourdieu*. Oxford: Blackwell, 75–95.

Skeggs, Beverley (2004b) *Class, Self, Culture*. London: Routledge.

Skeggs, Beverley (2005) The Making of Class and Gender through Visualizing Moral Subject Formation. *Sociology*, vol 39 (5), 965–982.

Sointu, Liina (2009) Koti hoivan tilana. In Anneli Anttonen, Heli Valokivi & Minna Zechner (eds.) *Hoiva. Tutkimus, politiikka ja arki*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 176–199.

Solari, Cinzia (2006) Professionals and Saints: How Immigrant Careworkers Negotiate Gender Identities at Work. *Gender and Society*, vol. 20 (3), 301–331.

Sosiaalipalvelut (2010) Näkemyksestä menestystä. Toimialaraportti 11/2010. Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö, Tem:n ja Ely-keskusten julkaisu. [Http://www.temtoimialapalvelu.fi/files/1199/Sosiaalipalvelut_2010web.pdf](http://www.temtoimialapalvelu.fi/files/1199/Sosiaalipalvelut_2010web.pdf).

Sosiaalipalvelut (2012) Näkemyksestä menestystä. Toimialaraportit ennakoivat liiketoimintaympäristön muutosta. Toimialaraportti 5/2012. Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö, Tem: ja Ely-keskusten julkaisu. [Http://wellbeingbusiness.fi/sites/default/files/publications/sosiaalipalvelut_2012_web.pdf](http://wellbeingbusiness.fi/sites/default/files/publications/sosiaalipalvelut_2012_web.pdf)

Statistics Finland / Suomen virallinen tilasto (SVT): Yritysrekisterin vuositilasto [verkkojulkaisu]. ISSN=1798-6214. 2009, Katsaus yrityksiin ja toimipaikkoihin. Helsinki: Tilastokeskus [viitattu:16.11.2011]. [Http://www.stat.fi/til/syr/2009/syr_2009_2010-11-26_kat_001_fi.html](http://www.stat.fi/til/syr/2009/syr_2009_2010-11-26_kat_001_fi.html).

Stenholm, Pekka & Heinonen, Jarna & Kovalainen, Anne & Pulkkinen, Tommi (2011) Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, Finnish 2010 report. Turku: Uniprint Oy.

Steinby, Liisa (2009) Kertomuksen tiedollinen ulottuvuus. In Samuli Hägg, Markku Lehtimäki & Liisa Steinby (eds.) Näkökulmia kertomuksen tutkimukseen. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 238–280.

Sundin, Elisabeth & Tillmar, Malin (2008a) A Nurse and a Civil Servant changing institutions: Entrepreneurial processes in different public sector organizations. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, vol. 24 (2), 113–124.

Sundin, Elisabeth & Tillmar, Malin (2008b) Organizational Entrepreneurs in the Public Sectors – Social Capital and Gender. In Iris Aaltio, Paula Kyrö & Elisabeth Sundin (eds.) Women Entrepreneurship and Social Capital. A Dialogue and Construction. Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press, 95–120.

Sundin, Elisabeth & Tillmar, Malin (2010) Masculinisation of the public sector. Local-level studies of public sector outsourcing in elder care. *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, vol. 2 (1), 49–67.

Talouselämä (2009/6) Raha ryntää vanhuksen luo. [Http://www.talouselama.fi/uutiset/raha+ryntaa+vanhuksen+luo/a2059407](http://www.talouselama.fi/uutiset/raha+ryntaa+vanhuksen+luo/a2059407).

Tammi, Pekka (2009) Kertomusta vastaan (“Ikävä tarina”). In Samuli Hägg, Markku Lehtimäki & Liisa Steinby (eds.) Näkökulmia kertomuksen tutkimukseen. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 140–166.

Tannen, Deborah (1989) Talking voices. Repetition, dialogue, and imagery in conversational discourse. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tannen, Deborah (1993) *Framing in Discourse*. Deborah Tannen (ed.) New York: Oxford University Press.

Throsby, Karen (2004) Negotiating "normality" when IVF fails. In Michael Bamberg & Molly Andrews (eds.) *Considering Counter-Narratives. Narrating, Resisting, Making Sense*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 61-82.

Tedre, Silva (1999) *Hoivan sanattomat sopimukset: tutkimus vanhusten kotipalvelun työntekijöiden työstä*. Joensuu: Joensuun yliopisto.

Tedre, Silva (2004a) Tukisukkahousut sosiaalipolitiikkaan! Inhomaterialistinen hoivatutkimusote. In Eeva Jokinen, Marja Kaskisaari & Marita Husso (eds.) *Ruumis töihin!: käsite ja käytäntö*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 41-63.

Tedre, Silva (2004b) Likainen työ ja virallinen hoiva. In Lea Henriksson & Sirpa Wrede (eds.) *Hyvinvointityön ammatit*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 63-83.

Tedre, Silva & Pöllänen, Pirjo (2001) *Sosiaalialan hoivayritysten asema kunnassa: tapaus selvitys Pohjois-Karjalassa*. Joensuu: Joensuun yliopisto.

TEM / Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö (2012) *Yrittäjyyskatsaus 2012*. Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriön julkaisuja 46/2012.

Tillmar, Malin (2009) No Longer So Strange? (Dis)Trust in Municipality – Small Business Relationships. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, vol. 30 (3), 401-428.

Toivonen, Tarja (1999) *Yrittäjäksi hyvinvointipalvelualalle*. Seinäjoki: Helsingin yliopiston maaseudun tutkimus- ja koulutuskeskus.

Tolonen, Tarja (2008) Yhteiskuntaluokka: menneisyyden dinosauruksen luiden kolinaa? In Tarja Tolonen (ed.) *Yhteiskuntaluokka ja sukupuoli*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 8-17.

Traynor, Michael & Drennan, Vari & Goodman, Claire & Mark, Annabelle & Davis, Kathy & Peacock, Richard & Banning, Maggi (2008) 'Nurse entrepreneurs' a case of government rhetoric? *Journal of Health Services Research & Policy*, vol 13. (1), 13-18.

Tronto, Joan C. (1993) *Moral boundaries: a political argument for an ethic of care*. New York: Routledge.

Twigg, Julia (2000) *Bathing: the body and community care*. London: Routledge.

Ungerson, Clare (1990) The language of care: Crossing the boundaries. In Clare Ungerson (ed.) *Gender and Caring. Work and Welfare in Britain and Scandinavia*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 8-33.

Ungerson, Clare (2000) Thinking about the Production and Consumption of Long-term Care in Britain: Does Gender Still Matter? *Journal of Social Policy*, vol. 29 (4), 623–643.

Ungerson, Clare (2003) Commodified care work in European labour markets. *European Societies*, vol. 5 (4), 377–396.

Vabø, Mia (2006) Caring for people or caring for proxy consumers? *European Societies*, vol. 8 (3), 403–422.

Vainio-Korhonen, Kirsi (2002) Ruokaa, vaatteita ja hoivaa. Naiset ja yrittäjyys paikallisena ja yleisenä ilmiönä 1700-luvulta nykypäivään. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Van Dongen, Els & Elema, Riekje (2001) The art of touching: the culture of 'body work' in nursing. *Anthropology & Medicine*, vol. 8 (2/3), 149–162.

Valvira (2010) Vanhusten ympärivuorokautisen sosiaalihuollon palvelut. Toimintayksiköihin tehdyn kyselyn tulokset ja valvonnan jatkotoimenpiteet. Selvityksiä 3:2010, Helsinki. [Http://www.valvira.fi/files/Vanhusten_sosiaalihuollon_palvelut.pdf](http://www.valvira.fi/files/Vanhusten_sosiaalihuollon_palvelut.pdf).

Veijola, Soile & Jokinen, Eeva (2008) Towards a Hostessing Society? Mobile Arrangements of Gender and Labour. *NORA*, vol. 16 (3), 166–181.

Viitanen, Elina & Wiili-Peltola, Erja & Tampusi-Jarvala, Tiina & Lehto, Juhani (2007) First-line nurse managers in university hospitals – captives to their own professional culture? *Journal of Nursing Management*, vol. 15 (1), 114–122.

Vilkko, Anni (1997) Omaelämäkerta kohtaamispaikkana naisen elämän kerronta ja luenta. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Vuori, Jaana (2001) Äidit, isät ja ammattilaiset: sukupuoli, toisto ja muunnelmat asiantuntijoiden kirjoituksissa. Tampere: Tampere University Press.

Vähämäki, Jussi (2011) Tehdasasetusten palauttaminen. In Eeva Jokinen, Jukka Könönen, Juhana Venäläinen & Jussi Vähämäki (eds.) "Yrittäkää edes!". Prekarisaatio Pohjois-Karjalassa. Helsinki: Tutkijaliitto, 163–189.

Waerness, Kari (1987) On the rationality of caring. In Anne Showstack Sassoon (ed.) *Women and the state. The shifting boundaries of public and private*. London: Unwin Hyman, 205–234.

Walkerdine, Valerie (2003) Reclassifying upward mobility: femininity and the neo-liberal subject. *Gender and Education*, vol. 15 (3), 237–248.

Warhol, Robyn (2012) A Feminist Approach to Narrative. In David Herman, James Phelan, Peter J. Rabinowitz, Brian Richardson & Robyn Warhol (eds.)

Narrative Theory. Core Concepts and Critical Debates. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 9–13.

Witz, Anne (1992) *Professions and Patriarchy*. London: Routledge.

Wolkowitz, Carol (2002) The social relations of body work. *Work, employment and society*, vol. 16 (3), 497–510.

Wolkowitz, Carol (2006) *Bodies at Work*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Wortham, Stanton (2000) Interactional positioning and narrative self-construction. *Narrative Inquiry*, vol. 10 (1), 157–184.

Wortham, Stanton (2001) *Narratives in Action. A strategy for research and analysis*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Wrede, Sirpa (2008) Educating generalists: flexibility and identity in auxiliary nursing in Finland. In Ellen Kuhlmann & Mike Saks (eds.) *Rethinking professional governance. International directions in healthcare*. University of Bristol: The Policy Press, 127–140.

Yksityinen palvelutuotanto sosiaali- ja terveystalouksissa 2009 – Privat serviceproduktion inom social- och hälsvården 2009. Tilastoraportti 33/2011, 28.10.2011, THL.

Yksityiset sosiaalipalvelut 2010 – Privat social service 2010. Tilastoraportti 25/2011, 27.9.2011, THL.

Zechner, Minna (2010) *Informaali hoiva sosiaalipoliittisessa kontekstissa*. Tampere: Tampere University Press.

Åkerblad, Leena (2009) Hoivayrittäjän arki: lämpöä, puhtautta ja johtamista. *Janus*, vol. 17 (4), 313–328.

Österberg, Johanna 2002. Lama, luottamus ja joustavuus – sosiaali- ja terveystalouden yksityisyrittäjäyys. In Kaj Ilmonen, Anne Kovalainen & Martti Siisiäinen (eds.) *Lama ja Luottamus*. Swedish School of Economics and Business Administration Research Reports 55, 192–200.

Österberg-Högstedt, Johanna (2009) Yrittäjänä ammatissaan sosiaali- ja terveystaloudella – Yrittäjäyden muotoutuminen kuntatoimijoiden ja yrittäjien näkökulmasta. Turku: Turku School of Economics.

Appendix

The writing request

Tampereella
huhtikuussa 2004

Hei!

Olen tekemässä väitöskirjaa hoiva-alan yrittäjistä ja lähestyn Sinua aineiston keruun mielessä. Olen saanut yhteystietosi hoivayrittajat.com -sivuilta. Tein Pro gradu -tutkielmani hoivayrittäjyydestä, johon väitöskirjani on jatkoa. Kiinnostukseni hoiva-alan yrittäjyyteen heräsi neljä vuotta sitten, kun perustimme perheeni kesken yksityisen vanhusten hoitokodin Pirkanmaalle. Olin aktiivisesti mukana perustamassa yritystä, sekä työskentelin siellä käytännön hoitotyössä neljä vuotta. Olen edelleen mukana perheyrietyksemme toiminnassa ja koen siksi hoivayrittäjyyden henkilökohtaisesti tärkeäksi väitöskirjatutkimuksen aiheeksi. Valmistuttuani yhteiskuntatieteiden maisteriksi siirryin päätoimiseksi tutkijaksi Tampereen yliopiston Naistutkimuksen laitokselle.

Aihe on noussut viime vuosina tärkeään asemaan myös julkisessa keskustelussa kasvavan palvelun tarpeen ja kuntien rahoitusongelmien myötä. Yleisessä keskustelussa tuodaan kuitenkin harvoin esille hoivayrittäjien näkökulmia. Yrittäjyys hoiva-alalla on monimuotoinen ilmiö, kun kysymys on yhtäältä hoivasta – joka on Suomessa ollut kuntien järjestämää – ja toisaalta myös liiketoiminnasta ja sen lainalaisuuksista.

Olen kiinnostunut omaelämäkerrallisesta tutkimusotteesta ja kerään siksi hoivayrittäjien kirjallisia kertomuksia elämästään ja yrittäjyydestään. Toivoisin, että kirjoittaisit minulle vapaamuotoisesti siitä kuinka olet alun perin päätenyt hoiva-alalle ja yrittäjäksi asti. Voit kirjoittaa siitä miksi lähdit hoiva-alalle ja mitkä seikat johtivat yrittäjyyteen. Voit kirjoittaa menneisyydestä, nykytilanteesta ja tulevaisuuden suunnitelmista. Siitä, mitä asioita kirjoitukseesi liität ja kuinka paljon kirjoitat, voit päättää itse. Voit kirjoittaa liuskan tai 15 liuskaa. Kirjoituksesi ei tarvitse olla kieliopillisesti hiottu, saati runollinen mestarinnäyte! Voit kirjoittaa tarinasi käsin tai tietokoneella, lähettää postitse tai sähköpostitse, joka tapauksessa anonymiteettisi on turvattu. Halutessasi voit kirjoittaa nimimerkillä. Käsittelen tutkimusaineiston luottamuksellisesti. En esimerkiksi yhdistä kirjoittajien henkilö- ja yritystietoja teksteihin. En ole myöskään ensisijaisesti kiinnostunut yrityksen toimintaan liittyvistä seikoista (liikevaihdosta, työntekijöiden määrästä ym.) vaan toivoisin saada kuulla Sinun henkilökohtaisen tarinasi

hoiva-alan yrittäjänä; ajatuksiasi ja kokemuksiasi yrittäjäksi ryhtymisestä ja yrittäjänä toimimisesta.

Valitettavasti en pysty palkitsemaan vaivannäköäsi. Uskon kuitenkin että kirjoittaminen tarjoaa mahdollisuuden pysähtyä ja tarkastella omaa elämäntulkua, tehtyjä valintoja ja niiden seurauksia. Luonnollisesti kirjoituksesi mahdollistaa myös yleisemmin alaa koskevan tutkimustiedon lisääntymisen.

