



LUND UNIVERSITY

Migrant Entrepreneurs in Malmö

The Case of Restaurant Owners from Turkey

Devrim Umut Aslan

Master of Applied Cultural Analysis
Department of Arts and Cultural Sciences
TKAM01 - Spring 2012

Supervisors
Håkan Jönsson
Markus Idvall

Abstract

Migrant Entrepreneurs in Malmö: The Case of Restaurant Owners from Turkey

Devrim Umut Aslan

The aim of this thesis is to give a detailed account of migrant entrepreneurs in Malmö, their daily patterns, their unique experiences, the distinct strategies they develop, the challenges they face, and their relationship with ‘regulation and ‘advice’ organizations. In addition, unique ways of ‘making’ a restaurant via food and other material items are discussed and illustrated. It is also underlined that the only method to achieve a broad understanding of migrant entrepreneurs is through qualitative research, which is generally seen inferior by policy makers.

My findings offer that there is no single, homogeneous and inter-related ‘Turkish-Swedish’ community in which entrepreneurs function and co-exist. Due to this plural nature, it would be misleading to propose any one-dimensional analysis that would be claimed to ‘work for all’. Migrant restaurants are places of negotiations between different parties; customers, related institutions, employers and employees, and they function in a specific time and space highlighted by ongoing global economic transformation and increasing xenophobia. Each restaurant has developed different solutions to a particularly competitive restaurant sector in Malmö; however, some of them fail to offer extra value-creating experiences, and they lack an innovative attitude.

The relationship between migrant entrepreneurs and control and advice mechanisms are problematic. While many entrepreneurs are reactionary and skeptical to the controls made by official organizations, none of them have had any relation with any advice mechanisms available. Advice mechanisms are not successful in reaching entrepreneurs, and their advice does nothing to appreciate the peculiarity of the individual entrepreneur.

The research sample includes sixteen self-employed immigrants from Turkey functioning in the restaurant sector, regardless of whether or not they sell ‘Turkish’ food.

Keywords: Food politics; self-employment; migrant entrepreneurship; advice mechanisms for self-employed; ethnic restaurant; ethnography of restaurants; migrants from Turkey; migrants in Malmö.

Acknowledgments

I would primarily like to thank all the informants who cooperated and supported me during the fieldwork. I feel privileged to have the permission to access their restaurants and related information. I am grateful for their trust. My parents Suheyla and Memet Ali Aslan deserve all the credit for their endless support. I also would like to thank Charlotte Hagström and Jessica Enevold and other MACA lecturers for their moral, academic, and organizational support during the Master's program. Last but not least, a special acknowledgment goes to my advisors Håkan Jönsson and Markus Idvall for showing rigid patience and endless support during the whole process.

Lund, 2012-05-28

Devrim Umut Aslan

Table of contents

Acknowledgments.....	iii
Table of contents	iv
Introduction.....	1
A. Why restaurants?.....	1
B. What are the reasons behind migrant entrepreneurship?	5
Chapter I.....	11
Theory and method.....	11
1.1. What is a migrant?	11
1.2. Are the topics of food and migrant entrepreneurship becoming popular?.....	14
1.3. Are quantitative research methods not scientific enough?	17
Chapter II	23
Making the restaurant.....	23
2.1. Which one of them: restaurant, bar or pizzeria?	23
2.2. East, west, is home best?	28
2.3. How east is Orient?	34
2.4. Is 'no man's land' a safe haven?	41
Chapter III.....	48
Making the food	48
3.1. How big are our plates?	48
3.2. How local are the locals?	51
3.3. Is it really authentic?	55
3.4. How bloody are falafel wars?.....	56
Chapter IV	60
Institutions and restaurants.....	60
4.1. Who to trust?	60
4.2. Do entrepreneurs need advice?.....	67
Conclusion	74
A. Is it ethical to do provide knowledge on 'co-ethnics'?	74
B. What are the findings of the research?	76
References.....	83

Migrant Entrepreneurs in Malmö: *The Case of Restaurant Owners from Turkey*

Online references	88
Appendix A. Research sample - Graphs.....	90
Appendix B. Research sample - ID	95

Introduction

A. Why restaurants?

It all began on the evening of a sunny summer day in late July 2004. I stood in front of a restaurant in central London, at Covent Garden with a handbag full of CVs.

I had arrived in the UK three weeks previously as a guest student studying language, but I had an unacknowledged intention of ‘starting over again’. I had just enough money to survive for two months in London, and listening a classmate’s advice from the language course, I started searching for unskilled jobs at restaurants and hotels.

The restaurant had a Turkish name – a seemingly fancy, finely decorated and pricey restaurant. I approached to the hostesses standing in front of the restaurant. While I was asking them about job opportunities, the manager of the restaurant approached. After a short interview about my English skills and my background, he said I could start the day after as a runner/waiter.

At that restaurant, I witnessed how important these restaurants are for the survival of newcomers to a big city; how the food and ethnicity of the food are staged and negotiated in relation to the customers’ preferences and official regulations; how the working conditions are; and finally how it is crucial to generate an ‘value add’ by creating an experience for the customers in order to sell a particular dish at a higher price.

* * *

Self-employment of migrants has become an important social and economic phenomenon in the EU in the last three decades. Restaurants, together with small corner shops, are the most

common forms of migrant entrepreneurship. They also constitute the locations where migrants become more visible in an urban area.

Apart from being important business venues, restaurants are also special places where various actors are in continuous interaction and transformation. Customers, kitchen staff, service staff, and employers co-exist and co-evolve within a restaurant setting, which includes movable and flexible borders and divisions. Decoration, food, beverage, and music determine the atmosphere and the effect on human actors; meanwhile, they are also shaped by these external factors:

Restaurants bring together nearly all the characteristics of economic life studied by cultural anthropologists – forms of exchange, modes of production, and the symbolism behind consumption – under one roof. Restaurants provide a context in which questions about class, ethnicity, gender and sexuality all play out. Many of the central concepts used to define cultural worlds - such as the distinction between domestic and private life, and the rules surrounding relations with kin or with strangers – are challenged in restaurants. Religious practices sometimes frame their organization, while political life often takes form in and through restaurants (Sutton & Beriss 2007: 1).

Malmö is home to hundreds of such restaurants. When I first arrived to Sweden as a master's student, I had already had the idea of studying the subject of restaurants run by migrants. My interest in the subject was developed over a period of time – both working at restaurants in London for seven months in 2004 and later in Istanbul in 2007, when I helped an anthropology student from the Netherlands interview restaurant workers, customers and owners for her research in addition to helping her research relevant literature on the topic (Ursem, 2010).

A.1. Research questions

There are four main research questions I explore in this paper. They are simple yet interesting enough to trigger academic and personal curiosity:

- 1- What sort of restaurants do migrant entrepreneurs run? What are their distinguishing features?**
- 2- What is the effect of globalization on migrant entrepreneurs' practices and on the food they serve?**
- 3- How is the relationship between official organizations and different advice mechanisms with migrant entrepreneurs?**

I started the research with totally different questions. The initial questions were rather wide and unclear. However in the course of performing fieldwork and in dialog with the findings, I was able to narrow down the topic so that my thesis would answer much more detailed and concise research questions. The main disadvantage of having very broad research questions was the lack of a specific focus on which to concentrate, which led to a chaotic start. However, to have broad research questions that are open to dialog within the fieldwork also has its own particular advantages. Firstly, it gives the practical fieldwork more power over the theory, which gives the researcher a chance to understand the field instead of only trying to justify pre-existing theoretical standpoints. Moreover, the whole process can be taken as an academic adventure where all the senses should be wide open (O'Leary, 2004:34).

A.2. Structure of the thesis

The thesis is roughly structured around the primary research questions. However, the first chapter will introduce methodological and theoretical reference points. In Chapter I, I will discuss the concept of 'migrant' and point out how it is context related with the help of semantic theory. I will also question why the topics of food and migrant entrepreneurship

Migrant Entrepreneurs in Malmö: *The Case of Restaurant Owners from Turkey*

were not popular until the last two decades. In the last part of the chapter, I discuss the theory of practice in relation to the research methods that were used.

In Chapter II, I delve into ethnographical analysis of the restaurants'. In particular, I discuss the creation of restaurants as 'places' with a special focus on decoration and behavior. Some of the migrant entrepreneurs and the restaurants in the research sample are presented in detail together with the distinct strategies they have developed in order to secure a high customer flow.

In Chapter III I explore food choice at the restaurants with a particular focus on the impact of globalization. I elaborated on the discussion of the dynamic practices of migrant entrepreneurs in Malmö relating to food, referring specifically to concepts of *McDonalidation* and *globalization*.

In Chapter IV I discuss migrant entrepreneurs' relationship with 'outside', including the organizations that regulate the restaurants and the organizations that give advice. I paid special attention to Skatteverket¹ and Arbetsförmedlingen² among 'regulation' mechanisms, with IFS³ being particularly discussed as an 'advice' mechanisms.

In the final chapter, the first part is reserved for the ethical discussions, namely researcher ethics. The remainder discusses the findings that are reached during the research.

There are also two appendix sections, one before Chapter II and one before Chapter III. These will offer some short and statistical information about the research sample.

