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Mixed Embeddedness: Ethnic entrepreneurship in Malmö, Sweden

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Abstract

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Entrepreneurship among immigrants is an old phenomenon that is caused by migration processes. It is receiving special attention due to the fact that its potential in contribution to countries' economies is huge. In European context it is a reason and a cause of international mobility, immigrant policies, integration issues and diversified society composition. Studying of immigrant entrepreneurship as a socio-economic process, especially in multicultural environments, allows researchers not only to predict or control social changes but also maintain market situation.

This study was made through the lens of Robert Kloosterman's approach of mixed embeddedness and focused on ethnic entrepreneurship among immigrants in Malmö, Sweden. During data collection process interviews with ethnic entrepreneurs were conducted in order to receive primary data. Together with secondary data I analyzed whether it is possible to apply mixed embeddedness to chosen context. My research showed that despite the complexity of Kloosterman's approach, all three main components (social, economic and institutional environment) reflected on Malmö case and were used by ethnic entrepreneurs as opportunity structure for their businesses.

This research was made for bachelor thesis, but I believe that it may support existing study of immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurs, and particularly contribute to the research on Swedish context.

Keywords: immigrants, entrepreneurship, mixed embeddedness, opportunity structure, Sweden.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Migration as an old phenomenon more than anything else characterizes newly globalized world. International migration in particular became a key characteristic of the modern society from the social, economic, and political perspectives (Baycan-Levent and Nijkamp, 2009, p. 375). The topicality of this fact is also heated up by the fact that migration as a global force has an important place in a global development process. The development of human mobility during last decades brought a lot of discussions about the impact of migration on everyday life. In modern European context, it has become even one of the crucial factors that are always considered in the policymaking process. Due to the complexity, immigration process affects political, cultural, socio-economic integration of immigrants in the receiving states thereby challenges them (Koklu, 2011, p.107).

One of the effects of the international migration process is the emergence of the immigrant entrepreneurship. In recent years this kind of economic activities became the subject of increasing attention. Self-employment among immigrants is a growing phenomenon which became contributor to European economy. Scientists admit that ethnic economic participation is an influential and full of potential economic power. In the industrialized countries immigrant businesses drive national and regional economies (Baycan-Levent and Nijkamp, 2009, p. 377). Historically, the development of entrepreneurial activities among immigrants was the reason of development of employment opportunities (both for natives and migrant groups). Still, it is not only solution for labour market structural issues but also for social tensions and integration difficulties. Self-employment improves social and economic status of the immigrants through labour and social mobility (Rath, 2006). Most European countries realizing the importance of immigrant entrepreneurship designed a number of policies on different levels of the economy which main purpose is to guarantee ease of access to entrepreneurs who have concrete business plans; but on the other hand to eliminate an opportunity for establishing “dummy” businesses by immigrants just to get residence in the countries. Thus to encourage and protect immigrant start-ups countries have to create a legal base for their activities.

1.2. Definitions

It has to be acknowledged that this term “immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurship” is complex and has certain features. First of all, I defined the term “entrepreneurship” based on the Scott Shane’s

idea that entrepreneurship is a phenomenon of self-directed economic activity that is based on the socio-economic and institutional opportunities. It is also worth mentioning that this paper will discuss and will be based on formal/registered entrepreneurial activities (Shane, 2009, p.3-5). Second, the discussion about entrepreneurship among groups of immigrants usually covers three main business categories: immigrant, ethnic and minority entrepreneurships. Due to the existing theoretical framework the two most mixed up terms are immigrant and ethnic entrepreneurs. Majority of the recent theories generalize and combine these terms in one minority group and usually deny the minority entrepreneurship at all (Chaganti and Green, 2002, p.127). The mainstream concepts, e.g. middle man minority theory, model the situation where “stranger” (almost entirely presented by male) arrives in new environment and due to the different institutional and socio-economic factors starts his own business and this is the point where the main discussion about immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurship is touched (Rinder, 1958, p.60-253).

For the purpose of this paper I decided to provide the reader with the guidelines towards clarity about definitions of basic terms. First of all, immigrant entrepreneur is an individual who established or have been operating his/her own business outside of country of origin in order to reach economic goods. This individual or group of individuals is officially accountable for the economic risks (Shane, 2009, p.3-5) and may include former immigrants, migration network linking migrants, people with common origin or destination (Butler and Green, 1997). Ethnic entrepreneurship is an economic activity of individual or group of individuals who are using ethnic background as a basis of the business ideas and opportunity structure. In other words, it is a set of regular connections and interaction among people with the same national or cultural backgrounds. Ethnic businesses are providers of ethnic services and goods (Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward, 1990, p.3). Minority entrepreneurship is a term that does not have theoretical basis and before was mainly ignored in the discussion about immigrant businesses. It includes business owners who are not considered as a majority population. Until recently, this group occasionally included women (Chaganti and Green, 2002, p.128). Obviously, these concepts may intersect each other. Nevertheless, for my research I found it important to distinguish the differences between these concepts.

1.3. Significance and purpose

It is obvious that the phenomenon of the entrepreneurship among “new-comers” in any host country is not new, and in modern societies immigrant entrepreneurship is a consequence of

migration flows. Russian-American journalist Vladimir Pozner determined that people leave their home countries due to two main reasons: first reason is the search of better life, second reason - they can no longer live where they live (Pozner, 2013). According to the different studies of migration it is feasible that future immigration to European Union countries (EU) will increase. Due to the labour market demand, low birth rates, refugee policies, and in general favorable opportunity structure, in few decades the “immigrant flow” will bring millions of people, and among them, of course, (potential) businessmen (Stalker, 2002, p. 79-151).

Positive contribution of self-employment among immigrants from the economic and social perspectives offers several options not only for immigrants but also natives. The most obvious and advantageous aspect of the creation of their own business is arising opportunity to overcome some of the social barriers, structural adjustments on labour market and create new jobs. Ethnic entrepreneurship is different from the mainstream entrepreneurial activities. It usually occupies the labour market niches where the ethnic and cultural background is important, e.g. ethnic shops and restaurants. Moreover, immigrant businesses are more flexible in case of entry thresholds. More often having informal nature and dependence on the ethnic, family or cultural groups, ethnic enterprises do not need considerable resources for the business startup (Masurel, Nijkamp and Vindigni, 2004, p.79).