Nyt siis odottelen Sinulta postia. Toivon, että ehtisit kirjoittaa oman tarinasi minulle – yrittäjän kiireistäsi huolimatta - toukokuun loppuun mennessä.

Kirsi Hasanen
Tutkija / YTM
Naistutkimuksen laitos
Kanslerinrinne 1, 33014
Tampereen yliopisto
kirsi.hasanen@uta.fi

Presented writings in Finnish

Silja (w6)

"Oma elämäkertä"

eli tie yrittäjyyteen.

Olen syntyisin tavanomaisesta maalaispitäjistä, pienviljelijä-perheen viidenneksi lapseksi. Kotona opin pikkulapsesta saakka elämään ympäristössä josta imin itseeni mallin työn tekemiseen. Kotona olimme ahkeria auttamaan isää ja äitiä heti kun tolkkusimme ohjeita. Lasten tekemiset olivat usein sikojen kesätarhaan horsmien hakeminen rakennusten seinustoilta ja karsinavasikoille saimme repiä tuoretta nurmea totuttelupalasiksi.

Äidin töistä ensimmäiset aputyöt liittyivät lattian lakaisuun, pyykkien narulta hakemiseen, puiden kantaminen puulaatikkoon keittiöön ja siivoustyönä mattojen pois kerääminen ja puhtaiden levittäminen paikoilleen. Nämä työt tehtiin ennen kouluikää siinä 5-7 vuotiaana.

Sekä isä että äiti olivat kansakoulua käyneet muutaman vuoden ja työelämään lähtivät 12-13 vuotiaana.

Maalla oppi arvioimaan työn tuloksia; jos ahkeroi kivet keväällä pelloilta pois mahdollisimman tarkkaan ei tarvinnut kolhia viikatteen terää turhiin kiviin tai kun jaksoi tehdä huolellisesti kasvimaan pohjatyöt ennen taimien ja siementen istuttamista ei vapaa-aika kulunut joutavassa rikkaruohikon kitkennässä! Monet työn esivalmistelut olivat tärkeitä lopputuloksen kannalta ja se oppi on vieläkin käyttökelpoinen ohje.

Menin 14-vuotiaana lapsen-ammaksi Ruotsiin, siellä vierähti 2 vuotta. Sain itsenäistyä siskon turvissa ja samalla opin vastuun kantamisen aakkoset hoivatessani kahta-kolmea alle kouluikäistä muutaman tunnin päivittäin.

Sieltä palasin koti-Suomeen talouskoluun ajatuksena päästä kotiapulaiseksi hyvään perheeseen. Niin myös kävi. Ehdin vajaan vuoden palvella "herrasväkeä" ja heidän kaupunkilaiskodin hoidin neljän lapsen lisäksi.

Rouva kehoitti hakeutumaan jatkokoulutukseen, kodinhoitajan tutkinto tähtäimeen! Suorittauduin opiskelusta hyvillä arvosanoilla ulos ja taas oli leivänetsintä edessä. Sattui somasti, että rakkauden kipinä syttyi ja kihlat siinä sitten ostettiin 1976 keväällä. Maalaistalon poika ja työ maatalouskonekauppiaana. Häät vietettiin seuraavana vuonna, olin kodinhoitajan äitiysloman sijaisena siinä vaiheessa. Toukokuussa -77 jäin pois kaupungin pörinästä.

Välillä tein lyhyitä sijaisuuksia kaupungin eri työyksiköissä. Päiväkotia, kotipalvelua ja vuodeosastoa vuorotellen. Toinen muksu syntyi ja vieläkin olimme kaupunkilaisia. Lopulta 1983 sai mieheni maatalon lunastettua serkuiltaan itselleen. Muutimme "mörkölinna" siis 8 vuotta tyhjänä olleeseen maalaistaloon. Sen ympäristö kasvoi nokkosta, takiaista ja villiä saraheinää. Kaivo löytyi kun viikatteella niitettiin ns. pihasta kaikki eteensä tuuva alas... Kesä meni ja tupa+keittiö ja 2 kamaria järjestyi jonkinlaiseksi kodiksi.

Minua "ahdisteli" senaikainen sosiaalilautakunnan puheenjohtaja: lähde vanhainkodille siellä olis vuoden pesti ja mahdollisesti se virka tulee hakuun vakinaiselle.

Meni pari kuukautta kunnes uskaltauduin myöntymään ehdotettuun tarjoukseen; kävin johtajattaren kanssa juttutuokion ja hänen mielestään olisin sopiva ja pätevä hoitamaan kodinhoitajan virkaa talossa. Lautakunta valitsi myös minut, joten siitä vaan lapset hoitoon ja 3-vuorotyö alkoi.

Jälleen huomasin työn huolellisen tekemisen merkityksen. Työkavereissa oli jos jonkinlaisia suorittajia. Pian jouduin vastuullisiin tehtäviin ja niissä ei sopinut möhliä. Kaikki oli välillä pelissä mutta oikein kun yritin selvisin!

Mieheni oli osa-aikainen ambulanssityöntekijä ja loput ajasta kunnosti peltoja maanviljelyskuntoon. Metsätöitä teki, lähinnä omassa metsässä hakkuita. Tulimme kutakuinkin toimeen, tilan velat olivat tosin mieheni nimissä mutta minä palkastani kustansin elämisen kulut. Siinä oppi rätnäämään mihin ne ansiot piisasi.

Onneksi harrastukset eivät kustantaneet suuria, kaikilla oli hiihtovarusteet ja kesäkäyttöön ostettiin polkupyörät. Marjastus ja sienestys olivat parhainta hermolomaa ja virkistäytymistä talven tuulia ja pimeitä vastaan. Käsityötaitoisena "käänsin vanhaa" ja sain kauniita vaatteita lapsille pikkurahalla. Leipominen ja oman maan kasvikset olivat ruokatalouden rahallinen kevennys, kuluihan niitten tekemiseen aikaa mutta sitähan meillä kaikilla on yhtä paljon käytössä (24 tuntia / vrk).

Varsinaisen hoitokoti-ajatuksen sain 1998 kun tilanne silloisessa vanhainkodissa oli sekava stressaantuneet hoitajat tönivät ajatuksin ja teoinkin toisiaan pahoin: kunta väänsi raharuuvia tiukemmalle, lomautukset, lomarahojen muuttaminen vapaaksi, työllistämistukilaisten opettaminen puolen vuoden välein työhön, osastonhoitajan sairastuminen ja kuolema olivat työyhteisön kaaosta, josta irti aioin päästä tavalla tai toisella. Ryhdyin suunnittelemaan kotitalon täysremonttia, olin jäänyt leskeksi ja puu-uunien lämmittäminen 3-vuorotöiden keskellä, lasten koulut ja harrastukset, maanviljelyksen hoito, koneiden hankinta ja uusiminen... Loputon työtaakka päivittäin harteilla. Kannustusta ei paljoa tarvinnut odottaa työkavereilta, itsekin olivat epävarmoja työtilanteestaan.

Teetätin suunnitelman remontista maaseutukeskuksessa. Toteutus alkoi 1998 ja tilat vanhuksille saatiin kuosiin 1999 jolloin myös lääni antoi toimintaluvan [hoitokodille]. Jättäydyin virkavapaalle syyskuussa kun sain kaksi asukasta taloon.

Työ oli opeteltava alusta alkaen itse tekemällä suunnitelmat ja toteutusaikataulut. Lomapäiviä ei tullut mutta kotona työ oli paljon mukavampaa kuin kulkea kelillä kun kelillä 13 kilometrin päähän eri vuoroihin!

Minulla oli silloin pikkupoika 1994 syntynyt joka oli päivät mukana työssä. Hänen leikit ja touhut olivat mieleistä katseltavaa vanhuksille. Lapsellekin kasvoi vanhusten tuntemus kuin vahingossa; hän on edelleenkin luonteva osa tämän talon elämää. Olen avomiehen kanssa asumassa täällä kodin yläkerran huoneistossa, isommat kaksi asuvat kaupungissa ja yksi poika käy ammattikoulua. Mieheni tekee työtä keikkalaisena ja asuu viikot pois kotoa ja joskus käy hyvä tuuri niin pääsee kotoa käsin työhön. Usein hän on ulkomailla, silloin menee 2-3 kuukautta yhteen putkeen. Siihen olen tottunutkin että

vastaan hoitokodin asioista yksin ja mieheni korkeintaan tekee huolto- ja korjaustöitä ollessaan kotona.

Olen palkannut osa-aikatyöntekijän v.2000 alkaen. Hän on lähihoitaja ja vastaa täysin talon touhusta työvuorollaan. Vietän "vapaata" itse silloin. Lomankaipuuta en tunnista itsessäni mutta joskus pitäisi varmaan sovittaa perheen kanssa aikaa yhteisille menoille. Eivät ole valittaneet vielä, että aina äiti on töissä!

Yrittäjänä kehitän toimintaani koko ajan; olen vuokrannut pienkodin naapurikylältä ja se on käyttövalmis. Ainut ongelma on, ettei asiakkaita löydy? Kunnat natisee liitoksistaan vanhustenhoidon paljoudessa. Eivät kai osaa ajatella omaa etua; nyt olis "pikkurahalla" saatavissa ympärivuorokautista hoitoa heikkeneville kotihoitoisille vanhuksille, mutta eivät osaa laskea edukseen tätä palvelumuotoa! En ymmärrä miten tiukka linja tuntuu olevan sosiaalipuolen rahojen kanssa kun tämä vaihtoehto on "liian kallis". Tuloja veroina palautuu kuntaan ja nähdäkseni työllisyys olisi 3-4 henkilölle taattu. Se aiheuttaa turhautumista kun kuntiin päin olen yhteyksissä kirjeitse, soitan...mutta ei ole -vastaus on tutuin. Markkinointiapua pitäisi saada. Olen kyllä käyttänyt konsulttipalveluakin oman taitoni lisäksi mutta tulos on sama.

Yrittäjänä en laske tuntipalkkaani, en lomarahoja, en vapaapäivien määrää tai en edes suunnittele lomaa...vältyn monelta verrattuna työssä vieraalla käyviin; ei lomastressiä, ei aikataulutuksia, ei tunnetta ettei kerkeä lomalla sitä sun tätä... Sukukin ymmärtää etten tule joka mukulan rippijuhliin tai synttäreille. Samoin osaavat ottaa huomioon että en lähde ravintolailtoihin aamutunneille nuokkumaan...Mutta itse olen todella tyytyväinen elämäni näin; jos vielä toinen talo täyttyy niin onhan tätä aikaa...

Joillekin kyläläisille olen ollut paljonkin puheen aiheuttaja; jaksoivat epäillä tokkopa se onnistuu kun noin yks'kaks lähtee pienellä ja sitovalla työnteolla...väsy ja mistä niitä asukkaitakaan saa...toiset kateuksissaan: kyllähän sen kelpaa kun on iso talo ja rikas uusi mies! Mieheni ei ole kiinni rahoineen tässä mitenkään koske emme ole aviossa ja molemmilla on omat yrityksemme. Että se siitä. (totuus on että perikunnan tilalla olen vuokralla ja velan kanssa oman puolikkaani pantaten pankkilainan vastineeksi). Perintöjäkään en kotitalalta saanut 1978 jolloin veljen osti vanhemmiltamme tilan, sisarosuuksia tais tulla silloista markkaa alle 4 tonnia, meitä kun oli seitsemän irtiotettavaa veljellämme. Äidin ja isän kuoleman jälkeen heidän ostamansa ja asuntonaan ollut omakotitalo jäi sopuisasti yhteisellä päätöksellä vielä kotona asuvalle nuorimmaiselle joka oli silloin 23-vuotias. Äidin kuollessa 19v.

Joskus ajattelin nuorempana ettei elämä ole mitenkään haasteellinen kun on oma työ ja turva puolison tuloista, yhdessä me mennään hamaan eläkeikään ja sitten muutetaan Kaliforniaan (Anttilan Kallen mallia seuraten!)

Kohtalon koura kouluttaa minua ja antoi helpon elämän sijaan sisua ja rohkeutta kohdata vastoinkäymiset. Taas huomaan että selviytymisen avaimet on saatu kotoa mukaan: kun teet kunnolla senkin, oli se työ minkä kokoinen tahansa. Siten luodaan kunnollisen ja taitavan ihmisen kuvaa, luottamusta saa ja vakuuttavuutta kun selviää omalla sisukkuudella ja harkituilla valinnoilla eteenpäin.

Nykyään minulla on lähihoitajaksi opiskeleva rouva oppisopimuskoulutuksessa. Kun tutustuin hänen koulutusohjelmaan, siellä

ovat näytöt avainasemassa. Näen yritysmaailman toiminnon eräänlaisena näyttötyönä jota asiakkaat, omaiset, viranomaiset, stakes, lääninhallitus ja koko kylän väki arvioivat! Minä olen NÄYTÖN paikassa alinomaan mutta nöyränä kuuntelemaan arviointia. Tekemällä oppii, kyllä sen huomaa kaiken ikävän paperityön kimpussa puuhaillessa. Jopa verottajan kanssa sukset menee samaan suuntaan; tosin on edelleenkin LYLÄ ja KALHU... arvatenkin kumpi lykkii vauhtia, kuka liukuu sujuvasti...

Verotus ja työntekijän sivukulut onkin pienen yrityksen "peikko". Niitä keventämällä vois joskus nauttia työpalkkaa... palkata lomatuuraajat ympärivuorokautta-paimeniksi vanhuksille. Sekin toteutunee lähivuosina.

Jatkajaa en usko tästä taloudesta löytyvän mutta niitä asioita ajattelen kun niiden aika lähenee. Uskoisin että tämän paikan pienuus on valtti sitten kun itse tarvitsen hoivapalvelua. Tämän kodin yhteisöllisyys on tunnistettavissa päivittäin, perhe on koolla, turva on läsnä.

Helena (w5)

Minun tarinani yrittäjäksi ryhtymisestä

Olen 53-v ja ollut 1998 alkaen pienryhmäkodin yrittäjä. Asukkaat ovat dementoituneita vanhuksia.

Synnyin [tietylle alueelle] pienviljelijä perheeseen jossa peltoa raivattiin käsipelillä, totuin hyvin nuorena kovaan ihmistä säästämättömään työntekoon. Isä käytti paljon alkoholia ja äiti sairasteli paljon, lapsia oli kolme tytärtä, minä keskimäinen.

Koulumatkan varrella oli pieni (1huone) mökki jossa asusti leskiruova. Hänellä oli 11 lasta, kaikki jo maailmalla. Poikkesin usein hänen luonaan kuuntelemaan tarinoita ja "kuulumisia" sekä elämän opettamia neuvojakin. Hänellä oli mandolini soitin joka oli minusta ihmeellinen kun siitä sai heleitä ääniä. Isälleni hän oli kiitollinen kun sai pitää ainutta lehmäänsä meidän metsässä, jota isä suurpiirteydessään ei noteerannut mitenkään.