In addition to academics in the field and entrepreneurs in the restaurant industry, Malmö Kommun⁴ and Region Skåne⁵, and at the national scale, Tillväxtverket⁶ are also primary stakeholders for the information provided by this thesis, since they are responsible for the development and application of policies regarding the local market and the migrant

entrepreneurs. They have been subsidizing many other associations on the side and have executed several projects regarding this subject. In this sense, the findings presented in the thesis directly concern them.

B. What are the reasons behind migrant entrepreneurship?

When the time came to start writing the first draft of my thesis, spring had begun, and the unique, cozy atmosphere of the small student city of Lund was more attractive than ever. I was lazily cycling through the main library of the university when I saw the falafel/kebab place at the entrance of the campus, and the painful thesis-writing process was postponed for yet another hour. I had already met the owner and workers at the shop several times; they were all from south-east Turkey, with Kurdish as their mother tongue. The shop was small, plain, and cheap. There was no other customer, so while I was eating my inexpensive falafel, I had a chat with the worker behind the counter. He was constantly complaining about his job. When I asked him why he did not find another job, his answer was that he had been searching for another job continuously. Even though he had been living in Sweden for more than five years, his Swedish was poor, and he had no particular education, so he knew that he did not have much chance:

You know, I don't earn a shit here even though I work six days a week. On the other hand, there is nothing to do, no jobs anymore, it is not like before. My father-in-law said when he came to Sweden in 1970s his employer was waiting for him at the train station to put him at job directly. Can you believe that? Now even Swedish people are jobless. They go to Norway to work. Where are we supposed to go to find a job then? To the moon?

* * *

Putting the concept of migrant entrepreneurship into context is important before discussing the actual research sample, the migrant entrepreneurs in Malmö whose country of origin is Turkey. In this way, it is possible to examine the sample as a part of a broader picture.

Throughout history, self-employment has been one of the common ways through which migrants struggle to make their ends meet in a host society. This pattern is especially easy to spot in well-documented migrations routes, such as in the USA and Canada. Significant amounts of migrants from Germany and Ireland who sailed to the USA in the beginning of the 19th century, first worked in food and hospitality sectors, running small scale businesses, as they found it was not easy to integrate into the existing labor market (Ray: 2007:97). This trend became apparent during last thirty years in many of the core EU countries, specifically due to the global transformation of the economy after the oil crisis in the 1970s.

Since the 1980s, unemployment rates are on the rise both in the EU12⁷ and in Sweden. Particularly this new situation severely affects youth and migrants. The difference between unemployment rates among migrants and locals is drastic. In Sweden, the unemployment rate among migrants is four times higher than the rate for non-migrants, and the 2008 financial crisis has only made the situation worse (www.migrationsinfo.se).

In the last two decades, because of the fact that migrant entrepreneurship and unemployment rates grew side-by-side, self-employment has been seen as a valid response to unemployment. This correlation received the interest of both politicians and academics.

B.1. Growing unemployment

In northern Europe, due to the industrial boom after World War II, migrant labor was mostly concentrated in manufacturing and construction sectors. In nearly all relatively industrialized countries, there was a labor shortage. As a result of this need, those countries started

recruiting workers from relatively ‘under-developed’ countries, which had a labor surplus due to fast mechanization within the agricultural areas. For that purpose, bilateral contracts were signed between many countries, including Turkey. Between the years of 1950 and 1970, almost a million workers migrated from Turkey to Germany, Holland, France, Austria, Australia, and Switzerland (Akgündüz, 1993: 161, 162). The labor shortage in Sweden is mostly supplied by workers from ex-Yugoslavia, Italia, Greece and neighboring countries to Sweden. However, in 1967, Sweden also signed a contract with Turkey for labor recruitment (Akgündüz, 1993:155).

The global restructuring of the economy after the 1980s changed the whole production line, and produced a shift in production relations and production methods (Held et al., 1999). The major interest of production in ‘advanced’ countries turned to high-tech, environmentally friendly sectors, while the ‘old-school’ manufacturing industry was mainly transferred to the peripheral parts of the world where ‘costs’ were lower. In Malmö this transformation was exemplified in the shutting-down process of Kockums shipyard in 1987, whose crane had been a symbol for the city. Now this area is home to city’s new university and high-tech, high-class housing facilities (www.malmo.se). Although there is no longer a labor shortage nor foreign worker recruitment, migration has continued from source countries via family reunification, local-specific networks and asylum seekers. This has created an extra burden on the ‘integration’ of migrants into the changing labor market (Bevelander, P. 2011, 25).

The service sector replaced manufacturing, and apart from jobs like cleaning and washing, this sector in general requires language and social skills, which made it more difficult for migrants to enter the job market. In today’s ‘advanced’ countries, ‘migrant’ groups generally occupy the jobs that are not eagerly taken by the native population (Peck, 1996: 71). These

‘dirty’ jobs require long and unfixed working hours and also provide insecure job conditions as well as poor opportunities for social and economic mobility.

In addition to fluctuating conjuncture, there are other structural difficulties in finding a job in a host society today. Concerning Sweden, the trade union for academics, JUSEK, issued a report in 2010, about job opportunities for migrants with a degree from a foreign country (www.jusek.se). According to the report, the situation is getting worse for migrants since 2001, i.e. it is becoming more difficult to find jobs, particularly jobs that correspond to their competencies. The issues of discrimination are generally neglected in public discussions regarding the unemployment of migrants. Meanwhile, language problems, regional disparities in employment, and the structural decline in old industries are emphasized (Wrench et al, 1999: 8). After equalizing other variables like, age, sex, religion, and education, a difference still exists between the unemployment rates of ‘ethnic minorities’ and ‘natives’ (Gras & Beverberk, 1999: 106). The ILO⁸ program conducted research has been conducted in several EU countries, such as Germany, Spain, Belgium, and Denmark about ‘Combating discrimination against migrant workers and ethnic minorities in the world of work’. In the research, local and migrant job applicants who have similar qualifications, age, experience, and schooling were sent to the same job interviews. According to findings, the discrimination rate against migrants in recruitment is around 35% (Wrench et.al 1999: 10).

Exclusion of the migrants from the labor market is also done via job advertisements. A common practice in hiring new employees is to recruit through family members and friends of the company's own staff. In doing so, newcomers and migrants are being excluded. Similarly, asking for experience and references is another way of indirect exclusion, since it is harder for a migrant to get hired through references given from outside of the country. It is consequently getting difficult to pass the barriers of standard job placement (Hermelin, 2005: 232).

In the 'new economy', cultural capital hold an important place within the economy as well (Löfgren & Willim, 2005: 12). The new cultural-economic concepts like teamwork, company profile/identity, and creativity make it even harder for migrants to find a job in the Scandinavian context. Although it is claimed that diversity and heterogeneity are trendy values in the new economy (Florida, 2003), in Sweden culture and economy seem to develop in opposite directions. According to the research done in recruitment agencies in Stockholm, companies tend to employ people who have a similar cultural background as the already existing personnel, claiming that harmony brings success. Cultural fitness to a given company's or 'Swedish' society's assumed culture, in this sense, can become more important than material job skills or educational background (Hermelin, 2005: 229).

B.3. Public policies

The policies encouraging migrant entrepreneurship came onto the EU agenda in the 1990s, approximately twenty years after the first migrants, including the ones who migrated and started up entrepreneurships after World War II (www.ec.europa.eu). One of the reasons behind this late reaction was that the initial entrepreneurships were seen as a temporary phenomenon. The first recorded venues targeted other migrants as clientele and as staff, and were also regarded as temporary workers (*gastarbeiter*⁹) until the 1980s. The idea was that those venues would disappear after the migrants returned to their native lands. As it is known today, significant amounts of migrants did not want to return to their home countries since they had already somehow 'integrated' to the host countries in different ways, and they then felt partly alienated to their countries of origin.

Understanding that these enterprises were lasting and feasible, the governments in the EU started up programs that encouraged self-employment in general, and self-employment of

women and ‘migrants’ in particular (www.ec.europa.eu). Sweden followed the same pattern, and self-employment has been increasingly seen as a valid response to unemployment and a vital element in economical growth. One example of this interest is a report Region Skåne funded “Tillväxt och mångfald i skånst företagande¹⁰”, which was issued in 2009, and conducted by four academics from Malmö University (www.skane.se). Similarly, the Swedish government launched an immense, highly budgeted program to support self-employment among ‘migrants’ (www.regeringen.se).

Apart from financial support, some mentoring services are also supplied to migrants, who would like to become their ‘own boss’. In Sweden, IFS¹¹ is a key mentoring organization, founded in 1996 with the specific aim of assisting migrant entrepreneurs (www.ifs.a.se). The association provides mentors who can give advice in 28 different languages, and also offers lending services to migrant entrepreneurs thanks to their cooperation with ALMI that began in 1999. ALMI is a well-organized state-owned association that aims to facilitate suitable conditions for enterprise nationwide (www.almi.se).