New entrepreneurs with successful nascent businesses can create more jobs, which can help with unemployment rates by providing jobs not only for immigrants but also for unemployed natives, affecting social processes. According to Li Minghuan (1999), another social benefit of ethnic entrepreneurship is that they are considered as local leaders and “bridges” to other network groups. This opportunity to influence other groups of people can contribute to the development and use of social capital among immigrants (Minghuan, 1999). Furthermore, entrepreneurship among immigrants gives them opportunity to be active participants and agents on the labour market; not only filling in existing vacancies but also creating and strengthening their own job and receive social recognition (Rath, 2011, p.95). Immigrant entrepreneurship in European context due to its multicultural composition of the society, international mobility, different forms of tensions and integration among people, is a reaction and a reason of the existing environment. And despite positive social and economic characteristics, the development of ethnic businesses in European countries has its obstacles and issues which requires external help and support. The sensitivity of

immigrants' businesses is predominantly caused by institutional and social barriers, regulations on labour market and public bureaucracy.

The studying of ethnic entrepreneurship, as one of the important parts of socio-economic life, gives us an opportunity to control or predict the changes in the multicultural societies and be able to maintain market conditions.

1.4. Related concepts

The contribution of entrepreneurship among immigrants in the economic and social perspectives was officially admitted by scientific society, basically for the fact that it offers different economically beneficent and socially effective options for immigrants and natives. The study of the reasons why immigrants decide to start their own business is huge and includes a lot of different concepts, suggestions and assumptions. Previous discourse on that topic presents the model of one particular or combination of few social or economic factors that explain the reasons why immigrants open their businesses in the host countries. For example, the concept that claims that propensity to be a businessman depends on ethnic background, in particular, country of origin, was widely accepted and used as a starting point for theory building. This approach includes the need in immigrant's network, cultural factors and demand in goods and services from the same ethnic group. In other words, if immigrants came from the countries where self-employment is a traditional way of earning money the chances that in host society they will open their business are very high (Walton-Roberts and Hiebert, 1997, p. 120-129). Another popular concept is a concept of blocked mobility, where main reason of opening the business for an immigrant is a structural limitation. Basically, immigrants are "stuck" in a particular social position without possibility to "move" due to the devaluation of their skills and education in a host society. Being "blocked" with the limited opportunities they see the solution to have satisfying economic goods in self-employment (Ohlsson, 2012, p.408). Another concept that is based on the supply side argues that the reason of immigrant entrepreneurial activity is caused by existing dual labour market. High rate of self-employment, especially in the areas with high concentration of the immigrants, is explained by the creation of the "entrepreneurial elite" that holds capital and network as well as has an access to cheap primary products and co-ethnic labour force and has business skills. In this case, this combination of the factors stimulates the development of ethnic entrepreneurship, and generates successive immigrant inflows (Ohlsson, 2012, p.407-408; Portez, 1995, p.166-205).

1.5. Research question

My research question is based on one of the recent approaches that explains the entrepreneurial success and in particular factors that facilitate the development of immigrant entrepreneurship. The concept of mixed embeddedness belongs to Robert Kloosterman. Robert Kloosterman is an outstanding Dutch professor in Economics Geography and Planning, Amsterdam Institute of Social Science Research (AISSR), University of Amsterdam, Honorary Professor Bartlett School of Planning, University College London, and Franqui Professor University of Hasselt, Belgium for 2012. He is a recognized specialist working with migrant entrepreneurs, cultural industries and unemployment from social, economic, geographic and historical perspectives (IRES, 2013). The concept of mixed embeddedness is one of the studies made on the topic of immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurship. It focuses the development and success of immigrant entrepreneurs through the combination of contextual components: social, economic and institutional situation and the opportunity structure. (Kloosterman, 1999, p.8-10).

Based on the information presented above I formulated the following research question for bachelor thesis: *Is it possible to implement mixed embeddedness approach to Malmö ethnic entrepreneurs?*

1.6. Research approach

I plan to go through the main characteristics of mixed embeddedness concept and find out whether it is possible to see these characteristics applied to ethnic businesses in Malmö, Sweden. In my research paper I decided to take Robert Kloosterman's approach and try to implement it on third largest city in Sweden, Malmö (City of Malmö, 2013). The recent situation in Malmö in regards to immigrant entrepreneurship is really interesting to observe and study. During last decades the amount of immigrant-owned workplaces in this city increased dramatically. Trade and Industry Agency, provided with the official data that in the period from 1998 to 2008 the amount of foreign-owned enterprises increased by 131%. Also it is important to mention that during last decades Malmö city went through the social, political and economic changes (EuroFound, 2012, p. 5-15).

My study will be based on the secondary data about city of Malmö and conducted interviews with the entrepreneurs from different Malmö ethnic groups. The main tenets of the chosen concept will be discussed later in the theoretical part of this paper.

This research paper proceeds with section where I describe research methods and the data I collected for my paper. Then I proceed with the section of theoretical framework where I will present the main reasons of emergence of immigrant entrepreneurship, make an introduction to the existing approaches and continue with the detailed theoretical discussion of mixed embeddedness and opportunity structure approaches which are the main theoretical framework of this paper. After this I present primary and secondary data and the analysis. And I will conclude with the section about my findings, the section of further research and conventional reference list.

2. Methodology

This chapter will present an overview of methods and approaches that were used for this research. I begin with general issues of choosing a right research method for my research question and discuss interviews and secondary data analysis as appropriate data collection methods. This chapter will be concluded by research quality section.

2.1. Research method

The process of data collection is an essential part of any research. However, before planning data collection it is important to decide what research methods will shape the structure of the entire research process (Thornhill et al., 2009, p. 318-325). I conducted qualitative research based on the interviews and secondary data analysis. Due to my research question and data limitations on the topic of ethnic entrepreneurship in Malmö, I chose primary data as a main source of information. Secondary data helped me to form profile on city of Malmö. Chosen research methods lead to certain limitations that will be discussed in following sub-sections.

2.2. Data collection

From the first stage of data collection process it is important to acknowledge the significance of four major aspects in data collection process: observation, source of information, data interpretation, and applicability of the collected data in response to the research question (Robson, 2007, p. 153-155). As both primary and secondary data were used in my research it should be distinguished between them and their functions. Primary data is the one I collected myself directly from the people who present the group of research interest, whereas secondary data was collected by someone else, and I used it for deeper analysis of my research question. For the primary data collection I used interviews with ethnic entrepreneurs, who moved in Malmö from both EU and non-EU countries and started their own business. Secondary data was collected through LUBsearch and Lovisa catalogue provided by Lund University, free accessible web literature sources Summon and Google Scholar, together with the Lund University libraries.