Kansakoulun päätyttyä menin ainoalle linjalle ammattikouluun mikä silloin oli tarjolla lähikaupungissa 2-vuotinen keittäjänopintolinja. Taas päädyin asumaan leskirouvan luo, jolle maksoin vuokrani siivoamalla ja tekemällä sisä- ja pihatöitä.

Koulun jälkeen muutin työn perässä [kaupunkimaiseen kuntaan] keittiötöihin ja kävin jatkokoulutuksena laitosemäntälinjan [toisessa kaupunkimaisessa kunnassa] jossa tapasin avopuolison. Saimme yhteisen tyttären ja yhteiseloa kesti 25 v [kaupunkimaisessa kunnassa]. Keittiötyön ohella tein keikkatöitä vanhainkoteihin ja pienryhmä-dementiakotiin perushoitajansijaisena. 1993 siirryin kotipalveluun ja hain lähihoitajakouluun, jonka suoritin työn ohella, osittain myös vuorotteluvapaata hyväksi käyttäen. Kävin [sosiaali- ja terveysalan oppilaitoksessa] ennen lähihoitajakoulua myös erilaisia sosiaalialan kursseja.

Minulla itselläni oli tunne että lähihoitajakoulun jälkeen tai sen aikana vasta oma henkinen kasvuni alkoi, vaikka siemen oli kylvetty jo varhain. En vain itse ollut vielä kasvuun valmis aikaisemmin.

Tekiessäni työtä pienryhmäkodissa jossa oli kaikki hyvien normien ja säännösten mukaan. Ajattelin miten toimis in omassa yrityksessäni. Laitoin lapun seinälle kotona johon kirjoitin miten haluaisin hoitaa vanhuksia jos minulla olisi oma hoitokoti ja kuinka ollakaan muutaman vuoden kuluttua minulle tarjottiin ostettavaksi erästä pientä yksikköä. Ostin valmiin Oy:n johon muutin nimen ja lisättiin toimialaan kuuluvaa vanhustenhoitoa.

Olen saanut käytännössä toteuttaa mikä on tärkeintä dementoituneiden hoidossa mielestäni.

Henkilökunnan kanssa saa kovasti tehdä työtä, että helpoin ja nopein tie hoidossa on vanhukselle vahingollisin. Samoja asioita on jaksettava sanoa monta kertaa päivässä.

esim.

- ponnista kovasti, että rakko tulee tyhjäksi, ponnista, ponnista vielä kerran

- juodaanpas nyt mehua, muuten tulee pissa pöpö, mehu on hyvää, tämä on tuoremehua ja tässä paljon vitamiinia, juodaanpas nyt. sitten on kiva kuunnella kun pissa lorisee – se on kuin raikas vuoristopuron solina, pissan lorinaa pyttyyn on kiva kuunnella.

- tänään on se ja se päivä

- et ole yksin vaikka ei ole omia sukulaisia, taivaan isä pitää sinusta huolta. se ei jätä sinua ikinä yksin. se on nytkin sinun kanssa (nyt just? iskee silmää jos asukas on huumorintajuinen)

Samanhenkisen henkilökunnan saaminen on oma tarmons a. Terveysvaikutteinen ruokailu ei onnistu, meinaa onnistua silloin kun vähänkin voi välttää, ei käytetä terveyttä edistäviä ravintoaineita koska se on uudenlaisen ruokakulttuurin oppimista. Muutos elämäntavassa on pitkä prosessi ja silloin on helpompi turvautua esim. ummetuslääkkeeseen kuin valmistaa sellainen aamupuuro joka pistää suolen toimimaan.

Pienyrittäjänä koen suurena epäkohtana äitiysloman pelkästään äidin työpanosta saatavalla korvauksella. Miehellä saattaa olla isossa firmassa insinöörinä päällikkötason virka, siitä ei iso firma joudu pulittamaan senttiäkään. Kaikki seuraa äidin työpaikasta, siinä on pienyrittäjä tiukilla, samasta paikasta voi olla 2 äitiyslomalla samaan aikaan.

Ainoastaan sillä jaksaa tehdä tätä ettei koe tätä bisneksenä vaan elämäntapana ja saa tyydytystä hyvin tehdystä työstä ja teen jokaisen eteen parhaani, en omasta mielestäni liikaa vaan sen minkä voi kuinkin eteen tehdä kunnioituksella.

Yhteiskunnalta en ole koskaan saanut apua enkä ole osannut sitä pyytää. Ray on täysin vieras samoin starttiraha, jota olisin ehkä aloittaessa voinut saada. Pankkilaina, kovalla työllä ja sitkeydellä olen kahlannut nämä vuodet.

Välillä tuntuu että tarvitsisin tukihenkilön, jolla olisi kaupallista ja henkilöstä asiaa tuntevaa koulutusta. Tunnen joskus myös ettei yrittäjällä ole mitään lain suojaa, on vain velvoitteita työntekijöitä ja verottajaa kohtaan. Työnantajalle voidaan olla hyvinkin ilkeitä monin eri tavoin, mutta työnantaja ei saa edes ”huomata” tekemätöntä tai huonosti tai jopa laiminlyötyä työtä. Vanhus ei tule sanomaan ettei minun hampaita ole pesty moneen päivään jos se on muutenkin epämieluisista. Vanhukset ovat kuin pieniä lapsia tai kuten eläimiä joista on huolehdittava ja he eivät osaa itse hoitoa pyytää.

Joten HOITOKULTTUURISSA on Suomessa parantamisen varaa. En pidä tupakkatauoista, joita tupakoitsijoilla on puolen askin verran työvuoron aikana, koen ne ajat vanhukselta riistettynä aikana.

Varsinainen hoivatyö tuottaa iloa ja yritän hoitofilosofiassani toteuttaa omaa etikkaani. Henkilöstöpolitiikka on Suomessa hoidettu niin hyvin että koen olevani sen kanssa ajoittain kusessa. Samoin verotusasioiden kanssa en ole oppinut pelaamaan.

Ostin nyt 53-vuotiaana osaomistusasunnon, johon otin osaomistusosuuden maksuun joka sentin lainana. Tähän saakka sukan varteen ei ole säästynyt senttiäkään vaikka oma elämäntapani on kierrätystä ja yksinkertaisuutta toteuttava.

Koen että pienyrittäjää ei tue yhteiskunta millään tavoin.

Sari (w28)

Voin kertoa lyhyesti sinulle oman yrittäjäksi ryhtymis tarinani.

Jo pikkutyttönä minulla oli haaveena tulla sairaanhoitajaksi, kun ammattihaavetta minulta ekaluokkalaisena kysyttiin. Hoitoala pysyi unelma ammattina mielessäni koko nuoruusiän. Ylioppilaaksi päästyäni vain B:n papereilla (tosin korottamalla äidinkieltä yleisarvosana vastasi C:tä) vuonna 1978 päädyin hakemaan apuhoitajaksi ja hain myös muille hoitoaloille. En ole ollut kovin ahkera lukemaan, olen enempi käytännön ihminen. En sitten päässyt haaveammattiini apuhoitajaksi vielä silloin vaan päädyin lukemaan jalkoehoitajaksi. Sen jälkeen tein lyhyempiä erilaisia lastenhoito ja vanhustenhoito töitä, ja vähän aikaa myös kotikäynteinä lasteni hoidon ohella jalkahoitoja. Olin monta vuotta kotiäitinä hoitaen omat neljä lastani ja välillä hoitolapsiakin siinä välissä. Nuorin lapseni meni esikouluun kun hain ja pääsin opiskelemaan haaveammattiini lähihoitajaksi vuonna 1996. Jotain hyötyä oli yo-tutkinnosta kun sain suorittaa yo-pohjaisen tutkinnon 1,5 vuodessa, mikä oli minulle ison perheen äitinä, laiskana lukijana ja silloin jo vajaa nelikymppisenä ihan riittävästi. Olin kuitenkin hyvin innostunut opiskelusta ja sain jopa stipendin lähinnä juuri motivoitumisestani mutta myös arvosanoihini olin oikein tyytyväinen, kun olin kouluaikoina aikoinaan ollut seiskan oppilas. Mutta terveysoppi oli silloinkin muistaakseni 9.

Vähän ennen ajatustani lähteä vielä opiskelemaan aikuisiällä oli mielessäni syntynyt unelma omasta hoitoalan yrityksestä. En oikein vielä tiennyt mitä se olisi mutta vanhustyö oli lähellä sydäntäni. Liekö yrittäjäisyys perintoa isältääni jolla oli oma yritys, tosin rakennusalan. Kannoin rukouksissa asiaa ja niin sitten kypsyi ajatus opiskelemaan pyrkimisestä. Edelleen muistin silloin tällöin unelmaani rukouksin, että jos se on Jumalan tahto niin Hän osoittaisi mihin minun tulee ryhtyä ja milloin. Olin toisaalta arka ryhtymään mihinkään suureen ja mullistavaan enkä edes tiennyt mistä pitäisi aloittaa. Valmistumiseni jälkeen olin töissä ensin parin vanhuksen hoitajana, sitten kotihoidossa yhden talven jonka jälkeen pääsin dementiahoitoon töihin. Siellä viihdyin hyvin ja vähäksi aikaa oma unelma yrityksestä painui taka-alalle, mutta vain ensimmäiseksi puoleksi vuodeksi jonka jälkeen ajatus pulpahti taas mieleeni yhä voimistuen. Koin että nyt minua johdatetaan eteenpäin ja jatkoin rukousta

pyytäen että Jumala avaisi minulle ovia mennäkseni eteenpäin koska en tiennyt mistä lähteä liikkeelle. Niin, olin käynyt myös yrittäjäyyskurssin [sosiaali- ja terveysalan oppilaitoksessa] edellisenä keväänä ennen kuin menin syksyllä dementiakotiin töihin. Sisareni kävi sen myös. Hän on nyt töissä, ei yrittäjänä kuitenkaan, yrityksessäni.

Ja kevätkin hujahti, kesä meni ja sitten tuli tapahtumien syksy oltuani vuoden dementiakodissa töissä ja saaden hyvää oppia tulevaan työhöni ja yrittäjäyteen. (olin yksityisessä dementiakodissa töissä) Entinen työtoverini, joka tiesi unelmastani, soitti ja sanoi että dementiakoti jossa hän oli tehnyt sijaisuutta, oli myynnissä. ”Siinä se on”, ajattelin ja tunsin jotenkin että nyt Jumala avaa ovia. Eipä minulla ollut rahaa edes alkupääomaan, mutta niin vain soitin yrittäjäisälleni ja ihmettelin että mahtaako pankki myöntää niin isoa lainaa tällaiselle rahattomalle. Ihmeellisesti kaikki kuitenkin järjestyi, niin laina kuin osakeyhtiön alkupääoma, jonka isäni halusi lainata ja olen senkin jo maksanut hänelle takaisin. Siskoni ja kaksi ystävääni jolle olin aiemmin unelmastani kertonut, tulivat töihin pieneen kuusipaikkaiseen dementiakotiini. Oli toki helpompi aloittaa jo valmiista hoitokodista, jossa oli kalusteet ja asukkaatkin valmiina (ostopalvelusopimuksella kaupungin kanssa) kuin aloittaa ihan tyhjästä. Silti paperirumba oli aikamoinen ja huokasin kun siitä selvittiin ja yritys pääsi pyörimään yllättävän nopeassa vauhdissa. Jälkeenpäin vielä moni kysyy ja itsekin hämmästelen, että miten uskalsi ottaa sellaisen lainan. Sanon aina että enpä olisi muuten uskaltanutkaan mutta koin silloin niin syvää varmuutta sisälläni siitä, että tämä oli vastaus vuosien rukouksiini ja tämä on Jumalan antama työ ja tehtävä minulle.

Tiukalla budjetilla pitää toimia ja itse olen pienimmällä palkalla mutta teen eniten töitä. Kuitenkaan en menisi toisen palvelukseen enää töihin. On silti oma vapaus, kun saan päättää itse omat työvuoroni ja lomani. Pidän kuitenkin kunnan kesäloman ja otan joskus vapaata jos oikein alkaa väsyä. Ei sitä muuten jaksa yrittäjänä. Mieheni ja minä omistamme yrityksen, mutta mieheni on aivan eri alalla, joten hän auttaa minua vain jossain kirjanpitoon liittyvissä tms. asioissa. Onneksi on sentään vielä erikseen kirjanpitäjä, joka hoitaa varsinaisen kirjanpidon.

Näin unelmani toteutui ja annan siitä kaiken kiitoksen ja kunnian Jumalalle, joka on siunannut yritystäni tähän asti ja luotan että pitää huolen jatkossakin. Sitten kun minun on aika siirtyä tästä työstäni pois Hän senkin aikanaan osoittaa. Olen nyt toiminut runsaat neljä vuotta yrittäjänä ja tämä työ pienessä dementiakodissa on minun unelma työni. Toimin siis normaali hoitotyössä ja sen lisäksi hoidan yrittäjäyteen kuuluvat asiat. Paljon siis kuluu myös vapaa aikaa työasioiden hoitoon. Ajatukseni ei ole laajentaa, vaikka suurempi hoitokoti olisikin kannattavampi. Toimin niin kauan kuin Herra suo ja tästä pienestä ja kodikkaasta työympäristöstäni.

Vuokko (w8)

Olen kovasti vetkutellut tämän kirjoituksen kanssa ja välillä jo ajattelin luopua koko hommasta, mutta voin vain kuvitella tilanteesi jos pyyntöosi vastaa vain yksi tai muutama, siitä on huonoa repiä väitöskirjaa.

Siis olen 48-vuotias sairaanhoitaja, yrittäjä [tietyiltä alueelta]. Minulla on kymmenpaikkainen vanhustenhoitokoti kaupunkimme keskustassa kerrostalon alakerrassa. Hyvä ja suosittu paikka, omaiset tykkää kun saavat käydä ostosreissujen lomassa katsomassa omaisiaan. Lisäksi meillä on varalla luvat kymmenelle kodinhoito-asiakkaalle, toistaiseksi emme ole katsoneet tarpeelliseksi ryhtyä sinne sektorille laajentamaan. Henkilökuntaa pitäisi lisätä ja muutenkin repiä itseään yhä enempään suuntaan, tällä hetkellä ei kiinnosta. Meitä on kaksi yrittäjää ja kaksi vakituista työntekijää, lisäksi lomittajat ja yksi jatkuva harjoittelija. Tällä hetkellä meillä menee tosi hyvin, paikat on täynnä ja palkkaa ja lomaakin saadaan.

Minä en oikeastaan tässä välillä voinut sanoa olenko kutsumusammattissani, päinvastoin monta kertaa kaduttikin että tulikin lähdettyä niin kuluttavaan työhön vuorotöineen ja vastuineen. Nykyajan sairaalassa kun ei voi hoitaa enää potilaita niin kuin haluaisi, työ on rutiinia ja kellon kanssa vahtimista. Ja fyysisestikin se on rankkaa.