Chapter I

Theory and method

There is obviously a great demand for theories that can clarify how individuals function as active culture builders as well as being actors in an existence where possible identities simultaneously become the result of their actions as well as mental, reflexive construction projects. How do they shape something of their own from the reality that surrounds them? How can they in turn play upon the environment and make it happen? (Frykman & Gilje, 2003: 10)

1.1. What is a migrant?

When beginning to write my research proposal for the thesis, I soon realized I needed to diversify and enrich the literature that I already had at hand. I thought I could search within existing books on the website amazon.com and check out academic articles and reports on Lund University's online academic search engine. As soon as I turned on my laptop and started the internet browser, I realized that I was having a problem in conceptualizing my subject. I did not know which key words would give the best results. First I tried "ethnic + food", which returned thousands of results of cooking books, 'authentic' food recipes, and books for culinary adventures. I then typed in "migrant + food", and the literature that popped up was mostly on food habits of people who have migrated. Then I kept on searching with key words including migrant, restaurant, self-employment, ethnic, entrepreneur, ethnography, Sweden, Turkey, etc. with different combinations. I soon realized that each key word and each combination brought up different types of literature, designated different academic

schools, and included or excluded particular content. Then some questions emerged: Can concepts have objective meanings? Are their connotations clear? Are there some other concepts in circulation which function in the common meaning area?

* * *

No discourse or a set of words and phrases concerning a topic can be neutral. They are objected to controls. These words are, through complex process, selected and organized in a certain way (Foucault, 1970: 216). A discourse has a constructive power. Although language has long been seen as a tool, it is determinative of the whole process, and has the potential to shape the whole framework for understanding certain subject (Fischer, 2003: 38).

The creation of a certain discourse is very much related to the desire for power: “(...) in appearance, speech may well be of little account, but the prohibitions surrounding it soon reveal its links with desire and power” (Foucault, 1970: 216).

This process is carried out primarily through exclusion or division. Prohibition of certain words, making certain subjects taboo, or not to letting subjects become articulated in public are all examples of exclusion (Foucault, 1970: 217). Besides exclusion, how certain things are included is also a matter of concern.

When one starts concentrating on migrant as a concept, it does not take long before realizing that the words in circulation around the concept are, to a great extent, outcomes and agents of certain assumptions and different political positions. In different EU countries, various words are in use for migrants (Wrench et.al., 1999: 3). In the UK, for example, the words ‘migrant’ and ‘immigrant’ are rarely used; rather, ‘ethnic minorities’ is the common description. This is due to the fact that there is a former colonial relationship with the majority of migrants in Britain. The lands of origin of these migrants is seen as part of a vast, one colonial empire. That is to say that the many migrants in the UK originate from lands that are or have been part

of the British Empire. Therefore 'ethnic minority' is better suited to this framework. In Greece, Spain, Italy, and Portugal the usage of the word 'ethnic minorities' would be assumed inappropriate, since it implies a permanent status of the migrants. Immigration to the South EU countries is relatively new, and it is seen as temporary. Instead, 'immigrants' or 'foreigners' are the words used to describe the relatively recent phenomenon of the migrants' appearance. In Scandinavia, the word 'immigrant'¹² is commonly used, since 'ethnic minority' is assumed to be against Sweden's formal policy of assimilation. However, in Sweden there are five recognized (ethnic) minority languages that are the languages being used by some 'indigenous' groups. In this sense, the term 'ethnic minority' signifies 'the ones who are originally from Sweden with different backgrounds than 'Swedes', while 'invandrare'¹³ indicates the ones who are from 'outside' but migrated to the country. Although the word 'invandrare' is used for all migrants who moved to the land from other countries, it is, in reality, being used for only the persons whose land of departure is located mainly in the periphery of the world's economy, in other terms the ones who come from former 'third world countries'.

As indicated, language is not a neutral tool between thoughts and expression. To the contrary, it is linked to the contextual peculiarities, and it is affected by the specific history of a certain location. As a tool, it has the potential to transform the research practice, and it is crucial for a researcher to be aware of it.

In this paper, I refrain from using the phrases 'migrant restaurant', 'Turkish restaurant', 'ethnic food', etc. However, I still use the key concept 'migrant', instead of trying to come up with a totally new concept. This is mostly for the sake of clear communication with the reader. On the other hand, throughout this paper, I try to show that the actual practices continuously challenge the inadequacy of the term 'migrant' and other concepts.

1.2. Are the topics of food and migrant entrepreneurship becoming popular?

At a student party in the area of Vildanden in Lund on a relatively warm spring evening, I was chatting with a stranger on the balcony of the student residence. After the usual topics were exchanged, like where I am from, if I like Sweden, etc., the conversation focused on our studies. Learning that I was in the process of writing my thesis, he asked me what I was writing about. He paused for couple of seconds upon my answering, and trying not to be politically incorrect, he finally said “interesting” to my straightforward answer of “my thesis is on kebab”.

After I chose the topic for my thesis, I had a difficult time presenting my subject to other people, even to masters students from other departments at the university. The common expectation for a masters thesis, or in general for an academic article, is that it has to be on an ‘important’, ‘serious’ topic. While my friends who do their masters on Sustainable Development or Global Studies were choosing subjects like “Peace Negotiations between Israel and Palestine and the EU’s Approach” or “Development Projects in West Africa in the Post-Colonial Era”, my topic on restaurants in Malmö run by migrants from Turkey sounded too specific, too daily, and in turn, insignificant. Why does making an academic research on food and on restaurants not generate as much respect or attention as more traditional topics? Do we know everything about food, or is it obvious to us? Or is there something inferior about food?

* * *

There is nothing more basic than food. Until the 1980s, food was not a popular topic within academia, especially since it is thought to be belonging to the home – a female, domestic area. It was not serious and ‘manly’ enough to be studied like other topics such as economics, politics, or natural sciences. On top of that, it is mostly taken for granted.

Food production has received considerable attention in established disciplines such as economics, chemistry, agronomy, engineering, marketing and labor relations. Scientists have long explored the negative pathologies of malnutrition hunger and adulteration. But when it comes to analyzing the more positive and intimate features of what, how, and why we eat, academics have been considerably more reticent. (Belasco, 2008: 2)

Also in migration studies, ‘ethnic food’, just like ‘ethnic music’, has been seldom taken as subject matter, since it was generally thought to be a positive contribution of diversity, unlike topics like ‘honour’ killings or integration (Kobayashi, 2003: 205-231).

However, the academic trend after the 1980s, which moved towards micro-histories, especially with the influence of feminist theories, helped ‘food’ and the ‘kitchen’ become respected topics (Belasco, 2008: 3). One other factor is the emergence of the global food chain, which got many globalism scholars interested in tracking the processes our food goes through (Wilk, 2006).

Similar to the popularity of food, small-scale migrant entrepreneurships did not receive much attention from the academic world either. Especially in the 1970s, these migrant entrepreneurships were seen as a temporary phenomenon, and an anachronism that ‘migrants’ brought from their countries that were also, in turn, ‘back’ in time (Rath & Kloosterman, 2000: 662). According to the 1970s popular conservative interpretations of Marx, these venues were seen as remnants of the feudal ages, and were thought to be taken over by big supermarkets or chain restaurants that were accepted as modern and up-to-date in contemporary capitalism:

Migrant Entrepreneurs in Malmö: *The Case of Restaurant Owners from Turkey*

It has long been thought that local corner grocery stores and other forms of small family businesses are dying out. Observers have upheld the argument that these traditional sectors of the economy cannot pay for themselves, since they cannot compete with the development of shopping malls and mega-stores in the suburbs and outside city centers. (Wilbert 2003: 252)

However with the 1990s, it was realized that those 'petite bourgeoisie' workplaces were even getting common and this made their position stronger in the society and economy. It is recognized that in the service sector, personal attention and intimacy are highly demanded. Migrant entrepreneurs are estimated to be responsible for around 10 percent of all new established businesses in England, to give an example, and their annual income is £10bn, according to numbers taken in the year 2000 (Basu & Altinay, 2002: 371). Similarly, in the Netherlands, the percentage of migrant entrepreneurs among migrant population increased steadily. In 1987, 9393 migrants were self-employed which corresponds to 3,3 percent of the migrant labor force; however, in ten years, the number reached to 27380, or 7,4 percent (Rath & Kloosterman, 2000: 658). In Sweden, every fifth person who started a business in 1999 had a migrant background (Hjerm, 2004: 741).

As I stated before, in relation to growing unemployment among migrants, self-employment is regarded as a valid and working solution for the challenges stemming from unemployment. Therefore, much of the new literature on migrant entrepreneurship unfortunately has an economic-reductionist approach, i.e. it only focuses on the economic variables and outcomes. As a result of this attention from the school of economics, many academic articles rely on quantitative research methods rather than qualitative.

It is possible to trace the same tendency in the reports issued by Tillväxtverket¹⁴ and Region Skåne¹⁵, which rely only on quantitative research, and isolate the phenomenon to some economic variables (www.skane.se; www.tilvaxtverket.se). Especially in the related literature

in Sweden, it is almost impossible to find more than figures when it comes to migrant entrepreneurs.