2.2.1. Interviews / Primary data

Interviews are the most direct way to collect relevant for research information from well-informed or involved in a problem people. Interviews as a research method guarantee the researcher straightforward way to receive necessary information and feedback almost lossless. Face-to-face conversations may build “trust bridges” between interview participants and lead to willingness and

openness in sharing information. Also interview, compared to questionnaires is a more personal and flexible form of research and it includes the possibility for respondent to specify his/her answers and share feelings and experiences (Bryman, 2008, p. 438-440). There are three types of interview arrangement: structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews. Interviewing as a method in qualitative research is usually unstructured or semi-structured. The choice of semi-structured interviews for my research allowed me not only to cover important topics and to ask respondents for clarification but at the same time it helped me to hold the conversation in a smooth and logical way when respondents went in-depth and discussed the details (Thornhill et al., p. 248, 2009).

For my research I conducted five interviews with ethnic entrepreneurs, who moved to Malmö from different countries and due to different reasons became self-employed. I conducted interviews in English, Swedish and Russian. For Swedish cases I used the help of interpreter: native Swedish speaker and student from Sociology Department, Lund University. That helped me not only to minimize the language barrier but also to be sure that my interpreter understood and was able to explain correctly what I was asking. Using interviews as a research tool helped me to see the situation from respondent's perspective and collect valuable data for my research (Merriam, 1988, p.161-170). Interview guide is attached to this paper (see Appendix A).

2.2.2. Sample

Majority of social research methods face sample issues. Interviews as the most widely used qualitative research tool needs specific treatment in case of sampling. First of all, it is important to define sample strategy. For my research I use snowball sample technique. It is non-probability sampling technique that is suitable for situations when the members of a chosen population are difficult to find. It is also used not only for data collection but for exploratory purposes that are helpful in research analysis (About.com/Sociology, 2013). My target group was people with non-Swedish background, who moved to Sweden and opened ethnic business in Malmö. Snowball strategy allowed me to find relevant respondents through few members of my research population.

Due to research ethics, interviews that I conducted were anonymous and all participants were aware of the aims of the interviews and gave their permission to be involve in this research. However, all respondents agreed to specify their background (ethnicity) and kind of business they have. This information is used in my paper with respondents' permission. I conducted interviews with five ethnic entrepreneurs: owner of African shop (woman, Ghana), owner of Polish food store

(man, Poland), owner of Indian restaurant (man, Bangladesh), owner of Asian food store (man, Vietnam) and owner of Russian food store and Internet store (man, Russia).

2.2.3. Secondary data

Secondary data is the one that have been collected by someone else (in comparison to primary data that is collected by researcher) and available from different sources. The main advantage of using secondary data is saving resources and time for researcher. In regards to my research, I tried to use trustful sources of information in my secondary data collection. As a result, the use of secondary data helped me to improve the understanding of the situation and made collection of primary data more specific, by identifying gaps in available information.

2.3. Research quality and limitations

I am aware of possible biases of my chosen method of data collection and sample. Interview, particularly semi-structured interview should avoid leading questions not to force respondent to give answers desired by the researcher. Interview guide attached to this paper (see Appendix A) is presenting questions that were asked on the interview. Also, people whom I interviewed are representatives of large Malmö's population groups, but do not represent all of them due to the lack of accessible information and access to them. I did not include newly emerged entrepreneurs, because of the same reasons. Nonetheless, interviews with stable ethnic businesses gave me opportunities to receive valuable data directly from entrepreneurs who are representing group of interest in this research paper and to see the changes in the business environment in Malmö. I should also mention possible language biases because I conducted some interviews with people not in their native language. I believe that knowledge of the subject, English language skills, good preparation to the interviews and team work with my entrepreneur helped me to minimize possible offsets.

3. Theoretical approach

The recognition of the importance and potential of immigrant entrepreneurship put this phenomenon under the political and scientific discussion. Despite the fact that the idea of immigrant entrepreneurship is not new, during last decades it received special attention due to the acknowledged shift from large firms or state employment to self-employment. And, as migration process lies at the core of globalization process (Kahanec, Zimmermann, 2008, p. 2-3) this trend and its implementation were mostly “pronounced” among immigrants all over the world (Baycan-Levent, Nijkamp, 2009, p. 378).

One of the main branches of the research on immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurship is a study of the explanations why ‘new-comers’ go for self-employment rather than to other job opportunities and what factors influence/support the development of their businesses. The main research focused on ethnic/immigrant entrepreneurship is made on the basis of the USA context. Recently the study of self-employment among immigrants emerged in Western Europe too. Recent papers on this issue in European context include Baycan-Levent, Masurel and Nijkamp (2003, 2006); Kloosterman and Rath, 2001, 2008; Sahin, Nijkamp and Rietdijk 2008; Rusinovic 2008. These studies are presenting the factors that “push” immigrants to the path of self-employment.

The mainstream theoretical positions can be divided into the three categories: structural, cultural or mix of factors. Structural factor includes the aspects of discrimination and exclusion from the society. It can be characterized by lack of possibilities to enter market or by unemployment. Cultural aspects are more diverse and based on the ethnic background, e.g. specific skills and values, access to the ethnic network, solidarity and personal motivation, economic and social flexibility (Baycan-Levent, Nijkamp, 2009, p. 379). All factors also can be arranged within the specific levels: the individual level, ethnic context and socio-economic environment. Based on these ideas, there are several approaches that are emphasizing the role of one or combinations of the factors into the development of immigrant business and its development. The following section will introduce some of the influential theoretical approaches on this topic.

3.1. Existing approaches

Previous discourse on that topic presents the model of one particular or combination of few social and/or economic factors that explain the reasons why immigrants open their businesses in the host countries and what help them to be successful. As it was said before one of the biggest

researches on the topic of immigrant entrepreneurship was made in the US. In the American context the main emphasis is made on the demand and supply side of the market and on the level of human capital. According to this approach, the demand and supply form the differences in immigrant businesses and the success of these businesses depends on the individual characteristics. In other words, the chance for successful business and its survival is in the direct relation with the level of entrepreneur's human capital (Kim, Aldrich and Keister, 2006, p. 5-22).