Jostain kumman syystä jo pienenä halusin sairaanhoitajaksi tai lähetyssaarnaajaksi, en minä kuitenkaan mitenkään erityisen auttavainen tai sosiaalinen ole koskaan ollut. Niin se sairaanhoitaja jumitti jo pienenä minun haaveammattikseni. Voi, nyt sanon jokaiselle joka haaveilee, että mieti tarkkaan, eikö olisi mitään muuta työtä mistä leivän saisi helpommalla. Ylioppilas kesinä pääsin aina hoitoapulaiseksi pieneen, 3-osaston mielisairaalaan (senaikainen nimitys). Ja siitä se sitten lähti. Aluksi kävin apuhoitajaksi [kaupunkimaisessa kunnassa], pääsin vähemmällä lukemisella. Takaisin siihen pieneen psykiatriseen sairaalaan, jossa monta vuotta olin lomittajana, saaden jopa kesälomaa ynnä muita vakituisten henkilökunnan etuja (ottivat pikkujouluun jne. hehe) vaan en sitä perhanan vakipaikkaa kuitenkaan. Välillä kävin kokeilemassa onneani [tehtaalla], siellä sai hyvää palkkaa kun jaksoi vain päästä urakkaan. Kyllä se työ aika pian minut kuitenkin kypsytti ja palasin takaisin sairaalatyöhön, kai se sittenkin on minun juttu.

Se, etten koskaan tullut lähteneeksi opiskelemaan kauemmaksi ja enemmän, on se vanhan aikainen tarina miehen löytämisestä (sama mies edelleen), niin minä jumituin tekemään rutiinilla mielisairaanhoidajan töitä. reissattiin miehen kanssa ympäri Eurooppaa, rahaa oli kun asuimme ilmaiseksi vanhempien yläkerrassa ja molemmat työssä. Vasta vanhemmalla iällä tuli halu tehdä lapsia, 37 -vuotiaana sain ensimmäisen tytön -v.92 ja heti perään toisen tytön -93, joka on kehitysvammainen [Liisa]. [Liisan] syntymän jälkeen halusin opiskelemaan lisää, tunsin että tietoni hoitajana olivat kovin vähäiset, sitä paitsi en ennen sitä koskaan ollut kyseenalaistanut hoidon tasoa tai potilaiden kohtelua, mitä työssäni joka päivä kohtasin. Minusta tuli [Liisan] syntymän myötä paljon suvaitsevaisempi ja hellempi kanssaihmissiäni kohtaan. Se on varmasti yksi syy miksi halusin joskus olla enemmän päättämässä siitä miten ihmisiä hoidetaan ja miten heitä kohdellaan, olivatpa he miten sairaita tahansa. Opiskelin siis sairaanhoitajaksi 100 km:n päässä omasta kaupungista ja minulla oli kaksi pientä lasta, [Liisan] ollessa vasta 1-vuoden ikäinen, joka päivä ajoin edestakaisin sen matkan ja tulin kotiin yöksi. Into opiskella oli niin kova että en muista edes koskaan olleeni kovin väsynytään. Ja sehän on selvää, ettei siitä olisi mitään tullut ilman auttavaa ja kannustavaa miestä.

No sitä vakituista paikkaa ei tietenkään ollut vielä, olinhan ollut jonkun aikaa kuvioista poissa. Nyt kiitän luojaani ettei ollut, en nimittäin olisi tällä hetkellä yrittäjänä ihanassa omassa firmassa. Pääsin kyllä heti koulun jälkeen lomittajaksi entiseen työpaikkaani, annoin lomia osastonhoitajille. Mutta kuinka ollakaan syksyllä sitten koko kaupungin henkilökunta lomautettiin huonon rahatilanteen vuoksi ja me lomittajat tietysti jouduttiin pois heti kättelyssä.

Koulussa oli kyllä ollut yrittäjäydestä kursseja, sivuutin ne suurin piirtein kuuntelematta tai opettajan kanssa kinastellessa. Minun maailman kuvaani ei työläisperheen lapsena oikein sopinut yrittäjäyys, saatikka vielä hoitoalalle, ei koskaan.

Niin jouduin sitten työttömäksi niin kuin naapurin lähihoitaja-ihminenkin. Tällä naisella oli ollut grilliyritys joskus ammoin ja hän rupesi kyselemään hoitoalan yrittäjää kaverikseen. Hänellä oli visio ja kyky laskea kustannuksia, miettiä ja sottailla ja ennen kaikkea rohkeus lähteä toteuttamaan hoitokoti ajatusta.

Kun sopiva paikka löytyi, ei kun yritys pystyyn. Ja keskustaan niin kuin kerroin. Paikka saatiin aika äkkiä täyteen ja kaupunki oli kivasti mukana ainakin aluksi. Jotakin laaksoja oli välillä kun neljä asukkaista joutui pois, osa taivaan kotiin ja terv. keskukseseen. Ja siihen rytinään jäi yksi työntekijämme äitiyslomalle, se aika rassasi yrityksen taloutta ja hermoja. Mutta pahin tai paras, tällä hetkellä paras, oli vielä tapahtumatta.

Olimme jo alussa sopineet yrittäjä-kaverini kanssa, että minä vastaan hoitotyöstä ja huolehdin että laskut lähtevät ajoissa, tämä toinen hyväkäs lupasi huolehtia että laskut tulevat maksetuksi. Kaikki meni hyvin vähän yli kolme vuotta, kunnes kaveri alkoi soitella töihin työntekijöitämme heidän vapaapäivinänsä. Hoitotyö muuttui huolimattomaksi ja yhä enemmän maksumuistutuksia alkoi tipahdella postiluukusta. En koskaan ole kenenkään kanssa joutunut niin paljon huutamaan ja kiistelemään ja rähjäämään kun tämän naikkosen kanssa. Epäilyni heräsivät kun tiliotteita ei enää tullut, hän oli siirtänyt meidän postin tulemaan kesämökilleen. Joo ja sitten yksi päivä taas pitkän "lomailun" jälkeen pyysin työkaveriani saapumaan töihin ja keskustelemaan asioista, puhe oli turhaa niin kauan kun uhkasin poliisilla. Sitten se selvisi!!!! Kavallus oli tapahtunut, tililtämme oli hävinnyt kolmen kuukauden aikana 12400€, (nyt tämä teksti heittelee, en viiti enää korjata). Kaveri lähti päiväseltään yrityksestä, puolet firmasta osti pitkäaikainen työntekijämme ja niin pelastuimme konkurssilta! Nyt kun ihmiset ovat minulle jälkikäteen puhuneet niin olen huomannut että entinen yritys-kaverini on ollut rotta jo pienestä pitäen. Grilli oli mennyt samanlaisten epäselvyyksien vuoksi, hoitajien lahjarahoja hävinnyt hänen entisistä työpaikoistaan, monelle yrittäjälle hän oli ollut jopa tuhansia markkoja velkaa jne..

Mutta kaikesta on nyt selvitty, osa kavalletuista rahoista saatiin yritys-kaupassa ja loput lähti juuri ulosottoon. Uusi yritys-kaverini on minua kymmenen vuotta nuorempi, erittäin energinen ja luotettava ja todella antaa paljon yritykselle. Kaikki siis on tällä hetkellä hyvin. Yritys tuottaa, me saamme palkkaa ja lomaa, meillä on ihanat mukavat työntekijät. Minäkin olen vähitellen omaksunut jotain yrittämisestä, osaan jo pyörittää kaikki paperihommat jne. Työ on mielekästä, voin hoitaa potilaita juuri niin kuin olen aina halunnut. Työ on vapaata ja paljon antavaa ja [Liisa] -tyttökin voi olla siellä kuin kotonaan, hän kun ei tule

koskaan oppimaan lähtemään kouluun yksin tai olemaan yksin kuin vanhempi tyttäreni. Mitenkä minä tällä hetkellä olenkaan tyytyväinen elämäni ja työpaikkaani, tulotasooni ja perheeni tilanteeseen. Nyt syksyllä mm. taas lähdemme kahdeksi viikoksi etelän aurinkoon. Jees.

Kavallus juttu sai minut hieman varovaisemmaksi ihmisten suhteen, mutta ei minusta kuitenkaan katkera ole tullut. Olen todella onnellinen että senkaltainen ihminen ei ole enää missään tekemisissä meidän kanssa, toivon ettei koskaan edes hoitotyössä. Nyt voin luottavaisin mielin katsoa tulevaisuuteen, yrityksessä voi tulla huonompia aikoja, mutta uskon että niistäkin kyllä aina selvitään.

Leila (w19)

Onnea ihan aluksi tutkimuksellesi! On hyvä, että olet jaksanut uppoutua tällaiseen aiheeseen...siinä kun varmasti tutkimista riittää!

Omin sanoin, ja valitettavasti kiireen keskellä, kerron "pikakelauksena" omasta yrittäjän taipaleestani.

Kaikki alkoi [kaupunkimaisesta kunnasta] silloisesta LASTENTARHASEMINAARISTA, eli "sempusta". Hämmästyin kurssitovereitani silloin, HUOM: yli kolme vuosikymmentä sitten, ilmoittamalla haaveeni olevan yksityisen päiväkodin perustaminen. Sehän oli aivan järjetön ajatus! Haaveilla on kuitenkin tässä elämässä tapana vaivata meitä ihmisiä niin kauan, että ne saavat toteutua, jos suinkin mahdollista. Niinpä sitten, oltuani kunnallisella puolella muutamia vuosia ja omien lasteni vartuttua niin, että kuopus aloitti koulunsa, aloitin minä oman "kouluni" ostamalla yksityisen päiväkodin, joka sattumoisin tuli juuri samoihin aikoihin myyntiin. Hulluinta oli se, että aina olin inhonnut paperitöitä ja sanonut, etten koskaan halua johtajaksi... Siinäpä se; ei koskaan pidä sanoa "ei koskaan". Olin johtaja, ihan toimitusjohtajaksi joskus sanottiin kun postia sain. Ja paperityö nielaisi alusta saakka ison osan viikosta, etenkin kun en ole siihen saanut opetusta enkä ole siinä nopea. Mutta haastetta riitti! Sain toteutettua itseäni ja muokata tarhastani juuri sellaisen kuin olin aina toivonut. Ulkoiset puitteet eivät olleet luksusta, mutta kodikkaat, mikä pantiin merkille kun vanhemmat valitsivat hoitopaikkaa lapsilleen. Samoin henkilökunta oli innostunut ja mukana rakentamassa omaa leipäpuutamme. Alusta asti toiminnassa oli uusia juttuja, joita ei missään ollut ennen ollut. Ne otettiin ilolla vastaan, ja asiakkaita alkoi tulla kauempaakin. Työtä teimme sydämellä, yhteen hiileen puhaltamalla. Toki aina mahtuu joukkoon niitäkin, jotka tulivat työhön vähemmän innostuneina, ja siitä seurasi ajoittain ilmapiirin huononemista. Puhumalla niistä tavallisesti selvittiin. Mutta minä kannoin asioita usein taakkana pitkiä aikoja. Ja sehän syö voimia. Toisinaan tuntui, että juuri kun kaikki meni mukavasti, joku keksi taas uuden valittamisen aiheen. Olin ollut vuosia myös työntekijäpuolella, joten en katso olleeni "jyräävää" johtajatyyppeä. Pikemminkin joskus sain jopa kuulla, että olen liiankin kiltti! Ymmärsin mahdollisimman paljon, moni olisi osoittanut ovea! Totuuden nimessä on sanottava, että kyllä "siperia opettaa" tässäkin asiassa tehokkaasti, sillä nyt, lähes 16 vuotta myöhemmin, panssari on vahvistunut ja työ on tekijäänsä neuvonut enemmän kuin yksikään oppikirja tai kalleinkaan luento!

Mutta niin ihmeellinen on ihminen, että kaikkein paras aika, mitä yhteishenkeen tulee, oli lama. Ahdistavan tilanteen keskellä yhteishenki oli raudanluja! KUKAAN ei valittanut mistään, ja kaikki olivat valmiit lyhentämään työpäiväänsä, ettei ketään tarvitsisi irtisanoa! Onneksi en lopulta joutunutkaan siihen tilanteeseen. Ainut joka jäi palkatta, olin minä. Enkä nostanut palkkaa vuosiin muutenkaan, vain vähäisiä osinkoja joinakin vuosina. Olin nimittäin siitä onnellisessa asemassa, että mieheni ”elätti” minut ja sain panostaa tarhani tason parantamiseen. Kartutin ”palkkaani” säästämällä jokaisen ylimääräisen lantin tulevia aikoja varten. Ajatus oli, että jos joskus yritykseni myyn, on aika saada työstä palkka. Kyllä minä sitten jossain vaiheessa aloin itsellenikin oikeaa palkkaa maksaa, mutta halusin varmistaa, että siihen on varmasti varaa. Olin kuullut liian monta tarinaa tuhlailevista yrittäjistä!

On muistettava myös, että perheellisen yrittäjän koko perhe on tavalla tai toisella mukana hommassa! Mieheni teki uskomattoman työmäärän remonttien ym. muodossa, puhumattakaan valtavasta henkisestä tuesta! Hän jaksoi uskoa aloittamaani ”savottaan” silloinkin kun tuntui, että kaikki kaatuu päälle ja aurinkoa ei näy missään! Se on kaiken a ja o, lähimpien tuki ja kannustus! Ulkopuolisten epäilykset saavat sisuuntumaan, mutta oman väen vähättely olisi taatusti vaarallista! Lapseni oppivat työntekoon yrityksessäni, ja osaavat arvostaa yrittäjyyttä.

Aloitin 32 lapsen ja viiden työntekijän kanssa. Aikaa myöten laajensin lisäämällä kaksi päiväkotia, jolloin lapsia oli reilut sata ja henkilökuntaa lähes 30. Kolme vuotta sitten myin ensimmäisen tarhani ja perustin yhden uuden. Eli taas niitä on kolme ja lapsia noin sata. Tämä on ollut melkoinen taival. Sen piti olla harrastus/työ, mutta se on jotenkin paisunut. Viidakkorumpu on toiminut positiivisena tiedottajana ja asiakkaita on riittänyt.

Nyt on kuitenkin työhön liittyvä into kokenut takaiskun, kun kotikuntani ryhtyi tukiansa suhteen muutoksiin, jotka kerralla vetivät maton altani. Olin kuntani pyynnöstä aikoinaan perustanut päiväkodit alueelle, jossa niitä kipeästi tarvittiin. Kunta säästyivät uusien talojen perustamiselta ja säästöä tuli myös kun kunta osti hoitopaikat. Vertailussa kunnan oma hoitopaikka maksaa huomattavasti enemmän kuin yksityiseltä yrittäjältä ostettu. Koin, että työni oli mitätöity, kun kesällä allekirjoitetut maksut kumottiin puolen vuoden kuluttua ja kaikki meni uusiksi. Minulta leikattiin luvatuista hinnoista todella paljon seuraavan toimintakauteen lähdetessä. Tietenkin kunta voi tehdä niin, sopimuksethan ovat vuodeksi kerrallaan. Tuntuu vain ihmeelliseltä, kun mikään hinta ei muuten laske, palkoista puhumattakaan...Eli oli pakko vähentää henkilökunnasta ja suurentaa lapsiryhmiä, joiden pienuus on ollut eräs myyntivaltti! Onneksi emme vieläkään joudu pitämään niin isoja ryhmiä kuin kunnassa, mutta se kaikki on poissa omasta palkastani.