1.3. Are quantitative research methods not scientific enough?

Just before the first presentation of my thesis to an audience at my masters program, I thought I would it would increase my confidence to have a rehearsal. My Swedish roommate was kind enough to listen to my presentation and give feedback. After I presented the conclusions I drew from my research sample, he asked me if it is wise to reach such conclusions after making interviews with only 16 entrepreneurs, and he suggested that, if I have time, I could possibly do a survey with a broader sample to check if the results would support my conclusions. I, in vain, tried to explain that for a qualitative research, 16 cases is more than enough, and my intention is not in generating statistics, but in providing a deeper understanding.

* * *

Positivism has been criticized severely, especially since the 1960s; nevertheless, it still maintains its influence. Moreover, it is the dominant and most common research philosophy in social sciences when it comes to research funded by public administrative organizations, and policy-making institutions. As a reflection of this, regardless the research topic, quantitative research methods are seen as superior - the more 'data' and statistical information a researcher presents, the more credibility, and in turn, the more research grants s/he gets.

The prototypical example of the application of positivism in social sciences is probably Auguste Comte's works. Comte claimed that positivism is a state of mind seeking laws of behaviour (Bailey & Eatman, 1994: 508). He maintained that the application of methods and assumptions of natural sciences would produce a 'positive science of society'. However, in

order to appreciate the real experiences, as students of social sciences, we should be critical to this understanding which treats human beings as passive products of universal laws and conditions:

It is necessary to abandon all theories which explicitly or implicitly treat practice as a mechanical reaction, directly determined by the antecedent conditions and entirely reducible to the mechanical functioning of pre-established assemblies, models or roles.
(Bourdieu, 1977: 73)

The positivist research theory which affected researchers and, in turn, their academic products since the 19th century had several main assumptions on the research process. First of all, positivist researchers made categorical distinctions between subject, tool and object, (respectively researchers, research methods, and research topic), and it was assumed that these categorizations were not affected by each other (Fischer, 2003: 123). Researchers were accepted as rational actors who were immune to any structural restrictions, and they had the will and capacity to execute certain missions and/or processes. Research methods were conceptualized as neutral instruments that do not carry the potential to make an influence on the researchers' reasoning. A researcher, using the right tools for the right purpose with the help of reasoning, could approach the research topic that similarly would not have any influential effect on the researcher's state of mind or perceptions. Social sciences, in order to be recognized as 'scientific' like their natural science counterparts, applied natural science patterns to their own realm (Wallerstein, 1991: 239).

The critics to positivist research theory concentrated on two points. Firstly, it is indicated that researchers should contextualize themselves; all the researchers function in a specific time, within specific spatial constrictions, likewise influenced by their position in the society, regarding class, age, and gender differences. The second point is that there should be no neutral research method that would produce the same precise results regardless of the

variables. To the contrary, every research method has its own history, and they have the potential to shape the whole process. It is misleading to rely only on quantitative research methods, since they promote distorted recreations or representations of ‘reality’ (Latour, 1999: 70).

Anthropology, as a school that has a long tradition of conducting qualitative research methods, has significant potential for appreciating these specific conditions. Cultural analysis, as a relatively new approach in the field, takes action in the conjuncture where the border between the economy and culture becoming blurry, and shows that qualitative research methods can be useful in non-academic areas that are dominated by ‘old-school’ quantitative research methods (Sunderland & Denny, 2007: 44). Although much of applied anthropology is still used in ‘non-western’ contexts, there is growing literature on applying cultural analysis techniques in the ‘modern’ world (O’Dell, 2008: 157).

During my research period, as I mentioned before, I used qualitative research methods, which includes the ethnography of several restaurants. Here I took ethnography as a “thick description” of restaurants based on multi-dimension information (Geertz, 1973: 6). I also did not forget that the fact that I am from Turkey, and being a migrant has had a central role in the research, affecting the whole process. The research methods I used were interviewing, participant observation, and visual documentation.

1.3.1. Interview

I conducted interviews with all of the owners of restaurants in my research sample¹⁶. For more specific questions I narrowed the number and conducted further interviews with 6 of them. I also conducted interviews with three restaurant workers. Since my Swedish was limited at the time, I narrowed my interest to restaurants, as I stated before, where ‘Turkish

speaking' people work, in doing so I tried to turn my 'foreign' position to an advantage by conducting interviews in their native language¹⁷.

I started with the 'snow-ball' method in order to reach restaurant owners, i.e. I found a restaurant to start my research and intended to continue with the new contacts the owner of that restaurant recommended, with the idea being reach a whole cluster of people with the help of the further contacts. However this method did not work. The network between restaurant owners in Malmö from Turkey was weak and segmented. Therefore, I had to try other ways, including asking every single person I met from Turkey if they know any restaurant owner who migrated from Turkey and popping into the restaurants randomly to ask if the owner is from Turkey.

From 'outside' institutions, I interviewed representatives from Arbetsförmedlingen¹⁸, Skatteverket¹⁹, Region Skåne²⁰ and IFS²¹ to discuss their approach to migrant entrepreneurs.

All the interviews were semi-structured and were conducted face to face. I had ready topics, and an outline to follow, but the interviews were open to interaction and possible new subjects:

A semi-structured approach to in-depth interviews allows the researcher to cover a specific list of topic areas, with the time allocated to each topic area being left to the discretion of the interviewer. The open structure ensures that unexpected facts or attitudes can be easily explored. (Jarratt, 1996: 9)

In this way, I aimed to cover all the topics that I would like to discuss while giving space to unexpected discussions. Moreover, since all the interviews were done in their work place and were subjected to continuous interruption, I managed to ensure the continuity with a ready questionnaire.

All the interviews were recorded and transcribed. During transcription, I partly wrote descriptions in brackets, inspired by the way one would do in a theater manuscript, in order to

reduce the gap between recordings and transcription. I then put the transcription in context by reviewing the notes taken (Oliver et. al. 2005: 1276).

1.3.2. Participant observation

The classical anthropological method, participant observation, was the main method I used in order to penetrate the world of the restaurants of migrants in Malmö:

The outstanding characteristic of the anthropologist's *métier* is data collection in the field. The anthropologist theorizes about society, culture, and man's nature, just like a sociologist, or a philosopher, but he gathers his data in the unique experience of field work through a method that is loosely dubbed "participant observation" (Maranhao, 1986: 291).

I 'participated' in restaurants from both sides of the relation, i.e. consumption and service. In order to pass the other side of the service counter, I worked in one restaurant (Restaurant Kronprinsen) as a waiter for six weeks, once a week, and had the chance to conduct additional informal interviews with the owner and other employees. Apart from working, I visited all the places as a customer and took field-notes about the restaurants before revealing my nationality and my intention to conduct an interview with the owners.

Admittedly, the info I gathered from participant observation was rich and more sophisticated compared to what I derived from the interviews. It fit much better with the research topic since there are many stereotypes in circulation about migrants and their enterprises to challenge, and there is a need for a detailed account of what actually happens there: "Participant observation could supply empirical findings about little known or stereotyped populations, particularly those outside the mainstream" (Gans, 1999: 540).

Since I speak the same language as the owner of the restaurant I worked in, I easily got an 'insider' perspective ²². This relative insider position gave me an opportunity to conduct the

research without muddying the waters with cultural and linguistic translation (May 1998: 136). That insider position created the opportunity to compare what the owner actually does at the restaurant to what s/he says that s/he does: “Participant Observation allows researchers to observe what people do, while all the other empirical methods are limited to reporting what people say about what they do” (Gans, 1999: 540).

1.3.3. Visual documentation

I mainly took photos of the restaurants’ interior parts and their menus during the research. I did not use any video-interview because I realized it would create an additional stress on the migrant entrepreneurs, who partly talked about their informal economic activities.

I tried to give a central role to visual data in the thesis, in line with the academic tradition of ethnography (Mason, 2005: 328); “in purely visual ethnography, as with visual anthropology, the visual is seen as a phenomenon worthy of analysis itself rather than being solely illustrative” (Mason, 2005: 329)

Moreover, while I handled the visual data, I tried to appreciate the context the image is situated within (Mason, 2005: 330).

In all cases, I asked the permission of the owner to take pictures, and I tried to stay close to the ‘documentary-like’ photo technique, in which I used the camera at the human eye height with ‘normal’ lighting and without applying any further effects; although I am aware of the fact that all kinds of framing and selection is to some extent subjective (Hurdley, 2007: 364)

Chapter II

Making the restaurant

Instead of seeing places as relatively fixed entities, (...) we need to see them as fluid and created through performance. (Crang & Coleman 2002: 27)

2.1. Which one of them: restaurant, bar or pizzeria?

It was around six a clock in the evening, and the streetlights were already on. Since Restaurant Kronprinsen²³ opens at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, not much time had passed since we started 'working'. The verb "working" is under quotation, because there was not much to do at the restaurant until then. At one table by the street, two 'ethnically' Swedish women were having a beer and chatting. The 'dining area' of the restaurant consisted of five window tables facing the street and three additional tables away from the windows. When I started working on that day at half past three, I set up those tables, which were covered with red tablecloths, napkins, and candles, and sit four people. Between the tables and the windows, there are some flowers and vases that aim to make the restaurant a little bit cozier. In this part of the restaurant, people sit at the tables and enjoy their meals and drinks. Just like these two women did, they do not generally interact with the owner or chat with the waitress.