Another concept claims that propensity to be a businessman depends on ethnic background, in particular, country of origin. This approach includes culture and the understanding of demand in goods and services from the same ethnic group. But the main emphasis is made on the need in network and entrepreneurial culture. The presence of people with the same background supports the business not only from the demand side, but may provide new entrepreneur with the financial (sponsorship), social (knowledge about the social environment) and psychological backing. The main significance of entrepreneurial culture is laid in its reflexive nature. In other words, if immigrants came from the countries where self-employment is a traditional way of earning money the chances that in host society they will open their business are very high (Walton-Roberts and Hiebert, 1997, p.128-140). Another concept that is based on the same ideas and argues that the immigrant entrepreneurial activity is caused by existing dual labour market. High rate of self-employment, especially in the areas with high concentration of the immigrants, is explained by the creation of the "entrepreneurial elite" that holds capital and network as well as has access to cheap primary products and co-ethnic labour force and has business skills. In this case, this combination of the factors are not only stimulates the development of immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurship but also the successive immigrants inflows (Ohlsson, 2012, p.407-408; Portez, 1995, p.166-205).

Another popular concept is a concept of blocked mobility. This concept is widely accepted and used in the theoretical discussion on the ethnic entrepreneurship issues. This concept claims that main reason of opening business for an immigrant is a structural limitation. Basically, immigrants are "stuck" in a particular social position without possibility to "move" due to the devaluation of their skills and education in a host society. Being "blocked" with the limited opportunities they see the solution to have satisfying economic goods in self-employment (Ohlsson, 2012, p.408) To open own business for an immigrant is an alternative to the labour market issues with its limited opportunity to employ (Li, 1997, p.105-106).

3.2. Mixed embeddedness

The concept of embeddedness was one of the central concepts in scientific discussion that focused on explaining the success of (immigrant) entrepreneurship (Portes 1995, Swedberg 1994, Rath 1999). Focused in particular on the immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurship, it also covers mechanisms and factors of informal economic activities even if they are outside of the regular (legal) framework. The main focus of the embeddedness concept is on the social characteristics of the groups that are considered to be consisted of co-ethnics. Immigrants are involved into the complex environment and neglecting institutional and economic sides of this environment means that this concept excludes two main sides of immigrant life. Due to that fact the concept was criticized for its narrow view on the problem (Kloosterman, Leun and Rath, 1999, p.7-8).

For my research paper, I decided to use more broad and full concept of mixed embeddedness. It is one of the most recent approaches that explains the entrepreneurial success and in particular factors that facilitate the development of immigrant entrepreneurship. The concept of mixed embeddedness belongs to Robert Kloosterman, an outstanding Dutch professor and recognized specialist working with migrant entrepreneurs, cultural industries and unemployment from social, economic, geographic and historical perspectives (IRES, 2013). Mixed embeddedness approach is characterized by the significant interplay between economic, social and institutional contexts and factors (Kloosterman, Leun and Rath, 1999, p.9). When applying this approach to the particular case, it is important to understand what constitutes each particular part of mixed embeddedness approach. First of all, opportunity structure, as one of the main parts of the mixed embeddedness covers economic and institutional environment. It includes market conditions and collaboration, un-/employment situation, accessibility of the capital. Institutional side of opportunity structure includes elaboration of formal laws and rules, specific requirements that allow an (ethnic) entrepreneur receive legitimate institutional support (Oxford Dictionary, 2004). Social environment is interaction between people and people, including culture, networks, social status and background. This theoretical approach claims that opportunities for ethnic entrepreneurial activities are placed on the intersection of the factors and change according to the economic, institutional and socio-cultural framework transformations (Kloosterman, Leun and Rath, 1999, p.8).

Certainly, the concept of mixed embeddedness is very open and complex. It is three-dimensional process where many social and economic actors play part. That is why for my research I decided to find out whether mixed embeddedness approach is reflecting on the context of Malmö

city, Sweden. Before that, I decided to present detailed explanation of opportunity structure concept as the main part of suggested mixed embeddedness approach.

3.3. Opportunity structure

The term ‘opportunity structure’ is frequently used in a discussion of (immigrant) entrepreneurship as one of the main actors viz. as existing conditions in the social, economic and institutional environment. Particularly for immigrant entrepreneurship this aspect is one of the most predominant aspects that firstly, define the sphere of potential business, secondly, determine the factors of success, and thirdly, includes the prospects for support and ‘guarantee paths’ for new entrepreneurs. Opportunity structure is different in different contexts. That is why for the researchers it is important to specify and describe characteristics of particular country, welfare regime, city or even district due to be able to see what regulations on different levels are done to develop opportunity structure of particular case. To be able to do so, it is important to specify the main characteristics of the opportunity structure.

First of all, opportunities for (immigrant/ethnic) entrepreneurship are essentially linked to the market. Basically, market has to be accessible to the ‘new-comers.’ New business that has disposition to success implies the demand for certain products and services. Usually new business occupies specific ‘place’ on the market with the identifiable services and products (Swedberg, 1994, p.82-250). One of the main obstacles for ethnic businesses, even for those that have the demand from the market side is to find the finances to start it (Kloosterman, 2010, p.27-28). That is why due to the fact that new entrepreneurs, especially ethnic businessmen, do not have sufficient financial support they end up with the business that requires small amount of money. To protect and encourage ethnic start-ups most European countries try to create a legal base for their activities. A number of business policies and programs on different levels were established with the main purpose to guarantee the access to the market and provide with the start-up capital those entrepreneurs who have clear and concrete business plans that will contribute to the countries’ economies; but on the other hand, policies that aim to exclude an opportunity for establishing “dummy” businesses by immigrants were designed, too. Sponsorship, on the individual basis or through non-profit organizations, is also recognized as one of the ways to support the immigrant start-ups and as a result is one of the aspects that improve opportunity structure.

Immigrant entrepreneurs also tend to have problems with human capital. This is another side of opportunity structure concept. It claims that for establishing successful business, it is necessary to

have entrepreneurial skills. Those who can enter the state-provided programs for new entrepreneurs, or have education that is required for the potential business, or just have particular skills, have more opportunities to start a successful business. The state has responsibilities and possibilities to provide ethnic businessmen with the access to human resources (Kloosterman, 2010, p.28-29).