Työvoimakustannukset ovat tietenkin oma lukunsa. Niissä olisi korjaamista. Yksi ylitse muiden on naisvaltaisen alan äitiyslomat ja hoitovapaat. Pienellä firmalla on tekemistä, kun kolmekin työntekijää jää samoihin aikoihin äitiyslomalle. Kaikille on otettava sijainen ja maksettava kuutta palkkaa kolmen kuukauden ajan. Kela korvaa kyllä osan jälkikäteen, mutta ei täysimääräisenä. Kun odottajat usein vielä ovat paljon poissa pahoinvointien ym. vuoksi, joudutaan aina turvautumaan sijaisiin. Ja silloinhan Kela korvaa vasta kymmenen päivän sairastamisen jälkeen. Samoin lapsen sairastaminen...on ihan hyvä, että äiti voi hoitaa sairasta lastaan, mutta ei voi olla oikein, että

työnantaja maksaa sen. Kun aloitin yrittämisen, laki ei vaatinut maksamaan palkkaa lapsen tilapäisen hoidon vuoksi, mutta vapaata oli annettava maksimissaan kolme päivää. Tuolloin ei juuri kukaan ollut poissa lapsensa sairastumisen johdosta. Kun laki palkanmaksuvelvollisuudesta astui voimaan, alkoivat poissaolot seuraavalla viikolla. Hoitajia ei saanut sairaalle lapselle enää kukaan... Tämä on todella asia, jota ei saisi maksattaa työnantajalla.

Vuonna 1997 koitti hartaasti odotettu aika, kun lasten päivähoiton yrittäjiä alettiin tukea Kelan ja kuntien (ei kaikkien) taholta! Se helpotti suunnattomasti paitsi yrittäjiä, myös vanhempia! Hoitomaksu vanhemmilla oli edelleen suurempi kuin kunnallisella puolella, mutta paljon pienempi kuin ennen! Tämän seurauksena alkoi myös tulla uusia yrittäjiä lasten päivähoitoon. Kuitenkin, edelleen, joskus kokee olevansa kunnan päättäjien silmissä hätävara. Ja kunnallisen puolen päivähoitoväki suhtautuu usein varauksella. Onko asenteessa kateutta vai tietämättömyyttä, en tiedä.

Työ on kuitenkin palkinnut monin tavoin! Vanhempien suhtautuminen on pääasiassa erittäin myönteistä! He toimivat päiväkodin hyväksi vanhempaintoimikuntaa ylläpitäen, järjestäen moni upeita asioita ym. Ja mitä koko päiväkodin "orkesteriin" tulee, aika hioo meitä kaikkia. Riitasoinnut vähenevät, harjoitus tekee mestareita. Tunnetta toisemme, opimme jopa ymmärtämään ettei kaikkien tarvitse osata kaikkea! "Kapellimestarina! pyrin saamaan "soittajat" niin hyvää vireeseen, että "esityksen" jälkeen voimme iloita loistavasta yhteisestä sävelestä!

Minä alan olla lähellä eläkeikää. Moni ystäväni on jo kokonaan tai osittain eläkkeellä. Elämäni tuli ihana muutos, kun esikoiseni perheeseen syntyivät suloiset kaksostytöt! Isoäidiksi tulo oli uskomattoman upea asia! Tuntuu, että nyt olisi aika kääntää uusi lehti. Antaa pienille tytöille sellaista, mitä ei ehkä kukaan muu voi antaa...kun vielä on hyvässä kunnossa ja mieli täynnä asioita, joita voisi toteuttaa! Mutta silloin ei päivään enää mahdu kolmen päiväkodin johtaminen. Korkeintaan yhden, sen pienimmän...

Ulla (w2)

Hoiva-alalle ja yrittäjäksi tulo:

Aluksi vastustan tällaista nimeä kuin hoiva-ala. En koe olevani mikään emo, joka vain hoivaa vaan olen ihminen ja teen mielestäni hyvin ammattitaitoista ja ammatillisesti vaativaa työtä.

Olen valinnut koulutuslakseni alun perin nuorisotyön. Suoritin [kaupunkimaisen kunnan] yliopistossa nuorisotyöntutkinnon, josta sain sosionomin arvon. Lähdin jatkamaan kasvatustieteelliseen mutta sitten myöhemmin keskeytin opinnot kun mielestäni turhauduin siellä. Lisäksi siihen aikaan kasvatustieteilijät olivat aika turha ammattiryhmä eikä sillä tutkinnolla nyt ainakaan kunnan töitä voi saada.

Joten ensin kuljin [tietyn] kaupungin polkuja päiväkodissa ja [tietyissä] ammattioppilaskodissa hoitajan vakanssilla. Miehelläni oli aina ollut halu kaupunkilaisena muuttaa maalle ja minä maalla kasvaneena en tätä halua vastustanut. Niinpä sain sosiaalitarastajan viran [maaseutumaisesta kunnasta].

Sain tehdä tässä työssäni lastensuojelua mielin määrin ja osalleni tuli tietenkin huostaanottoja ja sijoittamista. Esitin silloiselle esimiehelle, kun oli muutama 4:n sisaruksen huostaanotto, että [maaseutumaiseen kuntaan] perustettaisiin kunnallinen perhekoti ja kiinteistökin olisi olemassa. Hän ei tietenkään ymmärtänyt asian päälle yhtään mitään eikä siis tehnyt mitään valmistelutyötä mihinkään päin.

Hän ei kyllä yleisestikään tehnyt mitään, mikä oli alaiselle siinä mielessä hyvä, että sai toteuttaa asioita, joista tykkäsi. No sittenpä tuli tilanne, etten erästä murkkutyttöä, joka itse vaati huostaanottoaan, saanut sijoitettua mihinkään. Joten otti vähän päähän kun tyttö ei ollut koulukotitavaraa missään tapauksessa. Näin ollen sittenhän tuli omaan kotiini, jossa oli omia lapsiani 2-vuotias tyttö ja 5-vuotias poika. Siitä alkoi perheemme ura sijaisvanhempana. Vaaditun kuukausittain tapahtuvan hoitokorvauksen lisäksi saimme tarkalleen pomoni armollisella suostumuksella ostaa patjan joka kyllä vieläkin on talossamme, koska tyttö ei ole huolinut sitä matkaansa.

Tätä virkasuhdettani jatkui 15 vuotta ja sitten sain tarpeekseni. Menin [naapurikunnan] mielenterveystoimistoon töihin ja hyvin nopealla tempolla huomasi, ettei tämä ole ainakaan minun alani kun pukkaa vakavassa terapiakeskustelussa naurattamaan toisen uskomattoman lennokkaat ajatukset. Joten nopeasti pestauduin [yksityiseen nuorisokotiin] töihin. Minua oli kutsuttu sinne jo aiemmin asiantuntija-apuun ja sitten siis syntyi tämä työsuhde.

Talossa tapahtui isoja muutoksia, joten melkein pakon sanelemana jouduin ottamaan myös taloudellisen vastuun ja ryhdyin yrittäjäksi. Tätä asiaa olen katunut menen tullen ja tästä asiasta olen iloinnut yhtä paljon.

Yrittäjänä olo on välillä ollut hirveää ja olen ajatellut päässäni ties millaisia ajatuksia. Olemme olleet taloudellisen vararikon partaalla, koska devalvaatio laittoi koko talon uuteen uskoon ja niin alkoi tie arsenaaliin. Lisäksi tähän samaan saumaan tuli kuntien taloudelliset vaikeudet eikä sellainen johtaja ja sosiaalityöntekijä ole kunnan virkamies, jos antaa luvan tehdä kalliin laitossijoituksen. Siinäpä se kotona täytyi todistaa tätä työn mielekkyyttä ja itselle täytyi luoda uskoa työhön jne. Työntekijöille täytyi opetella olemaan sosiaalityön koulutuksella esimies, taloudellinen nero ym. ja kotona piti tietysti kyetä olemaan neljälle lapselle äiti.

Vuonna 91 lähti käyntiin myös oman kodin taival perhekodiksi ja lapsiluku kasvoi kättelyssä sisarussarjalla. Alussa tukeuduin työntekijöihin aivan liikaa ja he kokivat hyvin ahdistavaksi kun koko ajan valutin heidän päälle näitä huoliani [nuorisokodin] taloudesta.

Sitten tapahtui kansallinen herääminen ja löysin itseni. Tajusin, ettei tieni pomona voi jatkua näin.

En voi kadehtia työntekijöitä siitä, että heillä on oikeus vaatia palkkaansa ym. muita etuja.

Arsenal oli oikeastaan meidän pelastus ja vaikka siellä sydän pomppoillen sanoin, että talous kasvaa, uskon saaneeni sieltä jotakin töihin vietäväksi. Lisäksi rupesin ymmärtämään jonkinlaisia taloudellisia lainalaisuuksia tähän työhöni. Tässä samassa vaiheessa sain ulkopuolistenkin taholta kokea, että on sallittua pyörittää yksityistä sosiaalipuolen firmaa eli ympäristössä alkoi olla tilausta tälle työlle.

Nyt tilanne on työpaikallani aivan hyvä. Voin sanoa, että yksi perustavaa laatua oleva tekijä on itselle ollut talojeni henkilökunta. Ilman heitä ei kyllä mistään olisi tullut mitään. Työntekijät ovat neljäntoista vuoden aikana pysyneet hyvin samana joten meillä on ollut aikaa kehittää asioita yhdessä.

Hannele (w21)

Näin mielenkiintoisen viestisi hoivayrittäjäyttä koskevasta omaelämäkertamateriaalista ja jään pohtimaan. Olisiko minulla jotain annettavaa materiaalia kerätessäsi? Osaanko muotoilla ajatukseni paperille? Onko minulla ylipäätään mitään sanottavaa aiheesta?

Pohdittuani asiaa muutaman päivän istun nyt koneen äärellä, työpaikallani valvomassa toisten unta. Ajattelin antaa nämä ajatukset käyttöösi.

Olen pian 48-vuotias psykiatriaan aikanaan erikoistunut sairaanhoitaja. Työskentelin 20 ensimmäistä työvuottani julkisella puolella, pääasiallisesti osastonhoitajana psykiatrisilla osastoilla. Olin ja olen melkoinen idealisti ja itselleni ja muille eettisesti ankara ihminen. Tein aluevastuun kehittämisen aikaan rinta rottingilla töitä ohi työaikojen erilaisissa hankkeissa, joiden tavoitteena oli lisätä mielenterveyskuntoutujien asemaa omassa hoidossaan sekä parantaa hoidon laatua ja saatavuutta. 1980-luku oli oivallista aikaa tällaiseen kehittämistyöhön, koska rahaa oli ja asenteet olivat muutokselle myönteiset. Kotiseudullani mielenterveystyön kehittäminen oli myötätulessa; sairaalan henkilökuntamäärä moninkertaistui, tilat korjattiin asianmukaisiksi, saimme ajantasaista koulutusta ja hoitosuhteet rakentuivat ensi kerran yksilövastuisuudelle muuallakin kuin paperilla. Ja sitten...PUFF...lama tuli ja kaikki näivettyi, kuihtui, hävisi. Työstä tuli jatkuvaa taistelua hupenevista määrärahoista, ainaista säästämistä potilaiden hyvän ja henkilökunnan jaksamisen kustannuksella. Työ osastonhoitajana oli huitomista tuulimyllyjä vastaan, johdon ja alaisten välisellä nuoralla tasapainottelua. Kukaan ei ollut tyytyväinen ja hoidon laatu mureni liukuhihnamaiseksi räpistelyksi jatkuvassa ylikuormituksessa. Samoista suvuista tuli jo toista, jopa kolmatta sukupolvea hoitoon. Ajattelin sinisilmäisesti, että kyllä tämä tästä, paremmat ajat tulevat vielä. Ei niitä koskaan tullut.

Kaiken tämän rakastamani työn ohessa avioiduin, sain kolme lasta, opiskelin ja tein vapaaehtoistyötä. Yhtälö yksityiselämän ja palkkatyön välillä alkoi muodostua hankalaksi, kun lisääntyvien vaatimusten ja vähenevien resurssien kurimuksessa jouduin tekemään hallintotehtävät kotona ja välitöntä hoitotyötä työpaikalla. Väsyin, kyynistyin, sairastuin. Vuonna 1999 makasin sitten päivystyspolilla rytmihäiriöiden vuoksi ja vakuutin itselleni, että on muunkinlaisia tapoja elää. Mietin joitakin päiviä ja sanouduin kaikkien suureksi hämmästykseksi irti työpaikastani. Sain välittömästi uuden työn kolmannella sektorilla, minut pyydettiin perustamaan alkavaa tuettua asumispalvelua. Siirryin päivätyöhön, arkisten rutiinien vakiinnuttajaksi. Koin tekeväni mielekästä työtä, jossa asiakkaiden sanoilla ja teoilla oli ihmisen arvoinen asema.

Samaan aikaan muutama kehittämistyöstä innostunut alan ammattilainen otti minuun yhteyttä kysyen, olisinko kiinnostunut selvittämään heidän ideansa toteuttamismahdollisuutta paikkakunnalla. Idea koski mielenterveyshoitoa ja –

kuntoutusta tarjoavan hoitoyksikön perustamista nuorille. Idean takana olevat henkilöt olivat perustamassa osakeyhtiötä palvelun toteuttamiseksi. Innostuin ajatuksesta, koska olin aiemmassa työssäni nähnyt toisen, jopa kolmannen sukupolven oireilijoita samasta perheestä ja olin usein pohtinut interventoiden mahdollisuutta sairaalakierteen estämiseksi. Olin aikoinani erikoistunut lasten- ja nuorten psykiatriseen hoitoon ja haaste kutkutti mielenkiintoisuudessaan.

Kevät 2000 oli melkoista karusellia palkkatyön ja selvittelyjen, anomusten, neuvottelujen ja laskelmien kanssa. Päivät venyivät alkuun 16-18-tuntisiksi, kun kaikki oli saatava rivakalla aikataululla liikkeelle. Päätös yrityksen perustamisesta tehtiin tammikuussa 2001, jolloin tulin mukaan yhtiöön sen toimitusjohtajana ja osakkaana. Kevään aikana hoidin yrityksen ilmoitus-, lupa- ja raha-asiat alkuun ja kuntoon, neuvottelin kaupungin kanssa tarvittavista tiloista, vakuutin pankin, kunnan ja mahdolliset yhteistyökumppanit asian puolelle, rekrytoin henkilökuntaa jne.jne.jne. Toiminta alkoi kesällä 2001.