The 'dinning area' of Restaurant Kronprinsen. This part is segregated from the other areas of the restaurant. On the back wall it is possible to view different paintings with non-identical frames, below the odd A/C apparatus. One can point that tables and chairs are not products of up-to-date modern design.

Image 1

The waitress, a 33 year old woman who is originally from China and has lived in Sweden for fifteen years, was sitting on a bar stool having her lunch at the bar - a pizza which she baked herself for fun. She said Ali²⁴ the owner of the restaurant, a 55-year-old man who migrated to Sweden about ten years ago, had asked her to quit the following week, with the claim that there were not enough customers. This was not a lie; that Saturday only thirty customers came all day, including the ones who only drank a pint without having something to eat. However, Ali told me later that the reason why he wanted her to quit was her unfriendly approach to customers. He wants his customers to feel welcomed and feel like they are at home.

At the other side of the bar, an older lady with a fancy fur jacket was sitting and slowly sipping her whisky that had I served her. Sitting two stools next to her was an older man drinking a beer and checking the TV from a distance. The lady said that she had been living in the neighborhood since her childhood. The waitress later told me that the lady comes to the restaurant every day and drinks one glass of whisky. The bar area is the second main part of

the restaurant. There people sit with their drinks and have a chat with their server, and sometimes with each other. The local radio channel is always on in the background.



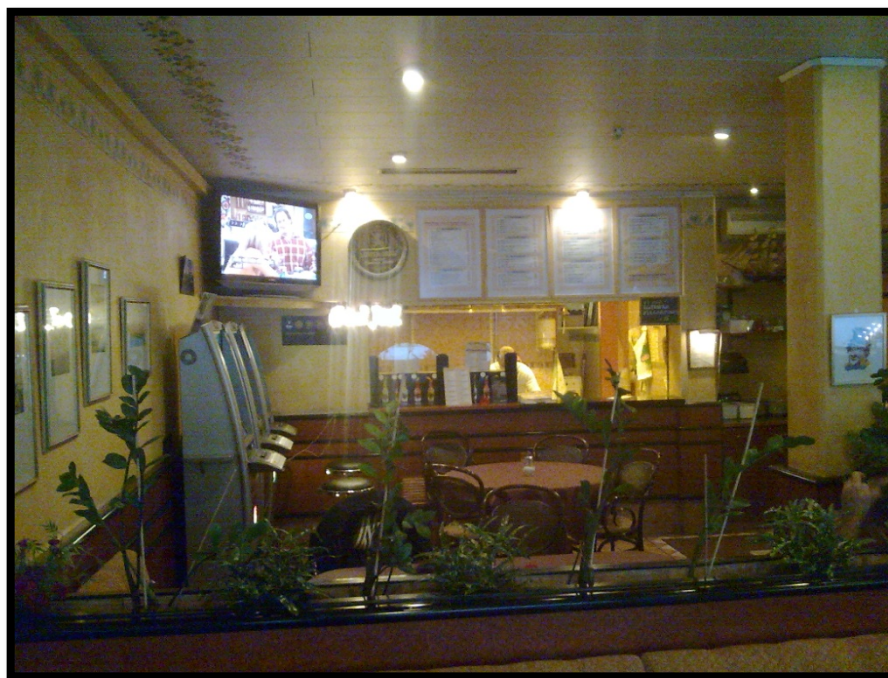
Restaurant Kronprinsen is a mixture of pizzeria, local pub and restaurant. The bar area is small and carries the influence of Irish/English bars with its wooden counter.

On the backside, we see the pizza counter and the baker of the restaurant who is originally from the Kurdistan region of Iraq.

This eclectic structure does not help to create an appealing 'aura', in order to attract middle class residents of the area in which it is located.

Image 2

The third main part of the restaurant is the area between the bar, the slot machines, and the pizza oven, which I named the 'relaxed area'. There are two tables here, and the area is separated with flowers from the rest of the dining area. 'On-all-day' TV is also located there, which brings a 'home feeling' to the area. The owner, when he is not working, sits at the table closest to the pizza counter and solves Sudoku puzzles. This home-like area is also primarily a non-female area. On the days I worked there, only males came and sat there, with a rare visit from the waitress. Some of them were introduced to me as owner's friends. They sat at the same table with the owner and chatted about this and that and watched TV together.



The 'relaxed area' has a couple of determinant features; TV, slot machines and its proximity to the kitchen.

This area is reserved for the staff, owner and regular customers.

Image 3

There was only one customer at that time there, a 'Swedish' male in his 30s, playing at one of the slot machines and drinking a beer. Ali knew him well also. Before the customer became silent in front of the slot machine, Ali told him with enthusiasm about the party he had attended the previous night; a party full of 'flirtatious' women from Thailand, one of whom was dating him.

Ali said slot machines remained from the former owner, and he kept them because Svenska Spel²⁵ pays a percentage from the machines' earnings. However, I doubted that this was the only reason after seeing him later in the evening playing at one of the slot machines for more than half an hour.

The restaurant was divided into eight main areas in total; the entrance where the toilet was located, the restaurant's main 'dining area', the home-like relaxation haven between the slot machines and the bar, the pizza oven room, the bar, the kitchen, the storage room, and the small dishwashing room. The owner was the only one who is allowed to enter all the areas.

The other waitresses and I could enter all of them except for the pizza area. The cook was only in the kitchen and the dishing-washing area. When the cook did not have anything to do, she would come to the door of the kitchen and peek at the TV. The pizza baker is mostly in the pizza room, but he came occasionally to the 'relaxed area' when there were no customers. All the staff had their meals in the 'relaxed area', regardless of whether or not there were customers present.

* * *

In order to create an extra-value restaurant, it is important to promote a certain atmosphere as well as a menu that reflects this high value. In doing so, a restaurant can claim to provide an experience as well as food and beverage, which will hopefully have an impact on the amount of the customers' bill and their willingness to pay such an amount. This atmosphere is commonly created by elements like decoration, ornaments, music, and attitude of the staff towards customers in addition to the food itself. In Restaurant Kronprinsen, the decoration was old, out-of-date, and was not done according to a specific idea; the ornaments were random and irrelevant; and the music was a cacophonous mixture of local radio and TV.

In the case of Restaurant Kronprinsen, it is not possible to say that there is such a coherent, value-added atmosphere that leads to a customers' unique experience at the restaurant nor is there an illusion of it. During my fieldwork at Restaurant Kronprinsen, despite the cheap prices and the variety of services it provides, I witnessed that there were not many customers visiting the restaurant. I considered the main reason behind that failure to be the eclectic character of the restaurant, i.e. the restaurant tries to function as a fine restaurant, a neighborhood bar, and a pizzeria all at the same time but in a limited area. As a result, it is none of above.



Restaurant Divan from the outside. It is located in the south part of Malmö where the average income is low and migrant population is intense. Just like Restaurant Kronprinsen it is a restaurant, a pizzeria and a pub (even a café), all at the same time, but finally none of above.

Image 4

2.2. East, west, is home best?

A middle aged man, ‘ethnically’ Swedish customer (as 90 percent of the customers are) came into Restaurant Kronprinsen while I was chatting with the pizza-baker²⁶ and helping out with his English homework from Komvux²⁷ for lack of anything else to do. I went directly to the customer in order to take his order, but he pointed at the pizza-baker and said, “he knows” with a smile. The pizza-baker smiled back, and started to prepare customer’s favorite pizza.

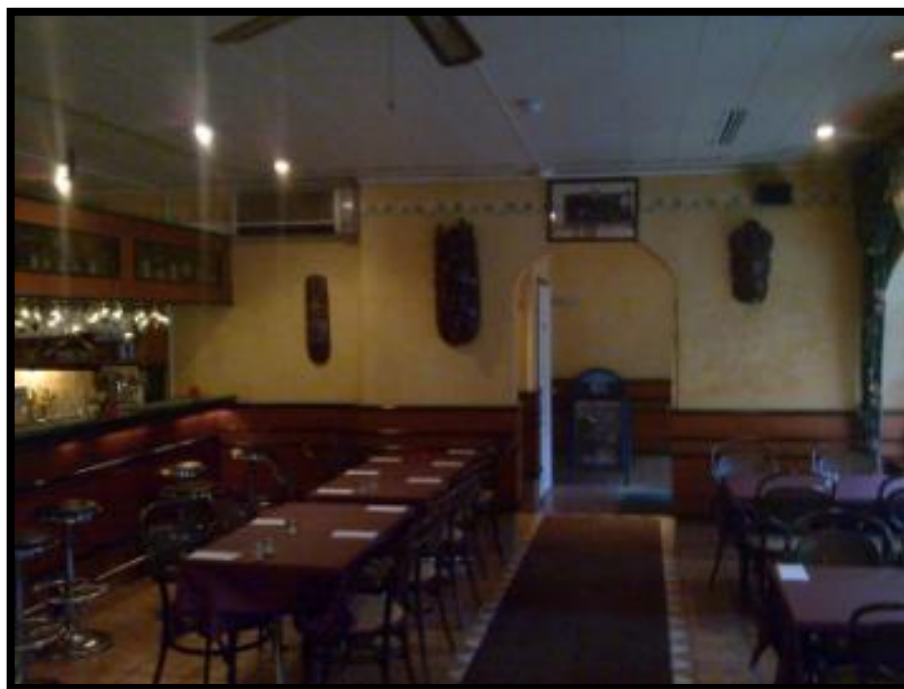
* * *

On the walls of Restaurant Kronprinsen ‘African art’ masks were hung on one wall close to the entrance and some picturesque paintings on the other, all were remaining from the former owner. Ali confessed that he needed to do something about the paintings which were of

various sizes and had non-identical frames, and that he should take down the masks that did not match the rest of the restaurant. He said none of the items on the walls meant anything to him. He claimed he had some ideas about the redecoration of the restaurant, like putting tables outside and making the windows movable. On the other hand, he had not changed a single thing in the restaurant in last two years of his ownership, apart from adding a pizzeria section, so I doubted that he would redecorate in the future. However, if the disorganization, eclecticism and limited chaos of the restaurant did not lead to any specific, planned atmosphere, it did create some relaxedness and informality, which Ali declared as his aim:

What I want is for customers to feel like they are at home, that they find an intimate environment here. I don't want formal, serious customers.