According to what was outlined above, for policy makers on every level there are several perspectives to collaborate with immigrant entrepreneurs. One option is to improve entrepreneurial skills and knowledge about business and establish contacts with the market. Development of human capital in conjunction with accessible financial capital and developed networks of social capital can open new perspectives for new immigrant entrepreneurs. Direct collaboration with the market through the changes in mechanisms of regulatory regime opens “space” for new immigrant entrepreneurs. This option considers different regulations depending on different welfare regimes (Kloosterman, 2003, p.5-14).

Opportunity structure characterizes the factors for easy opening of new businesses. However, the crucial factor of this concept is presence of the elements and conditions that will stimulate development and long-term growth of the (immigrant) enterprises. Based on the information presented above it can be summarized that the access to the market, combined with the access to the human capital are essential parts of the opportunity structure. And together these factors aim to expand and support the business activities in long-term perspective. The concept of opportunity structure that combines market conditions, economic trends, institutional framework (regulations and rules) and business policies affects (immigrant) entrepreneurship on different levels from local sectors to national economies (Kloosterman, Rath, 1999, p.8-9). And in recent scientific discussion, the concept of opportunity structure has taken the crucial part in the framework of mixed embeddedness.

4. Main Empirical Findings

This chapter presents the results of secondary data collection and interviews. I started with Malmö profile that will describe main characteristics of the city and important changes that occurred during last decades. This information will be supplemented by the data collected by the interviews with ethnic entrepreneurs.

4.1. Profile of Malmö

Malmö is an international and commercial city that is located in the southern part of Sweden. The status of the international city Malmö received by the fact that 300 000 city residents present about 170 different nationalities. It is also attractive for new businessmen by its business environment and economic dynamics (City of Malmö, 2013).

First of all it is important to mention that during last decades Malmö dramatically changed its status, ethnic composition of the population and economy strategies. The economy of the city was based on the construction industries and shipbuilding. In particular, Kockum shipyard was “the symbol” of Malmö industry and was one of the major shipyards in the world for many years. Nevertheless, in the middle of 1980s, the shipyard was closed and people working in shipbuilding industry lost their jobs. By the end of 1990s, about 35 000 Malmö inhabitants left the city (EuroFound, 2012, p.5). Economic crisis at the beginning of 1990s together with the decline of the shipbuilding industry and leaving population dramatically affected city’s economy. It was tough time for Malmö’s economy: 27 000 state jobs were lost and traditionally industrial structure of the city’s economy was ruined (Bovelander and Broome, 2009). At the same time this period of Malmö’s history is characterized by significant wave of immigration (from war-torn areas in the Middle East, Balkans, Asia and other European and non-European countries) that considerably increased the amount of foreign-born population.

‘We are from Poland. My family moved to Malmö 18 years ago. We moved to Malmö because of ... my relatives: cousins and grandmother moved here too.’ (Owner of Polish Food store)

‘I am from Vietnam. I came to Malmö in 1979, because of Vietnam War and its consequences. I moved particularly to Malmö, because when Asian people are coming to Sweden, they prefer to have warmer climate. That is why I stayed in Southern Sweden (Skåne).’ (Owner of Asian Food store)

The complex of occurred events brought to the historically unique high levels of unemployment, poverty and exclusion in recent Swedish history (EuroFound, 2012, p.5).

First attempts to adjust the existing situation in the city were started in the middle of 1990s. The main step of this process was the building of Öresund Bridge as a part of a plan of creation new opportunities for Malmö as a part of Öresund region. The Öresund region supposed to bond southern part of Sweden (Skåne) and Danish territory including Lolland, Lolland-Falster, Bornholm, Sjælland and Copenhagen. The change of infrastructure and potential of Swedish-Danish region brought rapid development of the city. 10% of Malmö population found jobs in Denmark, and about 20 000 Danish people moved to Malmö (City of Malmö, 2009). Another step toward the change of the city's status was the building of Malmö University and Turning Torso (190 meter building by Santiago Calatrava; located in the old harbor (TurningTorso, 2011), which became new "symbol" of the new era of Malmö city.

After a period of recovery Malmö successfully developed into post-industrial city. Newly-developed infrastructure made Malmö a strategic point: it is located in close proximity to airports (Kastrup, Denmark; Sturup, Sweden), has well-organized rail connections and international harbour. Living conditions improved due to the new areas with newly built apartments. Malmö cooperates with European Universities, Science Parks and companies that provide with possibilities for new entrepreneurs. All these factors returned Malmö its status and made it attractive place to live (EuroFound, 2012, p.3-10).

'I am from Bangladesh. I lived in Malmö 24 years ... I moved to Malmö particularly because I heard that it is a good place to live.' (Owner of Indian restaurant)

However, the development of the city during last decades is not characterized only in a positive way. Immigration issues, which include segregation, integration into society and labour market problems, were repeatedly admitted by media and local authorities (EuroFound, 2012, p.8-10).

4.2. Ethnic entrepreneurship career

As it was mentioned before the study of entrepreneurship, particularly immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurship in Sweden is relatively new and fragmented. There are different reasons why immigrants choose self-employment. One of the main reasons received from Swedish case research is to avoid possible unemployment or low income from state jobs (Hammarstedt, 2001, p. 157-158). University of Malmö conducted several researches in order to find out why people decide to open

their own business in Malmö. The main findings showed that entrepreneurs with foreign background opened their business to realize own ideas and dreams, to have opportunities for flexibility and freedom and because of labour market issues in general (EuroFound, 2012, p.20-22). The interviews that I conducted with ethnic entrepreneurs in Malmö corroborated these statements.

'...it was always my dream to open something small for myself.' (Owner of African shop)

'We decided to open this store, because it provides us with better money...' (Owner of Polish Food store)

'My family always has a long tradition of having own store, being entrepreneurs, so when I came to Sweden I wanted to continue that. I think it is better to be on your own.' (Owner of Asian Food store)

'...everything is related, you have more freedom, you can do something that you like, and economically it is good, better than just job.' (Owner of Indian restaurant)

'I became a businessman, when in 2008 I lost my job because of the crisis and I had to find a way to live. And then I remembered what else I can do and decided to open own business.' (Owner of Russian Food store)

Three main business directions among native-born population in Malmö are trade/communication, health and care, and financial sector. It is interesting to notice that for foreign-born entrepreneurs trends are totally different. The main concentration of new businesses started by foreign-born entrepreneurs is made on consumer field (restaurants, stores, hotels) and after that follow corporate, social and personal services (EuroFound, 2012, p.19). But what factors affect Malmö entrepreneurs' choice to open ethnic business? Among different explanations, market situation is one of the influential ones. The business that provides with special 'cultural' products may easily find the place on the market in the immigrant abundant society. Malmö is that case. City population consists of representatives from more than 170 countries. Immigrant background gives the knowledge of culture, tastes, religion and makes ethnic entrepreneurs 'experts' in their business even without special education (Waldinger at.al., 1990, p.23). At the same time, the demand for ethnic products from ethnic group gives ethnic entrepreneurs' chances to succeed higher with national products rather than with non-ethnic.