Alun hiljaiselon jälkeen toiminta pyörähti enemmän kuin loistavasti käyntiin. Suuri kiitos siitä kuuluu niille TODELLISILLE osaajille, joita onnistuimme saamaan työryhmään. Toki, on sanottava, että pitkä kokemus henkilökunnan rekrytoinnissa "aiemmasta elämästä" auttoi, mutta helmet saimme ja helmiä työntekijöiden joukossa yritys pyrkii vaalimaan. Työryhmä on pysynyt samana nyt kolme ja puoli vuotta eikä normaaleja merkkejä (kuntapuolen kokemus) taisteluväsymyksestä ole nähtävissä, vaikka työ on ajoittain varsin raskasta ja kuormittavaa. Työryhmää tuetaan tarjoamalla heille jatkuvaa mahdollisuutta lisäkoulutautumiseen, työnohjauksella, työpaikkademokratialla sekä huomioimalla henkilökohtaisen elämän nousut ja laskut.

Työ on haastavaa ja tavattoman palkitsevaa. Kun saa nähdä nuoren selviävän omilla jaloillaan, sitoutuvan koulutukseen, löytävän itselleen ystäviä ja tukevia aikuisia...onnettomuuden ketju on katkennut monessa tapauksessa!!! Kun saa yhteistyökumppaneilta ihan aitoa palautetta onnistumisista ja epäonnistumisista, se tuntuu upealta. Olla irti holhoavasta, hierarkkisesta järjestelmästä, jota sairaalamaailma edusti. Ajattelun ja kehittämisen vapaus on vain ja ainoastaan itsestä ja työryhmästä kiinni. Toki toki, on lainsäädäntöä ja muuta ohjeistusta taustalla, mutta niiden rajoissa on paljon uutta kehitettävissä laadukkaan palvelun aikaansaamiseksi.

Sitten se toinen puoli yrittäjyydestä. Olla aina valmiina, altis ja markkinointihenkkinen. Istua yökaudet laskelmien, selvitysten ja raporttien äärellä. Miettiä rahan riittävyyttä ja tuloksen laadukkuutta. Vastata tuhannesta asiasta yhtiön muille osakkaille. Tehdä rästityöt muidenkin edestä, jos joku sairastuu tai ei jaksa. Kantaa ihan itse vastuu tehdyistä möhlyyksistä. Mutta se suurin asia henkilökohtaisesti: teemmekö työtämme rahan vai asiakkaiden hyvinvoinnin maksimoimiseksi? Hoiva-alan yrittäjyydessä tämä kysymys ei ole ollenkaan mutkaton. Kuluneita kliseitä "täytyyhän yrittäjänkin tulla toimeen" ja "maksaaahan julkinenkin terveydenhuolto" olen kuullut ja kuunnellut lukuisissa alan yrittäjien tapaamisissa. Olen varsin eri mieltä niiden hoiva-alan yrittäjien kanssa, jotka katsovat oman rikastumisensa olevan ainoa yrittäjyyden "pointti". Toki, ihmisen on tultava työllään toimeen ja mielellään saatava voitakin leivälleen, mutta yrittäjyyden arvo on minulle henkilökohtaisesti muissa seikoissa. Ne tärkeät arvot ovat ajattelun ja toiminnan vapaus, terve ammatillinen itsetunto, mahdollisuus kehittää ja kehittyä sekä mahdollisuus

työllistää. Rahaa tarvitaan tasaisesti ja sopivasti, ei henkilökohtaiseen pröystäilyyn. Ei niitä euroja hautaan mukana saa. "Ei tartte näyttää" kuten sanoi edesmennyt viisas appeni.

Entäs tulevaisuus? Mikä minusta tulee isona? Sitä kyselevät vähän huolestuneena myös alaiseni ja yhtiön muut osakkaat, kun vanhoilla päivilläni luin itseni terveystieteen maisteriksi. Ymmärrän, että tällainen työmyyrä on tärkeä pienelle, nuorelle yritykselle. Työmyyrä, joka kirjoittaa yövalvonnan ohessa toimintakertomusta, tekee käteiskassakirjanpidon, leipoo pullaa ja vastaa hoivayrittäjyyttä koskevaan materiaalityöntöön tutkimustarkoituksiin. Kuten lukijana huomaat, olen yrittäjyyteen "ajautunut" idealisti. Kantaako luja usko ja tahto tehdä oikein ja hyvää bisnesorientoituneessa maailmassa? Sitä joudun varsin usein kysymään itseltäni. Jos tulee päivä, jolloin joudun vastaamaan itselleni "ei kannu", hakeudun varmaan muuhun työhön. Yrittäjäksi ryhtyminen on ollut väline omien arvojen ylläpitämiseen työssä.

Ihmisellä on oltava haaveita, oli hän sitten toisen palveluksessa tai itsensä työllistäjä. Haaveet ja unelmat eivät ole vain nuorten oikeus, kyllä me vanhatkin haaveilemme. Itse kuvittelen vähentäväni asteittain tekemäni työn määrää toiminnan vakiintuessa ja viettäväni enemmän aikaa minulle rakkaan harrastuksen, opiskelun parissa. Opittava olisi ainakin eestin kieli...syvennettävä tietoutta diskurssianalyysistä...

Hups, kello tulee puoli kolme ja pullataikina tulee yli tiinusta. Joutunen lopettamaan itselleni turinoinnin.

Liisa (w16)

KUINKA MINUSTA TULI HOIVA-ALAN YRITTÄJÄ

Hoitokodin historia alkaa jo vuodesta 1989, jolloin ensimmäisen kerran otin puheeksi hoitokodin perustamisen. Silloin minulla oli vielä sairaanhoitajan opinnot kesken, mutta opiskelutoverini kanssa keskusteltiin asiasta. Olinhan ollut ennen opiskelujen aloittamista töissä kaupallisella puolella, lasten parissa, kehitysvammatyössä, mutta myös vanhainkodissa. Ja nimenomaan vanhukset tuntuivat olevan lähinnä sydäntäni; samoin kuin opiskelutoverini sydäntä. Valmistumisen jälkeen tiet kuitenkin erkanivat, koska halusin palata kotiseudulleni. Ajatus hoitokodista siirtyi taka-alalle, kun sain vakituisen työpaikan: minua pyydettiin toiminnanohjaajaksi kehitysvammaisille juuri perustettuun pienkotiin. Lapsien syntyminenkin siirsi ajatukset ja energian toisaalle.

Vuosien mittaan kuitenkin huomasin kaipaavani yhä enemmän työtä vanhusten parissa, ja haastetta elämään muutenkin. Kumppania yrityksen perustamiseen ei vain tuntunut löytyvän. Vuonna 2001 suoritin työni ohella dementoituvan potilaan hoitotyön erikoistumisopinnot [kaupunkimaisessa kunnassa], siis 100 km:n päästä kotoa. Siinä vaiheessa ajatus hoitokodista alkoi uudelleen kypsyä ja opiskelu toisella paikkakunnalla työn ohessa tavallaan oli "harjoitusta" siihen, mihin rahkeeni riittäisivät. Seuraavan vuoden alussa syntyi myös rohkea päätös: miksi ei yrittäjäksi voisi ryhtyä yksinkin?! Tuossa vaiheessa puolisoni totesi minun olevan **TODELLA** tosissani, joten oli hänenkin

aika hyväksyä ajatus hoitokodista. Eikä vain hyväksyä vaan hän itsekin omalla laillaan innostui siitä ja ryhtyi osakkaaksi.

Neuvotteluja kävimme yritysneuvojan kanssa, hän teki myös laskelmat ja totesi ne kannattaviksi. Neuvottelimme myös kaupungin sosiaalijohtajan ja monen muun tahon kanssa. Sopiva kiinteistökin löytyi ja onnistuimme saamaan sen edullisesti yhtiön haltuun. Rattaat pyörimään!

Kesä 2002 meni remonttia tehdessä. N, 450m² käsittävä kiinteistö sai kokea muodonmuutoksen sisätilojensa suhteen. Hiomme ja maalasimme seinät, osin levytettiin. Lattioihin laitoimme uudet laminaatit, uusimme keittiökalusteet kokonaan, rakensimme inva-WC ym. Siinä sai uusi yrittäjäkin opetella uusia tehtäviä ja todeta, että ”kaikkea osaa, kun vain yrittää”. Pyykkituvan lattialaatoitus oli mielestäni melkoinen saavutus! Monesti jälkeinpäin olen miettinyt, olisinko uskaltanut touhuun ryhtyä, jos olisin tiennyt, millainen kesä oli. Omien töidemme (mies muuten yrittäjä myös!) ohessa remontoimme koko kiinteistön iltaisin ja viikonloppuisin. Mukana talkoissa molempien vanhemmat ja muutamia ystäviä, palkkatyövoimaa ei käytetty lainkaan! Reilu kolme kuukautta remontti kesti; ei tarvinnut miettiä, mitähän tekisi. Lapset vain totesivat olevansa melkein orpoja.. tästä tunsin tietysti huonoa omaatuntoa.

Hoitokoti on nyt ollut toiminnassa reilu kaksi vuotta ja toiminta on hiljalleen vakiintunut. Kuinkahan monesti olenkaan ollut kiitollinen siitä, että uskalsin tähän työhön ryhtyä!! Toki mies on ollut hyvänä tukena, mutta pääsääntöisesti minä vastaan kaikesta. En nyt voisi kuvitellakaan, että minulla olisi tasa-arvoinen yhtiökumppani; olisi varmaan menneet sukset ristiin jo monta kertaa! Monet ovat ihmetelleet rohkeuttani, mutta minusta yksin yrittäminen antaa vain vapautta; ei tarvitse neuvotella joka asiasta.

Kyllähän tämä sitoo, harvassa ovat vapaapäivät, jolloin voin todella olla ajattelematta tai tekemättä jotain tähän liittyvää. Mutta monestihan yrittäjäyys onkin elämäntapa. Ei tätä rikastuakseen tee. Paremminkin olisin tienannut entisessä työpaikassani, säännöllisessä päivätyössä, pienemmällä vastuulla ja vähemmällä ja siistimmällä työllä. Mutta se vain ei ollut muuten niin palkitsevaa kuin tämä! Ja ehkäpä muutaman vuoden kulutta, kunhan toiminta vakiintuu ja lainoja saa vähemmäksi, saan nostettua itselleni kunnan palkkaakin. Se on kuitenkin tähän väliin sanottava, että lomina olen pitänyt. On vain pitänyt lähteä silloin kauas; kotona lomailusta ei tulisi mitään. Puhelimella minut hätätilanteessa tavoittaa myös lomalta, mutta henkilökunta on antanut minun olla ihan rauhassa. Puhelinta en kokonaan sulje siksi, että niin kauan kuin tiedän, ettei yhteyttä ole yritettykään ottaa, on kaikki hyvin. Jos mahdollisuutta yhteydenottoon ei olisi, mieltäisin kuitenkin kaiken aikaa, onko kaikki OK.

Mikä tässä sitten on niin palkitsevaa:

- se, että itse saa päättää toiminnasta, saa päästää luovuuden valloilleen, saa kokeilla siipiään, kehittää työtään juuri niin kuin itse parhaaksi katsoo
- vanhuksien itsessään ovat niin palkitsevia; heillä on elämänviisautta ja mielenkiintoisia tarinoita menneiltä ajoilta
- saa olla ihmisten kanssa, aina tulee uusia asioita eteen
- tietty vapaus, vaikka toisaalta tämä viekin enemmän aikaa ja omat harrastukset ovat hyvin pitkälle jääneet
- palkitsevaa on myös se palaute, mitä ”kylillä” kuulee
- vuorotyö ja työn monipuolisuus muutenkin

Mikä on raskasta?

- pomona oleminen ei ole kovinkaan suurta herkkua, ainakaan aina
- sitovuus: koskaan ei yövuoron jälkeen tiedä, pitääkö jäädä päiväksi töihin, jos joku on sairastunut
- yksinäisyys; liittyy pomona olemiseen, ei ole vertaistukea. Kollegat eli muut hoivayrittäjät kokevat minut uusimpana tulokkaana yhä jotenkin uhaksi
- vastuu välillä painaa ja vie yöunet; taloudelliset tekijät isossa roolissa
- välillä huikean pitkät työrupeamat; etenkin juhlapyhien aikoihin, jolloin itse joutuu tekemään toisten vapaapäiviä

Minua on muutamaan otteeseen pyydetty kertomaan opiskelijaryhmille yrittäjyydestä. Aina on noussut esiin kysymys, miten uskalsin lähteä yrittäjäksi ja jos saisin palata ajassa taaksepäin, vieläkö ryhtyisin. Uskallukseen olen aina sanonut, että kuin vain on hieman hullua rohkeutta, halu tehdä kovasti töitä ja hyvä liikeidea, niin siitä vain! Ammattiapua laskelmien tekoon yms. saa varmasti, kaikkea ei tarvitse osata tehdä itse. Enkä todellakaan ole valintaani katunut! On vain mukava katsoa, miten omat lapset alkavat jo puhua siitä, miten he isoina johtavat toinen suunnittelutoimistoa ja toinen hoitokotia.

Ai niin, tulevaisuuden suunnitelmia: Tarkoitus on, että muutaman vuoden sisään laajentaisin toimintaa. Mahdollisesti tätä nykyistä isommaksi tai kokonaan toinen hoitokoti. Myös toiminnan monipuolistaminen on käynyt mielessä, esim. yöpartiotoiminnan järjestäminen. Mutta aika näyttää... muitakin haasteita on edessä: vuoden vaihtuessa ryhdyn vetämään paikkakunnan Omaishoitajat ja läheiset ry:n toimintaa...

Vierivä kivi ei sammaloidu...

No niin, tässä tarinaa [asuinseudulta]. Toivon mukaan sait tästä jotain aineistoa tutkimukseesi. Kello on tasan 5 aamuyöllä, kun tätä lopettelen, joten suo anteeksi kirjoitusvirheet, ajatushyppäykset ym. Yövuorossa olen tätä siis kirjoittanut ja välillä joutunut poikkeamaan asukkaiden luona tai tyhjentämään pyykkikonetta, pyyhkimään lattiaa ym. ym.

Salme (w3)

Kiitos, että voin osaltani olla avuksi tutkimusta tehdessäsi.

Olen 48-vuotias koulutukseltani Laitos-keittäjä, Kodinhoitaja, Sosiaali-ohjaaja. Olen toiminut 18-vuotiaasta kuntien palveluksessa vanhus-vammais ja perhetyössä kaikkiaan yhteensä yli 24 vuotta ja nyt viimeiset 5 vuotta hoivapalveluyrittäjänä tarjoten perheille hoiva- ja työapu palveluita, ohjausta, neuvontaa ja edunvalvontaa sosiaali-byrokratian viidakossa.

Syy miksi ryhdyin alan yrittäjäksi johtui osaltaan paikkakunnalta muuton vuoksi ja kunnissa tapahtuneiden sosiaalipalvelujen saatavuuden vaikeutumisen vuoksi yksityiselle sektorille tuli kysyntää. Olin alussa kyllä töissä kunnassa johon muutimme mutta osoittautui, että he halusivat vain käyttää ammatillista osaamista röyhkeästi hyväkseen määräaikailla työsopimuksilla ja minimipalkalla.