When I asked Ali if he would like to 'upgrade' his restaurant to a more fancy place, with better decoration and better service so that he could sell the food for a better price, his answer was negative. He declared that "it is not his thing", and he does not like 'formality'.



The extension of the 'service area' of the Restaurant Kronprinsen, as seen through the entrance. The 'African art' at the background, which has nothing to do with the rest of the restaurant or the food. But this gives to the restaurant some sort of relaxedness too.

Image 5

Creating a home atmosphere is a target that is repeatedly articulated by the entrepreneurs (Koray²⁸, Ahmet, Emre). Similar in many ways to Restaurant Kronprinsen, the restaurant Necipputs sets his goal for his restaurant as follows:

Priority is to assure that customers feel comfortable and at peace. In the meantime, when a customer comes to the restaurant, I would like to create the sense that he is at home, that he is not a stranger. If your home is in order, in style, then you would like to stay home more, here we try to do the same.

Almost all of the customers of Restaurant Kronprinsen live in the neighborhood where the restaurant is located, with few exceptions. Ali pointed to one table of customers from a village close to Malmö who have come to the restaurant every week for almost a year. One of the customers at the table was paralyzed from head to toe; he could only move the muscles on his face. The others were his family members, helping him out with eating and drinking. When

they came to the restaurant, Ali stood up from his usual table, left his Sudoku puzzles, welcomed them personally, and had a chat with them for about five minutes. Ali stated proudly that all of his customers come to the restaurant because they feel welcomed. Ali said that his personal attention to the customers is very important in convincing customers to come back:

When I first bought the restaurant, 80% of the customers of the former owner stopped coming here, even though we had the same menu and the same cook. Because they were his customers, they liked him. Restaurateur-customer relation is very personal. If you sell your restaurant, they would not come there again. That is why I lost the previous owner's customers, but then I created my own clientele, and doubled the former customer number.

This was also stressed in other restaurants where I conducted my research. Eda told me that even though Restaurant Matlandet is a take-away restaurant, he knows personally more than half the customers. Necip stressed the same issue:

I left the restaurant's management between 2003 and 2005, due to my personal alcohol problem; instead I started running a betting-shop, which created a more dangerous addiction problem for me (laughing). During that time, the number of the restaurant's customers decreased drastically. For instance, if I was selling 200 pizzas in a day, on average, it reduced to 30 or 35. Similarly, if I was selling 60 barrels of beer, later restaurant could sell only 15. It is really important that I am at the restaurant in person, because I know all the customers; they see me as their friends; they like to come to the restaurant and have a word with me.



Inside Restaurant Milan, another eclectic place - restaurant, pizzeria, and local pub - located near Värnhem at the east side of Malmö. The owner claims that he personally knows every customer that comes to his small-sized restaurant.

Image 6

The ‘home’ metaphor is used frequently in migrant restaurants with the purpose of giving “a feeling of intimacy and devoted individual attention by serving food in small dining areas” (Jochnowitz, 2007: 124). However, in my research sample, when it comes to relations with customers, instead of a ‘family’ concept, friendship is promoted. Customers are not mentioned as members of a big family, but rather as friends. We can then claim that the restaurant is the entrepreneur’s home, the personnel are the family members, and the entrepreneur is the head of the family (Hernandez, 2007: 27). In this case, the customers are friends who enjoy visiting the entrepreneur.

Establishing personal relations with customers is also reflected in marketing strategy. Despite the fact that it is not always easy to talk about proper developed marketing strategy, almost all of the restaurants in this research group claim that the best advertisement is word of mouth. Necip proudly pointed that he did not spend one crown for advertisement, but the restaurant

was still full. Ali has a similar opinion - he said he once paid the biggest local newspaper, *Sydsvenskan*, to distribute his pizza menu, but he did not get any results from the advertising.

The other component of the 'home feeling' is the one created among the employees. The flexible borders of Restaurant Kronprinsen gave the employees the feeling that the restaurant was their 'home', and that they were members of a big 'family'. I witnessed a few occasions when there were no customers that the baker rested his legs by lying down on a booth in the 'relaxation' area. Similarly, the cook often came to that area to have a chat with others or to watch the TV. The second waitress who came from Iran stated that they all felt like they were at home in the restaurant, that since they were so few employees, the owner had a very relaxed approach to his employees. Another aspect was that the restaurant became the extension of the 'home' on several occasions - Ali's brother and cousin came to have lunch, and later his girlfriend came together with her child. The cook's son also came to visit his mother, and they had lunch together. The family metaphor in restaurants is also common when regarding the relationship between the personnel and the owner (Hernandez, 2007). It helps to create a relaxed and easygoing atmosphere that reflects in the personnel's attitude towards the customers. It also decreases the risk of tension in the restaurant due to poor, insecure working conditions and low payment.

How this homely atmosphere affects the customers and why it is desirable are also important questions. It is possible to argue that informality is eroded in contemporary societies and lacking in its peculiar social structure. The rapid change of urban spaces and facades also can create a sense of insecurity and a sense of being uprooted (Sennett, 1976). Therefore, a nostalgic desire for a place 'where everyone knows each other's name' can be fulfilled with such small-scale restaurants.

The case for the customers who also have migrant backgrounds is more complicated. Michael Jackson discusses Aboriginals in today's Australia who are changing their attitudes in different material environments (Jackson, 2003: 21). They become silent and calm in places they assume are 'white' places. To the contrary, they become cheerful and exaggerated in 'non-white' places. Most of the restaurants in the sample, even though they are very much products of Swedish context, still primarily represent non-Swedishness, i.e. they are open till late, most of the workers are foreign-born, etc. In that sense, they can somehow give a feeling of home to other migrants, irrespective of where they come from. The headwaiter of Restaurant Padisah was not happy about some migrant customers' behavior. He claimed that they complain about the food; they are eager to discuss the bill; they are loud; etc. He complained that migrants do things at Restaurant Padisah that they would never do at a 'Swedish restaurant'.

2.3. How east is Orient?

A couple of months after I arrived in Sweden, a friend of mine came to visit me and I was responsible to show her around the city of Malmö to the extent that I knew it. While we were walking towards the popular alternative area, Möllan, she saw the sign for the Restaurant Padisah, which clearly designates that the restaurant has something to do with Turkey. She wanted to try a meal there and compare it with the meals in Turkey. I had already paid a quick visit there once with the hope finding a part-time job²⁹, but I had not yet tried the food. While we had our lunch from the buffet, which was a very good price for Swedish standards, I had the chance to explore the restaurant in detail.

On the walls of Restaurant Padisah there were drawings of old Istanbul from the Ottoman age, which is meant to fit the imagined orient. Apart from pictures, there were some other

ornaments, like rugs and porcelains which can be found in a lot of ‘Turkish’ restaurants outside of Turkey.



An ‘oriental’ carpet is hung on the wall of the Restaurant Padisah, which is located in the south end of the city center, near to popular alternative destination ‘Möllan’. There were many such items at the restaurant with the hope of creating an ‘oriental’ experience. Although the restaurant has a theme, unlike restaurant Kronprinsen, it is likewise suffering due to the same low-prices.

Image 7

Later when I interviewed with İsmail, the owner of the restaurant who was 35 years old, he told me that these ‘oriental’ ornaments are things that a Turkish restaurant should have. He added that he bought them from Istanbul, at the Grand Bazaar, an ancient market that primarily targets tourists.

While we were having our meal, they only played music with Turkish lyrics. Combined with the food that they serve and the music they play, the restaurant is supposed to stimulate the three senses, hearing, tasting and visualizing, in the creation of an oriental experience. There was also a sign that indicates that every Friday and Saturday night a belly-dance show is

performed as the highlight of the ‘Turkish’ experience they offer to their customers, despite the fact that they do not really have a proper place to host the performance.

* * *



The aggressive prices of Restaurant Antalya with the promotion of a belly dancer are just like Restaurant Padisah. However, the representation of ‘Turkey’ with a half naked belly dancer who dances on the food, does not help much in attracting customers.