'We decided to sell ethnic products because we are from Poland and in Malmö there are a lot of Polish people, and Polish food is different from Swedish food. So we were on demand.'
(Owner of Polish Food store)

'I decided to sell ethnic products because I am Asian, and I know a lot about Asian food. I can say that I am an expert. And in Malmö there are so many Asian people, so there was a huge demand for what I wanted to sell. So, I knew what to do.' (Owner of Asian Food store)

'When we were creating our business plan, we decided to sell ethnic food because we know so much about it. About the national food, culture and atmosphere.' (Owner of Indian restaurant)

'I decided to sell our ethnic products also because ... these colours are beautiful and at the same time are very similar to ethnic colours of other countries.' (Owner of African shop)

'...as a business idea ethnic store was created because there are a lot of Russians and people from former Soviet Union countries here. I started my business as Internet store, and I was sending products all over Sweden. But people started to ask for products that cannot be sent by post (e.g. frozen products) and also they were just coming and coming to my place buying stuff here in Internet store warehouse. That's why I decided to open regular store too: I bought equipment and started to order wider range of products.' (Owner of Russian Food store)

4.3. Barriers and problems

To start a new business might be complicated for those who preferred self-employment path. Different researches on that topic found out main obstacles and problems that immigrant entrepreneurs face when it comes to establishment of new business. In Swedish context, it is almost impossible to identify and separate problems of entrepreneurs who were born abroad and natives, because data available on that topic does not differentiate between businessmen in this way.

Anyway, in Malmö case, it was suggested by European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions that there are three main obstacles on the way of new immigrant entrepreneurs (EuroFound, 2012, p. 23-27). First barrier is language skills: knowledge of Swedish or English. After shift from industrial city (where knowledge of language was not mandatory) towards service and knowledge, language became prerequisite. Lack of language skills may complicate the access to information, help and support. Second barrier is relevant for newly arrived potential entrepreneurs – lack of contacts and access to the networks. Nowadays, in Malmö there are a lot of different organizations that help to overcome this problem. For example, MINE (Ethnic Diversity in the Business World) organization that help immigrants with mentor programs, try to include them to business networks, help them promote their businesses and reduce ethnic (indirect) discrimination on the labour market. This kind of organizations already created strong immigrant network eliminating the problem of network access in Malmö. Third barrier is, of course, lack of capital. To start up new business even the one that require small amount of capital is not simple. Especially for immigrants credit facility in Sweden may be an essential problem (EuroFound, 2012,

p. 23-27). Interviewed entrepreneurs proved that these obstacles may be relevant for ethnic entrepreneurs in Malmö.

'The most difficult thing when I started, of course, was capital. I used my own money to start.'
(Owner of African shop)

'The most difficult thing at the beginning was to bring the products from Poland to Sweden. It was really expensive. You have to pay a lot to get your stuff inside the country. You need money for everything at the beginning.' (Owner of Polish Food store)

4.4. Specific programs and regulations

It has been acknowledged before that Malmö experienced dramatic changes since 1980s. One of the emphases was made on the development of businesses and promotion of self-employment. The population of Malmö became younger and more diverse, the status of the city changed, unemployment rates were high, and market situation was favourable. That is why it was decided on the city level to encourage potential entrepreneurs in SMEs establishment. Differentiation of entrepreneurs was not done and immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurs did not receive special attention (EuroFound, 2012, p. 26) However, there are some organizations, programs and sponsorships in Malmö that make specific accent on entrepreneurs with immigrant background, but these are exceptions rather than mainstream policies. Nonetheless, there are a lot of programs and organizations aimed to help new businessmen. One of the most influential organizations in Malmö is Malmö Trade and Industry Agency that helps entrepreneurs who are planning to start new business. All the services are free. Help includes business advice, courses relevant for the business, overview on business opportunities in Malmö, agency support, etc. (MalmöBusiness.com, n.d.).

Why is it important to distinguish differences between potential businessmen and immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurs? Immigrant entrepreneurs often have difficulties on the first steps of creating business. It may include weak financial support, poor knowledge about Swedish system and regulations, lack of Swedish/English skills. In these circumstances business needs special attention and support. Here are some examples of agencies and organization that help particularly immigrant entrepreneurs in Malmö: IKF Men Mentorship program, IFS Rådgivning, Rosengård Invest, etc.

It is interesting to acknowledge that every ethnic entrepreneur that I interviewed heard about business support programs and organizations, but none of them took financial help from banks or specific organizations due to different reasons. As an interviewer I got the impression that people showed distrust or disappointment to the state provided offers for new entrepreneurs.

'Yes, I heard about state programs of business support, they all are fiction and a one big lie. I went to them and no one gave me anything. As a non-Swedish person I did not have credit history, I had CSN loan but still it was not enough. Different banks refused to assist me in different ways many times. They talk so much about those programs and about promotion of businesses, but in practice it is one big lie, no one is helping you. Even the courses about business that you can get for free, most of them are just formality. They do not provide you with relevant practical knowledge, it is like a bubble. You receive information that you can read yourself in newspapers, Internet or books. But you do not get knowledge what to do, with whom you have to deal with, nothing like that. May be in university you can get this knowledge, but everything that Arbetsförmedlingen (National governmental agency, the largest Swedish job placement service (Arbetsförmedlingen.se, 2013) is offering or other state courses or programs is no good. You do not get anything that can help you to start.'* (Owner of Russian Food store)

'When I started I went to different companies that help to start your own business, but they said to me that they help only people who do not have jobs. At that moment, I worked, and I was not sure how my business will go, so I didn't want to risk and give up my job. So, I was earning money during several years to start my business, but I didn't use external help.' (Owner of African shop)