Menin yrittäjä koulutukseen ja sain starttirahaa ja uskoin sokeasti että apuani tarvitaan kentällä ja niin tapahtui koska edelleen olen yrittäjä.

Nyt vain on käynyt niin että henkilökohtaiseen elämään tuli muutos kun kaksi vuotta sitten avioiduin uudelleen ja muutin edelleen kauemmaksi asumaan.

Olen tänä aikana koettanut saada markkinoinnilla työkohteita nykyisen asuinpaikkakunnan sisältä, että lähikunnista siinä kuitenkin kovin hyvin onnistumatta. Käyn siis siellä kaukana työssä ja ajomatkaa kertyy 300km päivässä, se vie ajasta paljon ja siihen palaa rutkasti rahaa. Mikään taho ei ole halunnut tässä tilanteessa auttaa, ei verotoimisto, ei kela, ei työvoimatoimisto eikä edes Te-keskus, kaikille yrittäjät ovat kuin paise yhteiskunnan nahassa.

Minusta tällaisessa tilanteessa pitäisi saada jostain helpotusta kun jouduin vielä ajan puutteen vuoksi luopumaan erittäin tuottoisasta hoivapalvelu paikasta!!

Ja yritystuloni romahti kolmanneksella. Te-keskuksessa sanoivat vielä, että teen vääristynyttä yrityspalvelua kun yhteiskunnan taholta on se 60% verovähennysoikeus työsuoritteista. Toki se 60% verovähennys oikeus on tuonut asiakkaita siinä vain on se kohdistumine väärä kun se suosii vain hyvätuloisia ja monet sellaiset jotka tarvitsisivat apua jäävät sitä ilman. Lapsiperheet ovat saaneet mukavasti apua ja käyttäneet palveluita. Hoivapalveluiden osalta helpotuksena on ollut alviton palvelumaksu.

Yrittäjänä omalla aktiviteetilla on huomattava merkitys, pitää jatkuvasti hakea tietoa ja olla silmät ja korvat auki koulutusta on kyllä tarjolla.

Suurimpana ongelmana pidän yrittäjän heikkoa sosiaaliturvaa mm. kun sairastuu ei saa 9 päivää mitään!! Maksaa saa kyllä kalliit maksut kuukausittain, Yel-maksut, miksi meitä kohdellaan näin?

Ja muutoin byrokratia on melkoista, vaikka yrittäjänä työllistämme koko joukon muita tahoja minäkin ostan mahtavan määrän polttoainetta kuukausittain, vien paperini tilinpitäjälle kun verottaja ei luota että itse tekisin pankit rosvoavat kaiken maailman maksut vaikka internetin kautta suoritan maksuni? Puhelinliittymät ovat kalliimmat yrittäjillä eikä meille myönnetä mitään bonuksia.

Välillä tuntuu, että jokainen taho tahtoo vain hyötyä yrittäjiksi ryhtyvistä!

Kuvitellaan yleisesti, että yrittäjäksi ryhtynyt tekee rutkasti jostain helppoa rahaa ja on kyllä puppua kaikista helpointa on olla vieraan palveluksessa. En kuitenkaan vaikeuksista huolimatta palaisi mistään hinnasta takaisin kuntien palvelukseen heittopussiksi.

On oma vapaus tehdä työtään asiakaslähtöisesti jota mahdollisuutta ei tämän hetken sosiaalipalveluissa kunnissa enää ole, jatkuvien rahan kiristysten seurauksena osa vanhuksista on jopa heitteillä. Ihmettelen mihin on laantunut keskustelu ostopalveluseleleistä niiden kun piti tulla kuntien avuksi vuoden vaihteessa?

Kunnat ovat hyvin nihkeitä ostamaan itse palveluja yrittäjiltä vaikka tarve olisi olennainen.

Miten saadaan apu sitä tarvitseville kun kaiken aikaa vielä tarvitsijain joukko tulee kasvamaan!!

On aivan kamalaa kuulostella miten kunnissa kodinhoitajat käyvät jopa 10 asiakasta päivittäin ja miten he eivät saa enää tehdä sitä eikä tätä, käydään vain moikkaamassa ja toteamassa, että hengissä oli vielä...

Itsellä ainakin asiakaspalaute on antanut tältä osin tyydytystä ja voin hyvällä omalla tunnolla kertoa, että yrittäjät tekevät työtään 110% asiakkaan etu ja tarpeet tärkeimpinä kriteereinä palvelulle, kuntien kanssa pitäisi pystyä

tekemään yhteistyötä mutta mistä apu olen ollut kuntien kanssa neuvottelemassa mutta mistään yhteistyöstä ei voi puhua ainakaan vielä.
Miten Suomesta saisi yritysystävällisemmän?
Toivon vain että saan olla terveenä ja jaksan tehdä tätä työtä omalla vakaumuksellani ja tavallani asiakkaiden kotona selviytymisen edistämiseksi.
Paras kiitos tulee tehdystä työstä ja tyytyväisistä asiakkaista.

Presented excerpts in Finnish

Excerpt 1

Edukseni ja voimavarakseni katson entisen kilpaurheilijataustani. Olin yksilölajissa ([laji poistettu]) nuorten maajoukkueessa, joten olen tottunut tekemään paljon töitä saavuttaakseni haluamani. Luonnetta (sisua) täytyy löytyä, mikäli haluaa jaksaa pienyrittäjänä. (...)

Alalle suuntautuminen ja ammatilliset näkemykset periytyivät luokanopettaja-äidiltäni. Tietoa, kokemusta ja mallia yrittäjyyteen sain tädiltäni. Työskentelin hänen yrityksessään 1 ½ vuotta lukion jälkeen ennen opintojani (ala ei tosin ollut sama). Sain kyseisenä aikana kipinän ja paljon arvokasta tietoa. (w15)

Excerpt 2

Olen aina tuntenut, että haluan itse ratkaista monenlaiset töihin liittyvät asiat. Sillä lienee merkitystä, että olen yrittäjäperheestä kotoisin. (...)

Haave omasta yrityksestä oli miehelläni ja minulla pari vuotta. Isäni kautta saimme tietää [nykyisessä asuinkunnassa] olevasta mielenterveysasiakkaiden palvelukodista, jolla ei silloin mennyt hyvin ja tarvitsi uuden jatkajan. Lähdimme [nykyiselle asuinseudulle] tuntematta ketään täällä ja ensimmäiset pari vuotta tuntuivatkin aika yksinäiseltä ajalta. (...)

Nyt kesällä teimme remontin vielä kolmanteen palvelukotiin, joka avautui elokuussa. (...)

Toki lisääntynyt asukasmäärä ja työntekijämäärä tuo omat haasteensa, mutta tuo se myös lisää elämää. Alkuun, kun pyörimme pienellä työntekijämäärällä pikkukodissamme, tuntui välillä turhautavalta. Enää ei tunnu. Päivät menevät niin nopeaa ja aina on tekemistä. (w14)

Excerpt 3

Monenlaiset koulutukset omien tarpeiden mukaan antavat aina lisää potkua ja intoa kehittää ja miettiä työtään mahdollisesti uudelta kantilta. Olen käynyt monenlaisia lyhyitä kursseja ja vähän pidempiäkin esim. toimitusjohtajakoulutus ja yhteisöhoitoon 2-vuotinen koulutus olivat antoisia. Viime keväänä otimme käyttöön yrityksessämme laatukäsikirjan (laadun portaat, josta käyty tasot 1, 2 ja 3). Laatutyö oli aikaa vievää ja haastavaa eikä siitä olisi selvitty niin hyvin, jos ei koko henkilöstö olisi ollut mukana. Kun kaikki ovat mukana kehittämässä, näyttäisi, että se jää myös elämään työhön, mitä on paperilla.

Haastetta riittää, että saa tämänhetkisen fiiliksen jatkumaan itsellä ja työporukassa. Toisetkin ovat innostuneita kanssamme ja saankin kiitosta työntekijöiltä siitä, että teen arjen työtä heidän kanssaan ja pidän yhteisen hengen luomista tärkeänä. (w14)

Excerpt 4

Perhekoti tekee paljon yhteistyötä eri tahojen kanssa. Hyvä yhteistyö lasten vanhempien kanssa on erittäin tärkeää. Myös suhde lapsen sijoittaneen kunnan sosiaaliviranomaisten kanssa on ensisijaisen tärkeää. Perhekodin henkilökunnalla ja sijoittaneen kunnan sosiaaliviranomaisilla on vähintään puolen vuoden välein yhteinen palaveri, jolloin tarkistetaan mm. lapsen hoitosuunnitelma.

Perhekodin vanhemmat toivovat, että lääninhallituksen tarkastaja kävisi perhekodissa säännöllisesti kerran vuodessa. Perhekoti tekee toimintakertomuksen lääninhallitukselle toiminnastaan vuosittain. Perhekodin vanhemmat ovat yhteydessä lääninhallitukseen ja konsultoivat heitä tarvittaessa. Samoin yhteistyötä tehdään lasten ja nuorten psykiatristen osastojen kanssa. Jokaisella lapsella on oma yhteistyökumppani, jonka kanssa lapsesta konsultoidaan.

Yhteistyö viranomaisten kanssa on yleensä hyvää, mutta esimerkiksi kuntien sosiaalityöntekijöiden tiheä vaihtuvuus on ongelma myös perhekodin kannalta. Jokaisen lapsen tilasta kirjoitetaan myös jatkuvasti raporttia. Työnohjaajan luona käydään kerran kuussa ja tarvittaessa myös puhelinkonsultaatio on mahdollinen. Ilman työnohjausta lastensuojelutyö kävisi liian raskaaksi. (w24)

Excerpt 5

Koulussa oli kyllä ollut yrittäjyydestä kursseja, sivuutin ne suurin piirtein kuuntelematta tai opettajan kanssa kinastellessa. Minun maailman kuvaani ei työläisperheen lapsena oikein sopinut yrittäjyys, saatikka vielä hoitoalalle, ei koskaan. (w8)

Excerpt 6

Yrittäjyys ei kuulunut missään lapsuuteni vaiheessa tulevaisuuteni suunnitelmiin. Tosin ihailin kyläkauppamme pariskunnan työtä ja haaveilinkin pääseväni isona kauppa-apulaiseksi. Myöhemmin haaveilin kyllä monesta muustakin ammatista, useimmiten haaveeni muodostui siitä näkemyksestä ja mielikuvasta jonka toiveammattini tekijä olemuksellaan minulle viestitti. Kansakoulun alaluokilla halusin tulla naisopettajaksi koska opettajani oli kaunis ja hyvin pukeutuva, hieno nainen ja lisäksi olin toisten oppilaiden mielestä opettajan lellipentu. Koko lapsuuteni ajan kuitenkin jossain taka-alalla pyöri lastenhoitajan ammattitoive. Tätä toivetta pystyinkin jo lapsuudessani toteuttamaan hoitamalla äitini apuna nuorempia sisaruksiani joita minulle siunaantui lähes joka vuosi.

Aikanaan oppivelvollisuuteni suorittamisen jälkeen lähdin sen ajan tavan mukaan pääkaupunkiseudulle ja hetkeksi Ruotsiinkin, tuolloinhan ei naistyöpaikoista ollut pulaa, kunhan vain suostui tekemään mitä vain ja millä palkalla tahansa. Työn sisällölle ei painoa laitettu. (...)

Kun niin sanottu vuosikymmenen lama iski, loppuivat viikonloppu- ja muut keikkatyöt kuin naulan kantaan. Enää ei työnantajat lähettäneet toivomuslistaa

niistä viikonlopuista jotka olisin lähimpien viikkojen-kuukausien aikana valmis tekemään.

Oli siis ryhdyttävä keksimään jotain muuta perheeni toimeentulon turvaamiseksi. Se oli tärkeää myös sen vuoksi, että metallialalla työskentelevä puoliso oli useita jaksoja työttömänä ja hänen työnsaantimahdollisuutensa olivat vielä minua heikommat.

Hakeuduin sosiaalialan yrittäjien koulutukseen jonka tarkoituksena oli kannustaa alan ammattilaisia ryhtymään yrittäjiksi. (...)

Koulutuksen aikana kävi selväksi myös se, että yrityksen perustamiseen hoiva-alalle ei ole mahdollista saada avustusjärjestöiltä (RAY ym.) taloudellista tukea vaan rahoitus olisi järjestettävä muulla tavoin itse.

Pidinkin ensiarvoisen tärkeänä asiana sitä, että saan kuntien sosiaalitoimen ja yritykseni välillä tehdyksi sopimuksen palvelujen ostamisesta. Neuvottelut olivat aikaavieviä ja työläitä mutta kannattavia. Oman kunnan kanssa aikaiseksi saamani ostopalvelusopimus on ollut voimassa 11 vuotta eli yrityksen perustamisesta lähtien. (w27)

Excerpt 7

Johtajana toimiminen ei kuulunut toiveisiini yritystä perustaessani, en tuntenut sitä pestiä oikein omakseni. Kumppanin jouduttua lähtemään 1998 jouduin yllättäen kylmiltäni ottamaan koko yrityksen yksin vastuulleni. Ihan tyhjästä en joutunut lähtemään, mutta hyvin yllättäen kuitenkin. (...)

Itsestäni tuntuu siltä, että olen kasvanut tässä matkanvarrella tähän johtajan rooliin. Paljon on tarvinnut käydä itsensä kanssa keskusteluja. (...)

Henkilökunnan palkkaus on näin jälkikäteen ajateltuna aika onneton prosessi. Ei osannut ajatella minkälaista ihmistä sitä etsii. Tuntui, että kaikki kivat tyypit kelpaa.

Vasta nyt tietäisi minkälainen ihminen tähän työhön sopii, tosin en tiedä osaisinko näitä piirteitä vieläkään nähdä lyhyen haastattelun perusteella. [Kaupunkimaisen kunnan] kaupungin silloinen sosiaalipäällikkö sanoi minulle, että älä sitten ota töihin mitään ammattiyhdistysaktivistia. Vasta jälkepäin ymmärsin tämän sanoman. Yrittäjähenkisyys on edellytys myös työntekijältä. Yrittäjähenkisyydellä tarkoitan tässä kohtaan lähinnä sitä että myös työntekijät muistaa kokoajan sen, että asiakkaat eivät ole itsestäänselvyyksiä, meidän täytyy ansaita heidät ja he ovat siitä tietoisia. Myös se on mielestäni yrittäjähenkisyyttä, että silloin kun töitä on, puurretaan yhdessä ja kun on mahdollisuus hengähtää silloin tehdään niin. Työntekijöiden oikeudet ovat aika mahdottomia alkavassa yrityksessä. Työajoista tarkasti kiinnipitävä työntekijä on melko hankala, työtä on niin paljon.

Itse koin, että työntekijät melkeinpä testasivat meitä näillä asioilla aluksi, että kyetäänkö täällä pitämään heidän oikeuksistaan kiinni. Omilla työntekijöilläni ei ollut kokemusta työnteosta yksityisessä yrityksessä. Alkuaikoina oli tunne, että pitää itse olla kokoajan joka hetki paikalla, että kaikki sujuisi niin kuin itse toivoi. Näin jälkepäin ajateltuna tämä oli tietysti myös omaa osaamattomuutta johtaa yritystä.