Image 8

Restaurant Antalya, and Restaurant Ocak are similar to Restaurant Padisah in the way that they all claim to sell ‘Turkish’ food. Interestingly, owners of all three restaurants moved to Sweden from Denmark. Why migrant entrepreneurs in Sweden did not choose to promote ‘oriental’ cuisine is a significantly important question. Although some scholars claim that there is evidence that the politics of difference is a hegemonic ideology in Sweden (Carlbom, 2003). Especially in a small city like Malmö, migrants seem to refrain from underlining their background. Rather, they prefer to assimilate into the more general patterns, in contrast with

migrants in metropolitan areas like Copenhagen where there can be space and a market for differences.



The entrance of self-declared 'Turkish' restaurant Restaurant Antalya. During my visits to the restaurant, I did not see anyone sitting on this 'oriental' sofa.

Image 9

Both Restaurant Padisah and Restaurant Antalya had problems with attracting customers, although they did offer cheap prices. There are many reasons behind why they are not successful in selling the 'oriental' experience, I presume. Firstly, the location of the restaurants is popular among students and lower to middle-class artists, so to speak, rather than an experience-seeking middle-class partons, which yields pressure on the price list. Secondly, the experience is incomplete. Apart from cliché touristic representations of the orient with some decorative objects, there is really no experience offered aside from the brief appearance of a belly dancer for 15 minutes on Friday and Saturday nights. The organization of space and the dinner concept, etc., is like millions of other small sized restaurants. I believe their unsuccessful attempts of creating an experience leads to the exact opposite effect. It seems to result in some sort of 'cheapness' that degrades the restaurant. If we add to this the fact that the concept of 'Turkish' does not have a good market value in today's world, I

propose that an experience-free and ‘ethnic-free’ Restaurant Padisah would be even more successful than the existing one. Restaurant Padisah apparently lacks concept management and suffers from the fact that it is just an unauthentic copy of thousands of similar, cheap ‘Turkish’ restaurants across the EU.

Restaurant Ocak is located at the newly opened shopping center, Entre, in Värnhem, east of the city center. Restaurant Ocak has three counters at the food court on the second floor of the building, and each offers ‘ethnic’ food. One counter is concentrated on baking; the other is grilling; the last one is a buffet, i.e. salads and *mezes*. The food court has around one hundred seats and the weekends have an especially high circulation of customers. All the counters are in harmony with the general architectural style of the building. They are neat and finely decorated. There are only selected ‘oriental’ items and oriental writing styles on their menus, which are framed in a modern design.



The food court of the shopping center where Restaurant Ocak is located. Most of the customers are middle-class families who can afford to pay some extra crowns for an exotic taste.

Image 10

I have visited the place twice, and on both occasions the counters were busy with customers who were mainly ‘Swedish’ looking. The cheapest plate is 75 SEK, which could be considered a high price in Malmö. The owner, a 36-year-old man, reinforced this point:

The other restaurants selling food for 30 SEK, 40 SEK are not our rivals. We past that. I don’t need to reduce the price to sell my food here. I am making the food fancy, and what I cook tastes delicious. We have a totally novel design, a novel format. You know what they say in Turkey, that you can’t cook delicious stew with cheap meat³⁰.

Apart from Restaurant Ocak, Yusuf and his brother also have another restaurant at a shopping center in Lund, and they were planning to spread the concept and establish a chain within the region. I consider there to be several reasons for Yusuf’s relative success. Firstly, their choice of working only in big shopping centers is logical, as this easily brings them into closer contact with middle-class customers. Secondly, their minimalist representation of the ‘orient’ in a sterile manner lessens the side effects of being associated with the ‘under-developed’ east. To the contrary, they stress professionalism, which creates an illusion that they had ‘tamed’ exotic tastes, and brought them to a hygienic and familiar level for the taste of ‘Swedish’ customers.

Both at Restaurant Padisah and Restaurant Antalya, they promoted ‘Turkishness’ with supposedly authentic folkloric ornaments, belly-dance shows, and food, which was in line with the stereotypical ‘orient’ created over the centuries. Orient, in both of the restaurants, was presented as more natural, primitive and female. The pictures at Restaurant Padisah, were from the Ottoman age not from contemporary Turkey, as if the ‘orient’ is frozen in time, while the ‘west’ is proceeding (Said, 1978). Ornaments in both restaurants were folkloric, with the assumption that they have been preserved since ancient times. The fez³¹ was a highlighted accessory in Restaurant Antalya, which in reality has not been in use for a hundred years. When asked where they brought these ornaments, both of the owners said that

they bought them in Istanbul at the Grand Bazaar, a famous historical destination that sells goods to tourists. Ceyhun also added that he brought the pictures of Turkey's touristy destinations from a tourist information office in Istanbul. İsmail interpreted the ornaments in his restaurants to be things that should be in a Turkish restaurant. With his comment, he was probably referring to an imagined average Turkish restaurant in the minds of 'European' customers, as nearly zero restaurant in Turkey have such things, apart restaurants in touristy towns.



A painting depicting the Ottoman age on the wall of Restaurant Padisah.

Image 11

In the new economy, selling experiences became popular and fashionable. With the promise of a unique experience, an entrepreneurship can create an added value for its goods. Tom O'Dell, in his research, gives successful examples of Spa centers, which are recent successful examples of experience economy in Sweden (O'Dell, 2008). On the other hand, what we have

at Restaurant Antalya and Restaurant Padisah is a superficial representation of the oriental experience with a mainstream tourist gaze, which is far from creating any illusion besides being 'kitsch'. As a result, they are not successful in creating any added value. They therefore must offer aggressively cheap prices, which are not successful enough to attract customers.

2.4. Is' no man's land' a safe haven?

My roommate in Malmö, who was from Sweden, asked me if I would like to have a meal with him and with his friends one weekend. He said the restaurant, Restaurant Millennium, was quite busy during dinner, so he was going to book a table and needed to be sure that I was coming. I accepted the offer with pleasure, and we went to the restaurant on a Friday evening around seven o'clock. Restaurant Millennium is located on the north margin of Möllevången, just two doors down from Restaurant Padisah. It has a dim atmosphere with black, gray, and brown colors dominant in the interior. With loud, soft electronic music sang in English and fancy decoration, it reminded me more of a bar than restaurant whose specialty is hamburgers. It can host up to 100 people, including 6 additional seats by the bar and 8 in the 'lounge' room.

We ordered our meals from a waitress who was from Sweden, as were all the other waitresses at the restaurant³². A simple hamburger plate was around 100 SEK, and for some special hamburgers one could pay up to 160 SEK. After ordering the meal, on the way to the gentlemen's room, I noticed that two people were speaking Turkish behind the bar. When I stopped to say hello with curiosity, I was informed that one of them was the owner, and the other was working in the kitchen. The owner, Doruk, who was 32 years old, had come here to Sweden when he was 7, together with his family who was escaping from the military coup in

Turkey. He was a graduate from the Philosophy department at Lund University, and he told me that he started his first restaurant, with a similar concept, in Lund while he was studying.

* * *



Some of the international icons on the walls of the popular hamburger restaurant, Restaurant Millennium.

Image 12

On the walls of the restaurant, there are hundreds of pictures of internationally known icons, like Marilyn Monroe, Elvis, Jimi Hendrix, Audrey Hepburn, and Che Guevara. When I came to the restaurant about a week later to interview him he explained that choice:

“I present the hegemonic American culture here. Even Che is part of that consumption culture. Everyone can find someone he or she likes here. Sadly, I benefit from this cultural capitalism.”

Doruk stated that Restaurant Millennium was selected as the best hamburger restaurant in Malmö by a local newspaper, although it was only opened the previous year. He claimed that

regarding his concept and quality, there was no competition for him. All the restaurants squeezed into the category of cheap falafel or 'kebab' venues:

The place just opposite, they sell two courses for 43 SEK, and I sell a hamburger for around 100 SEK, but still, they are empty but I am always full because they don't have any idea about this business.

I considered that this success was due to using internationality, in particular American pop culture, as a buffer zone between 'migrants' and 'Sweden'. The dominant world culture can create an equalizing effect over local actors. In this way, Doruk manages to hide his migrant background without claiming to be assimilated as 'Swedish'. In addition, with good management in creating an 'American' diner-like atmosphere with fancy decoration, he succeeds in selling hamburgers at a high price. When I told my roommate that the owner of the restaurant was from Turkey, he was really surprised to hear that and said that it did not look like a 'migrant restaurant'.

The other successful restaurants Restaurant Ölcity³³, Restaurant Copenhagen, and Restaurant Syd similarly have neutrality. None of the restaurants have items which one can be associated with their ethnic background' or with Sweden. They have items that one would expect to have in an average restaurant/bar - some non-descriptive pictures on the wall, some pictured alcohol bottles, cozy wooden tables and chairs. In this way, nothing is highlighted boldly and in turn, everyone is welcome.



Restaurant Ölcity, a popular beer place and restaurant in Möllevången, always has customers even into the early morning hours, despite the fact that there are cheaper places around. In the restaurant, it is not possible to find any trace that owners are from Turkey, apart from the fact that people working in the kitchen have 'migrant' looks.