'We used our own earned money to start the business. We worked few years but gathered enough.' (Owner of Polish Food store)

'When I came here me and my family were working for ten years day and night at different kind of jobs. For example, I worked in industry in Helsingborg, just saving money. Also, I have a lot of cousins in Malmö, who came here with their families before me. One of my cousins is a businessman; he is importing products from home to Sweden, so when I decided to open my business I borrowed money from him. But as well I took money from my own savings.' (Owner of Asian Food store)

'I started my business with my friend, but to open it I worked for ten years and saved money. I didn't use bank loans; I didn't need a lot of capital when I started. And, you know, there are different kinds of businesses but banks never loan money for restaurants. I heard about programs and sponsors that help you to start business, but we didn't want to have anyone extra involved. So, that is why we gathered money with my friend ourselves and borrowed some money from our friends from Bangladesh, from people we know.' (Owner of Indian restaurant)

'I used my own earned money to start my business, also we had a loan for apartment, but we bought it cheaper than we thought and used that money for business start capital, too.' (Owner of Russian Food store)

5. Analysis

This chapter provides an analysis of empirical findings based on chosen theoretical approach.

5.1. Market

Opportunities for (immigrant/ethnic) businesses are coming directly from the market. At the very beginning entrepreneur should decide what business is possible to do, define factors of success and think through long term perspective of his/her business. For ethnic entrepreneurship the place in the market is usually small and implies limited amount of businesses due to the relatively small number of ethnic population (Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward, 1990, p.23).

In this regard Malmö is a unique and interesting case. More than one fourth of population has foreign roots (City of Malmö, 2013). The amount of immigrants that increased dramatically at the beginning of 1990s, together with crises and unemployment created favourable conditions for development of ethnic entrepreneurship. First of all it affected the choice of business paths. Ethnic products were demanded due to the formation of large ethnic groups with the need in ethnic services and goods. Economic side of mixed embeddedness assumes demand/supply in the ethnic market (Rath, 2002, p.33). When demand in ethnic products increased in Malmö, ethnic stores opened in order to maintain demand from the ethnic groups. In order to provide with wanted products it is important to understand tastes of clientele. Ethnic entrepreneurs have that knowledge and sometimes experience the need of ethnic products themselves.

'The idea to open ethnic store came to my mind when I moved to Sweden. I missed some things and food from home, because we grew up on some products that impossible to find here.' (Owner of Russian Food store)

Favourable economic environment for development of ethnic businesses is based not only on unemployment, supply and demand. One of the main factors is capital and access to the capital. Usually start-ups facing these problems end up with loans and credits (SB-Cal, n.d.). As it was mentioned before, ethnic businesses, at least at the beginning, are usually small enterprises that do not require large financial investments. Despite the fact that ethnic entrepreneurs in Malmö experienced difficulties with the financing their businesses, none of them use bank/state financial support and in general found it relatively easy to open their own business. Little business qualification, natural understandings of demand, together with relatively small outlays of capital and market possibilities are contributing to ethnic business development.

Certainly, market is the one of the most important conditions for ethnic entrepreneurship. The situation in Malmö nowadays proves that, too. The amount of existing ethnic businesses makes it almost impossible to survive on the ethnic market due to high competition. Existing businesses keep on and stay competitive due to their reputation and experience, but new ethnic entrepreneurs face difficulties in order to find a place on the market.

'...right now I would not recommend to anyone open Asian shop in Malmö, because there are a lot of shops and competition is really huge.' (Owner of Asian Food store)

'...Here in Malmö I would not recommend opening Polish store now because there are so many of them and it is a lot of work, it is not that easy. If you want to open ethnic business you need to find out whether there is a place for that business on the market.' (Owner of Polish Food store)

'When you open business, you need to think a lot about what you will do! Do not open Indian restaurant, because there are so many of them. You will not survive.' (Owner of Indian restaurant)

5.2. Institutional environment

Another important side of ethnic entrepreneurship opportunity structure is its institutional component. For (ethnic) entrepreneurs it implies positive institutional environment for business development in general, simplified conditions, elaboration of formal rules and requirements that allow to receive institutional support.

The status of Malmö changed from industrial centre to city of knowledge and business. Economic situation (e.g. unemployment, new market conditions) together with the state-promoted strategy to encourage businesses opened perspectives for different kinds of entrepreneurs. In Malmö ethnic/immigrant entrepreneurs have extra support from being target group of different programs and organizations. It is interesting to acknowledge that ethnic entrepreneurs whom I interviewed showed distrust or discontent of financial side of entrepreneurial support from state-promoted programs. For some people the idea of third party involvement (unless it is a relative or a friend) in financial side of the business seems suspicious. Others complain about inconvenience of provided help. The fact that interviewees did not take financial support from the state, or sponsorship programs, does not mean that mixed embeddedness is not applicable. Due to the limitations of my research I can suggest that.

But it is important to understand that possibility of financial support for new businesses is only a part of institutional environment. Mixed embeddedness approach first of all emphasises general business creation support and includes elaboration of formal laws and rules, specific requirements that allow an ethnic entrepreneur receive legitimate institutional support. Malmö

business environment is considered as attractive, due to easy process of business establishment and region potential. Ethnic entrepreneurs besides financial issues agreed that from very beginning of their business creation, bureaucratic side of the process was very easy (including registration of the business, preparation of the necessary documents, etc.) and now as register entrepreneurs they feel confident and secure about possible business issues.

5.3. Social factors

Social factors are essentially important components for ethnic entrepreneurship in mixed embeddedness approach. Along with opportunity structure they determine what to do, explain factors of success and define perspectives and guarantees for ethnic businesses. Ethnic entrepreneurs in Malmö use ethnic background as a main part of opportunity structure. It is seen from the first steps of business establishment. Immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurs tend to start business with the help of co-ethnics or family members. It can be financial help, practical or psychological help.

'I have a lot of cousins in Malmö... one of them is a businessman, he is importing products from home to Sweden, so when I decided to open my business I borrowed money from him.' (Owner of Asian Food store)

'My parents started this business, and I am continuing it.' (Owner of Polish Food store)

'I started my business with my friend. He is also from Bangladesh as I am.' (Owner of Indian restaurant)

'I started my business with my wife. She has her own job, but we are partners in this business.' (Owner of Russian Food store)

As it was mentioned before ethnic entrepreneurs occupy small place on the market due to different factors, but especially because of the relatively small number of ethnic population (Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward, 1990, p.23). Ethnic businesses are directed to particular ethnic group(s). Malmö ethnicity variety and immigrant concentration is unique. It provides ethnic businesses with growing clientele not only from their country of origin but from other countries with similar historic and cultural background.