Yrityksessäni on tällä hetkellä työntekijä jolla on oman miehensä yrityksen kautta hyvä näköala yksityisyrittämiseen ja se kyllä näkyy positiivisesti myös hänen tavassaan tehdä työtä. (w32)

Excerpt 8

Nyt on mielessä, että kauanko tätä työtä enää jatkuu, koska sotainvalidien ikä on korkea sekä heitä poistuu joka vuosi useita. Tässä tulee miettineeksi, että kuinka kauan töitä riittää kolmelle yrittäjälle. Itse olen alkanut hakemaan töitä muualta, omaa koulutustani vastaavia paikkoja. Yksi mahdollisuus olisi kouluttaa itseäni lisää (oppisopimuskoulutus). Vaikka yrittäjänä ollessa on tietty vapaus, on siinä myös varjopuolensa. Aina pitää miettiä onko joka kuukaudelle tarpeeksi töitä, sillä pakolliset menot on pystyttävä kattamaan sekä itsellekin pitäisi saada palkkaa ettei olisi pelkkä työn ilo. Vieraan töissä olisi aina säännöllinen toimeentulo, varaa sairastaa ja olla lomalla. Kun on tämänkaltainen yritys niin lomien pitäminen on aina pois omasta pussista samoin sairastaminen. Ihmisiä ei voi nostaa hyllylle lomien ajaksi vaan aina pitää olla joku joka heistä huolehtii. (w13)

Excerpt 9

Miksi lähdin yrittäjäksi? Mottoni on; ”meni syteen tai saveen, pääasia, että yrittää”. Ei jää oman elämänsä sivusta katsojaksi. (w12)

Excerpt 10

Kun saat idean yrityksen perustamisesta tee markkinatutkimus: Löytyykö ideallesi asiakaskuntaa. Ota selvää millaiset lait ja säädökset koskevat yrittäjää sekä mitä maksaa työvoiman palkkaaminen. Selvitä onko samalla alalla jo muita yrittäjiä. Jututa heitä heidän kokemuksistaan. Yrittäjäjärjestöön kuulumisen avaa ovia uusille yhteistyökumppaneille sekä tutustut kokeneisiin yrittäjiin, joilta voit saada arvokasta neuvoa sekä tukea.

Jos olet nainen voit saada naisyrittäjälainaa Kelalta ja kaikki aloittelevat yrittäjät voivat saada starttirahaa työvoimatoimistosta. Tarjolla on hyviä johtajuus sekä talousalan koulutuksia. Jos et ole talousalan ekspertti, niin suosittelen kirjanpitopalveluiden ulkoistamista. Näin tulee tilinpäätökset ja veroilmoitukset sekä palkanlaskenta varmasti lakisääteisesti ja oikein.

Menestymisen salaisuus yrittäjyydessä on rehellisyys. Pidät sen minkä lupaat, teet todella parhaasi asiakkaittesi eli minun tapauksessani lasten ja heidän vanhempien hyväksi. Kun lapset ovat päivän mielellään hoidossa mielekkään tekemisen parissa, ovat vanhemmatkin tyytyväisiä. Loppujen lopuksi erillistä mainostamista asiakkaiden saamiseksi ei tarvita. Hyvin tehty työ tulee uusina asiakkaina takaisin. Tyytyväisyys välitetään naapureille ja tuttaville. Puskaradio toimii. (w26)

Excerpt 11

Muistan kun juttelin erään päiväkotiyrittäjän kanssa, joka joutui lopettamaan yrityksensä neljännen toimintavuoden jälkeen. (Tämä ei ollut [asuinkaupungissa], vaan jossakin pienellä paikkakunnalla [toisella alueella]). Hän sanoi, että on sääli lopettaa juuri nyt kun on päästy vasta hyvään alkuun ja saatu toiminta selkeäksi kaikille. Ajattelin, että eihän se voi olla mahdollista, että täytyy neljä vuotta toimia ennen kuin toiminta selkeytyy. Näin se vaan kävi itsellenikin ja nyt ymmärrän, ettei se voi paljoa aikaisemmin tapahtuakaan. Itse on tuntenut, että ajatus on ollut itselle melko selkeä, mutta se ajattelemmeko asioista samansuuntaisesti vai oletanko vain kaikkien ajattelevan kuten itse, ei olekaan ihan yksinkertainen. (w32)

Excerpt 12

Mutta se suurin asia henkilökohtaisesti: teemmekö työtämme rahan vai asiakkaiden hyvinvoinnin maksimoimiseksi? Hoiva-alan yrittäjyydessä tämä kysymys ei ole ollenkaan mutkaton. (w21)

Excerpt 13

Ensinkin nyt ollaan tilanteessa jossa olen 5:n vuoden lähes puolessa välissä. Nyt on vasta selkiytynyt eräs asia joka vaivaa, on epäselvä minulle ja erityisesti asiakkailleni. Erityisesti vanhoille naisasiakkaille.

Hoivayrittäjä-termi!

Se on epäselvä nimike kotipalveluita tarjoavalle yrittäjälle kuten minä. Hoitoala ja hoiva-ala sotketaan jatkuvasti toisiinsa. Olen kotipalveluyrittäjä, en hoivayrittäjä. Siivoan mutta en saa laittaa sukkaa jalkaan kun en ole hoitoalan koulutuksen omaava ihminen.

Kotipalveluyrittäjä on erilainen olio, mutta tekee toki tärkeää työtä, ja todella myös raskasta työtä. Fyysisesti ja henkisen puolen olen kokenut hyvin tärkeänä osana koko palveluprosessiani, olenhan useasti jäänyt asiakkaan kahvipöytään ihan vain jutellakseni hänen kanssaan vaikeistakin asioista. Itketty on yhdessä ja päivitelty päivänpolttavista kysymyksistä noussutta puhetulvaa.

Kaiken kaikkiaan olen 100 * mieluummin itsenäinen oman tieni kulkija kuin jonkin firman alipalkattu siivoaja ja jalkarätti. Sellainenkin olen ollut olosuhteiden pakosta ennen yrittäjäksi "heittäytymistäni". Melkoisen suuren hypyn tuntemattomaanhan siinä tulin tehneeksi. (w7)

Excerpt 14

Se onkin ongelmallisempi juttu olla johtaja ja samalla omistaja ja samalla työntekijä muiden joukossa. Lyhyesti sanottuna voisi hyvin kuulua ammattiyhdistykseen ymmärtäen hyvin niitä asioita, mutta tilanteen koomisuudesta johtuen olen itse siitä eronnut. (w32)

Excerpt 15

Kuvitellaan yleisesti, että yrittäjäksi ryhtynyt tekee rutkasti jostain helppoa rahaa ja on kyllä puppua kaikista helpointa on olla vieraan palveluksessa. En kuitenkaan vaikeuksista huolimatta palaisi mistään hinnasta takaisin kuntien palvelukseen heittopussiksi. (w3)

Excerpt 16

Ainoastaan sillä jaksaa tehdä tätä ettei koe tätä bisneksenä vaan elämäntapana (...)

Yhteiskunnalta en ole koskaan saanut apua enkä ole osannut sitä pyytää. (...)

Tunnen joskus myös ettei yrittäjällä ole mitään lainsuojaa, on vain velvoitteita työntekijöitä ja verottajaa kohtaan. (...)

Samoin verotusasioiden kanssa en ole oppinut pelaamaan. (...)

Tähän saakka sukan varteen ei ole säästynyt senttiäkään vaikka oma elämäntapani on kierrätystä ja yksinkertaisuutta toteuttava. (...)

Koen että pienyrittäjää ei tue yhteiskunta millään tavoin. (w5)

Excerpt 17

Olen ollut sairaalassa osastonhoitajana, en pitänyt sairauskeskeisestä ajattelutavasta enkä byrokratioista. Eri koulukunnilla näytti olevan pääosissa tarve todistaa oma pätevyytensä = viitekehüksensä suhteessa kärsivään ihmiseen. Vallitseva ihmiskäsitys oli hyvin sattumanvarainen eli kuka oli vahvin "voitti". Väliin voitti nk. biologinen ihmiskäsitys väliin käyttäytymistieteellinen väliin jonkinmoinen kristillis, marxilainen, hahmopsykologinen huuhaaoppi... Mieti vain, ihme jos ei skitsofrenia lisäännny. En pidä manipuloinnista, en siedä omien poliittisten, uskonnollisten näkemysten ujuttamista hoitotyöhön. (...)

Tulen liikuttuneeksi, menen onnesta mykkyrään, kun tapaan vilpittömän ihmisen, jolla on synnynnäinen lahja kuunnella toista, asettua toisen ihmisen "housuihin" (asemaan) JA NIITÄ ON, JA SUUNNATTOMAN PALJON HEITÄ ON TAVALLISISSA IHMISSÄ (EI AMMATTIAUTTAJISSA), joita itsekkin edustan.

KUN MENEN TOISEN IHMISEN LÄHELLÄ (IHMINEN HALUAA TULLA AUTETUKSI) MINÄ OLEN MYÖS SIINÄ! TÄSSÄ ON VASTAUS KYKYMYKSEEN MIKSI OLEN YRITTÄJÄ. En voi sietää LUSMUILUA, SELITTELYÄ, "PYSTYYN PASKANNETTUJA LAPAMATOJA" HOITOTYÖLÄISINÄ, EN BESSER WISSEREITÄ... - KUN OLET ITSE AITO - ET POLTA ITSEÄSI LOPPUUN JA SÄILYTÄT ITSESI AVOIMENA ELÄMÄLLE - -SIINÄ SE - (w12)

Excerpt 18

On aivan kamalaa kuulostella miten kunnissa kodinhoitajat käyvät jopa 10 asiakasta päivittäin ja miten he eivät saa enää tehdä sitä eikä tätä, käydään vain moikkaamassa ja toteamassa, että hengissä oli vielä... (w3)

Excerpt 19

Koko elämäni on ollut hoito-alalla oloa. Olen ajautunut työpaikasta toiseen ja aina eteenpäin pyrkimys mielellä.

Nuorena aloitin työelämää lastenhoito-alalla, kerhotätinä ja ohjaajana muutamia vuosia. Sitten tuli omat lapset ja piti olla kotona. Perhepäivähoitajan tutkinto tuli opiskeltua siinä sivussa lasten hoidolta, ja vieraita lapsia oli päivisin neljä, kahden oman lisäksi. (...)

Yksinäisyys on valtavaa vanhusten parissa; omaiset ovat kiireisiä ja asuvat kaukana eikä kaikilla niitä omaisia ole lainkaan. Tässä työssä itketään ja nauretaan asiakkaan kanssa, kaikki tunteet ovat pelissä mukana.

Hoivahoito periaatteeseeni kuuluu rehevä huumori arjen keskellä. Halaukset, koskettelu, terve läheisyys. Kädestä kiinni pitäminen, vaikka ei puhu mitään on näkövammaiselle vanhukselle aistikokemus ja hyvän olon tunne valtaa mielen. Tässä työssä tuntee olevansa tarpeellinen: vanhukset sanovat enkeliksi, hyvän mielen tuojaksi. Tämä työ pitää mielen iloisena kun saa antaa itsestään iloa ja rakkautta, joita myös itse saa. Työn iloa ei saa unohtaa.

Toivon, että voin auttaa ihmisiä vielä pitkään. (w30)

Excerpt 20

Psykoosista mahtaa olla vaikea palata todellisuuteen sellaisessa ympäristössä. Onneksi hän oli päässyt hoitoon, mutta nyt huomasin sen järkyttävän ympäristön, jossa pitkäaikaispotilaat joutuivat kuntoutumaan. 20-vuotias nuorimies pitkäaikaisosastolla, jossa samassa huoneessa nukkui 8 miestä niin ahtain sänkyvälein ettei yöpöydäkään mahtuneet sänkyjen väliin. Joka sängyn yläpuolella oli seinähylly omia tavaroita varten. Käytävää sitten käveltiin aamusta iltaan edestakaisin, käytiin tupakkahuoneessa tai katsottiin TV:tä. (w10)

Excerpt 21

En ole katunut että aloin yrittäjäksi. Töitä on niin paljon kun yksi ihminen pystyy tekemään. Kyllä meinaan jatkaa edelleen, en ole väsynyt työhöni. (w33)

Excerpt 22

Olin usein hoitajiin yhteydessä ja kysyin eikö osastolla voisi järjestää toimintaa enemmän, vaikka disko-illoja. Siihen vastattiin että nuorten osastoilla järjestettiin sellaista, mutta ei enää aikuisten osastoilla. Siis yli 18-vuotiaat näkivät tulevaisuutensa kroonisten vanhojen huonetovereidensa kautta. Ei ihme että masentuisi. (...)

Vein pojan takaisin sairaalaan ja sisälläni syntyi tämän jälkeen hitaasti kasvava ajatus kuntoutumiskodin perustamisesta maalle. (w10)

Excerpt 23

Kaiken kaikkiaan olen kuitenkin erittäin tyytyväinen yrittäjäksi ryhtymisestä. Voin toteuttaa omia näkemyksiäni työtavoista, yritystoiminnasta huomattavasti paremmin kuin toisen palveluksessa ollessani. Yrittäjänä voi olla luomassa myös uutta hoivapalvelukulttuuria ja näin koen vaikuttavani myös yhteiskunnallisesti. (w27)

Excerpt 24

Olimme ensimmäinen vastaava yritys [maakunnassa] ja se tuotti tietysti ihmetystä ja kummastelua. Lähes kaikki olivat sitä mieltä, että yritys on tuhoon tuomittu ja vailla onnistumisen mahdollisuutta. (w23)

Excerpt 25

Lehdissä kirjoitetaan paljon yrittäjyyttä vastustavia kannanottoja. Monetkaan eivät ymmärrä, että olemme vain tukemassa julkista tarjontaa ja pelkäävät monenlaisia asioita: asenne eli vastustetaan yrittäjyyttä hoiva-alalla, pelätään laadun heikkenemistä, korkeita hintoja, työpaikan menetystä. Kuntien ostopolitiikka on aika kehittymätöntä, joten tämä tuo varmasti ongelmia 9:n kunnan yksityisiä palveluja kilpailutettaessa. (w14)

Excerpt 26

Ja yritystuloni romahti kolmanneksella. Te-keskuksessa sanoivat vielä, että teen vääristynyttä yrityspalvelua kun yhteiskunnan taholta on se 60% verovähennysoikeus työsuoritteista. Toki se 60% verovähennys oikeus on tuonut asiakkaita siinä vain on se kohdistuminen väärä kun se suosii vain hyvätuloisia ja monet sellaiset jotka tarvitsisivat apua jäivät sitä ilman. Lapsiperheet ovat saaneet mukavasti apua ja käyttäneet palveluita. Hoivapalveluiden osalta helpotuksena on ollut alviton palvelumaksu. (w3)