'I decided to sell our ethnic products also because they are very similar to ethnic products of other countries: Gambia, Kenya, South Africa, Uganda, and Nepal. When people from these countries come to my store they are very happy.' (Owner of African shop)

'I have big range of clientele. I would say 70% Russian, Belarusian, Ukrainian customers, 30% of Lithuanian and Polish...' (Owner of Russian Food store)

'Our clients are about 70% are Polish and 30% everyone else, for example, Swedish, Danish, the former Yugoslavian republics.' (Owner of Polish Food store)

'And in Malmö there are so many Asian people, so there was a huge demand for what I wanted to sell.'(Owner of Asian Food store)

Social network is the main mechanism in ethnic business development. Immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurs, at least at the beginning, tend to have access to networks that predominantly consist from co-ethnics (Kloosterman, Rath, 1999, p. 17). It is important to estimate the role of social network. People from the same background, culture, religion, with the same tastes are becoming main providers of clients, capital, trust and reputation.

'When we started the most difficult think was to promote our business. Money were, of course, important, but we were trying our best to attract customers. We were working hard to have good reputation, and we were asking all our friends here to tell their friends about us and how good we are.'(Owner of Indian restaurant)

Undoubtedly, social factors are an essential part of immigrant/ethnic business development process. That is why interaction between people and people, were taken as a basis of social embeddedness. But together with other aspects presented in mixed embeddedness approach and facts that were collected by interviews with ethnic entrepreneurs it opens overall understanding of processes in ethnic business development in Malmö.

7. Conclusion

One of the sides of globalized world where we live is international migration that stimulates changes in our everyday lives. One of the effects of the international migration process is the emergence of the immigrant entrepreneurship. This phenomenon is not new, but became the subject of increasing attention due to the fact that entrepreneurship among immigrants became influential economic force contributing on regional and national levels to countries' economies (Baycan-Levent and Nijkamp, 2009, p. 300-377).

This paper focuses on the ethnic entrepreneurship in Malmö, Sweden through the lens of mixed embeddedness approach. This multilateral concept stresses the importance of combination of particular factors: economic, institutional and social. Applying this approach to Malmö required me to make a research about socio-economic changes in Malmö, collect data from ethnic entrepreneurs and examine main factors of chosen approach. My main findings are:

- Change of the status and economic strategies, together with migration flows and crises in 1980-1990ss made Malmö attractive place for potential ethnic entrepreneurs.
- Due to the variety and size of immigrant groups in Malmö, favorable market situation was created for ethnic entrepreneurs. That includes demand for ethnic products and services, high rates of unemployment among immigrants and problems with access to labour market due to lack of human capital.
- Malmö's general state-promoted strategies to encourage SME establishment together with non-profit organizations and sponsorships targeting ethnic entrepreneurs simplify the bureaucratic side of business establishment process, offer possibilities to fill lack of knowledge in business and finance the startups.
- The fact that registered businesses are guaranteed support from the state in case of possible business issues and general positive institutional conditions stimulate ethnic entrepreneurs in Malmö.
- Ethnic entrepreneurs in Malmö use ethnicity as a main part of opportunity structure.
- Malmö's ethnic entrepreneurs use social network of co-ethnics as a source of human, social and economic capital, as well as with trust and reputation. These factors provide them with possibilities for business development and success.
- Diversity and size of ethnic groups in Malmö provide with stable clientele that guarantee development and future perspectives for the business.

Certainly, the concept of mixed embeddedness is very open and complex. It is three-dimensional process where many social and economic actors take part. However, I found this concept appropriate and helpful particularly for my case, because due to its complexity it explained the main mechanisms of development of ethnic entrepreneurship in Malmö. Together with my methodological approach (data collected through the interviews and secondary data) I tried to cover main aspects of the chosen theoretical approach. Every component of mixed embeddedness was reflected in my research. Thereby, it proves that Robert Kloosterman's concept of mixed embeddedness may be implemented on city of Malmö.

8. Future research

The hierarchy of the thesis suggests guidance for the further research. It is also important to mention that immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurship in Sweden is insufficiently explored. In general research on this topic is very fragmented and relies on the previous studies made on US and UK contexts. Swedish context is different from both of them in two main ways. First of all, entrepreneurship historically has never been important in Sweden. State employment was a norm in Swedish society. In the Swedish welfare state, entrepreneurship was not that important, and that is why ethnic entrepreneurship was beneath notice. Second, the information about identity and ethnic background of entrepreneurs is very limited. Available databases provide usually with data about country of origin rather than present ethnic background (EuroFound, 2012 p.17-18). It is happening due to the fact that the term 'ethnic' is considered sensitive, or not important, or forbidden to use in some cases (CLIP, 2011, p.32).

This thesis is an attempt to contribute to the study of ethnic entrepreneurship and to test relatively new concept of mixed embeddedness. For future research I would suggest to study the efficiency and outcomes of state-promoted programs for new businesses in Malmö. Another suggestion is to implement mixed embeddedness approach on different cities in Europe with high concentration of immigrants and try to find out whether embeddedness is beneficial for them. I believe that my research provided with an understanding of valuable topics for possible future academic research.

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Appendix A

Information for respondents:

- I am a student from Lund University (Department of Sociology, Bachelor in Development Studies Program).
- Your identity will remain anonymous.
- There is no right or wrong answers.
- I am interested in your individual perspective on ethnic entrepreneurship, self-employment, etc.
- The results will be used for academic use. In particular, this research of Malmö ethnic entrepreneurs is made for Bachelor Thesis.
- The results of the interview and final research paper will be shared with you.

Interview guide

1. Where are you from?
2. How long you live in Malmö? Why did you move to Malmö particularly?
3. Why did you decide to become a businessman?
4. Why did you decide to open business particularly in Malmö?
5. Did you have your own business back home?
6. How did you finance your startup?
7. Do you know about state programs/ sponsorships/ organizations that support new entrepreneurs?
8. What was the most difficult when you started?
9. How did you decide to sell ethnic products?
10. What issues are you facing today?
11. Who are your clientele?
12. Would you recommend starting your own business in Malmö? Why/ why not?