Image 13

Ayşe Caglar (1995), in her article on 'kebab' shops in Berlin, mentions an interesting trend in those shops seen in the beginning of the 90s - all shops started to redecorate themselves as 'ethnic-free' despite the fact that they were earning more money with creating an ethnic aura with music, ethnic items, handcrafts etc. According to the interviews she conducted, shop-owners stated that they did not want to be associated with 'Turkishness' any longer, which is believed to have lower symbolic capital. Ayşe Caglar calls for attention to the lack of symbolic value in these restaurant jobs and point out their possible contribution to the stereotyping process for already stigmatized groups (Caglar 1995: 221).

Being from Turkey also has similar negative connotations in Sweden. The usage of the word 'Turk' in daily Swedish is an example that indicates its low symbolic value. Interestingly all the small, cheap, messy shops run by migrants are called "turkåffar"³⁴ by people, regardless of where the actual migrant comes from. It is an unexpected terminology, since the 'migrants' from Turkey do not constitute a large enough group to represent all the others. It would not be

wrong to presume that this widespread usage of the term ‘Turk’ has its roots in history when the Ottomans, irrespective of their ethnic background, were called ‘Turks’ in ‘Christian Europe’. The term ‘Turk’ in today’s Sweden, however, implies cheapness, dirtiness and disorganization, and it represents a negative stereotype³⁵.

While I was in Restaurant Milan, I saw a poster behind the kitchen with some pictures of Necip and some other customers. He said that this poster used to be inside the restaurant. When I asked why he relocated the poster with photos in which he was shown celebrating the success of ‘Turkish’ national football team in the world championship in 2002, holding a ‘Turkish flag’, he blamed the raising xenophobia in Malmö:

We have to accept that hostility against foreigners is rising in Sweden. Now right wing parties are in power, and they trigger it even more. It is a bit covered, but when they start drinking at some point they start ‘vomiting’ their hate. That is why I did not want to provoke them. Ok they sure know that I am a foreigner, but it would be clever not to push it too much.

In the last elections held in September 2010, the anti-immigrant, extreme right-wing party “SverigeDemokratarna”³⁶ got 5,7% of the votes and achieved to get representation at Riksdagen³⁷ for the first time in Sweden’s history, which makes them fifth biggest party in Sweden. SverigeDemokratarna is exclusively powerful in Skåne, the south region of Sweden, wherein Malmö is the biggest city. In Malmö and in rest of Skåne, they received respectively 7,84 % and 11,2 % of all the votes (www.val.se). In this sense, the concerns of Necip do have a foundation.



Necip told me that he moved this poster from the restaurant to his office. He prepared it after the world football cup 2002. The picture shows the Turkish flag and Swedish flag represented together. He thinks that it is not a good idea to reveal one's ethnic background anymore due to increasing intolerance against migrants in Malmö.

Image 14

The rising xenophobia influences some of the migrant entrepreneurs to not stress their foreign backgrounds publicly. This can be one possible reason behind the trend of very few self-declared ethnic restaurants within the research sample, and, as is stated in the last section, all of the restaurateurs moved from Denmark.

In the research sample, the majority express their satisfaction with running a restaurant. Most of them stress only the economic advantages and flexibility of being an entrepreneur. Bahadir, who owns one of the busiest beer place/restaurant in the city explains that his reason behind

his satisfaction is that he basically loves nightlife, as Necip similarly stated. However, Ali is vocal in expressing his dissatisfaction about running a restaurant as a migrant:

I am really thinking of changing the sector. Institutions are always after us, we are not comfortable. To be honest, all the migrant restaurant owners are seen as criminals. When you say to someone that you have a restaurant, they ask, “Oh, you earn a lot of black money, eh?” I don’t think that many do tax evasion since there are strict controls, but no one talks about other branches, we really have bad reputation.

In Germany’s case, Turkish speaking migrants started to imitate US based fast-food chains in the 90s to avoid ‘Turkishness’, by changing the shops’ interior and also the names: McDöner, Kebab Heaven, etc. Also Caglar indicates another parallel trend - the transformation of the shops into Italian restaurants, pizza shops, etc., which are believed to have better social recognition in the German context (Caglar 1995: 220). This feature is also noticeable in Sweden. Many ‘kebab’ shops are in fact also pizzerias, like Restaurant Rome³⁸, Restaurant Milan, and Restaurant Kronprinsen. Öner and Necip even use Italian flags, and Italy’s colors in their restaurants. This trend interestingly creates a hybrid restaurant style, which is best reflects with the unique creation of ‘kebabpizza’. According to research, it is the most demanded pizza in Sweden (www.onlinepizza.se).

Chapter III

Making the food

For us humans, then, eating is never a “purely biological” activity. The foods eaten have histories associated with the pasts of those who eat them; the techniques employed to find, process, prepare, serve, and consume the foods are all culturally variable, with histories of their own. Nor is the food ever simply eaten; its consumption is always conditioned by meaning. These meanings are symbolic and communicated symbolically; they also have histories. (Mintz, 1996: 7)

3.1. How big are our plates?

When you turn your back to the seaside and walk down the sidewalk down the moderately busy street, next to a small corner shop you would come across to a hand-written menu, inviting you for today’s special of a ‘typically Swedish’ three course meal for a fairly cheap price in Sweden, 67 SEK. That is how you would recognize Restaurant Kronprinsen if you are not already familiar with the neighborhood. Ali stated that it was already a restaurant and pub when he bought the place two years ago from another migrant from Turkey³⁹, and he added the pizzeria part himself to the restaurant. He did not change the menu of the restaurant. Even the prices are the same. He just printed a separate pizza menu. For this reason, he kept the cook as well, a woman in her 50s who migrated from Vietnam 30 years ago to marry a Swedish man, and she has been working in that restaurant for around 25 years. The restaurant menu, as it is common in almost all restaurants with ‘tablecloths’, has a menu organized according to classical ‘French’ style, i.e. divided into sections that starts with starters and soups, then continues with main meals, and finishes with desserts and beverages. The menu is arranged in an eight-page, velvet-covered notebook, with the pages almost A4 size.

The content of the menu is relatively rich. It includes classical dinner meals, like steak, fish and chicken varieties with some, but few vegetarian options. Everyday, there was a special offer, grilled meat typically and beef fillet on the weekends. One of the two waitresses at the restaurant, a 28-year-old student from Iran, was a bit critical of the menu and thought that there were way too many dishes, and together with the pizza menu, it became just too complicated, and confusing. The fact that there was no special section for vegetarians was a big deficiency when one comes to think that it is a quite common diet in Sweden.

The second menu of Restaurant Kronprinsen is the pizza menu. Ali said he prepared the menu mostly by himself, since he had experience as a pizza baker. He came to Sweden ten years ago via marriage with a woman from Sweden. Just like the majority of ‘migrants’ from Turkey in Sweden, he was born in Konya⁴⁰ city which is located in the vast steps of middle Anatolia. He ran his own business in Ankara, the capital, in retail sale and logistics. When he came to Sweden, after his initial unsuccessful job searching adventure, he started working for his cousin as a baker, although he did not have anything to do with this profession before. However he learned the job and started his own pizzeria seven years ago. He said he first prepared the pizza menu for that pizzeria. He had learned what sort of pizza is on the market, and he also added his own pizza specialties to the menu. Ali had been innovative in the creation of his menu, and he also changed the structure of his menu. In comparison to other pizzerias which listed all their pizzas together, he grouped his pizzas under categories like “standard pizzas”, “puff pastry pizzas”, “kebab pizzas”, “luxury pizzas” etc. He claimed he invented beef pizzas as well as some kebab-pizza varieties. The category of “luxury pizzas” came three years ago as the last change to the menu. The prices of the pizzas start from 50 SEK up to 80 SEK. In other pizzerias in Malmö, prices are more or less the same.

The eclecticism of the restaurant is reflected in the menu and the food sold at Restaurant Kronprinsen. There is no single framing concept for the food. The food prepared in the kitchen has nothing to do with pizzas. This essentially results in a menu that lacks professionalism; it is far from convincing as any type of culinary adventure.

The only common feature of the two menus at the restaurant is their influence and standard from the broader world. The restaurant menu follows the global standard influenced by ‘old school’ restaurants in France with some progressive sections. Similarly, some of the names of the pizzas on the menu were taken from pizzas that emerged in United States, like ‘Hawaii’, and some were from Italy, like ‘Margarita’.

It is a popular debate as to whether globalization – its global institutions, rules, human flow and enhanced communication – creates one single homogeneous culture propped up by the foundation of global standards (Wilson, 1995: 252; Sutton & Beriss, 2007: 3; Belasco, 2008:55). Concerning restaurants and food, the effects of globalization can be clearly seen in the sense that what one expects from a restaurant is pretty similar in any part of the world⁴¹. Not only does the sense of organization of a restaurant follow a global pattern, but also the global food distribution chain triggers homogenization (Wilk 2006: 10). Travelling customers seek this familiarity to ensure that the food will not disappoint them; it will not go against their expectations and their safety (Firat, 1995: 114). They would like to know, if they are not in an adventurous mood, what to expect when they order a meal. It is the same for places with specific styles, like ‘Chinese’ restaurants, hamburger venues, or kebab shops. All around the world, restaurants under the same category have amazing similarities.



A plate served at Restaurant Burlöv, which is located in a shopping mall in Burlöv, a bit outside of Malmö. A similar plate design can be found almost anywhere in the world.

Image 15

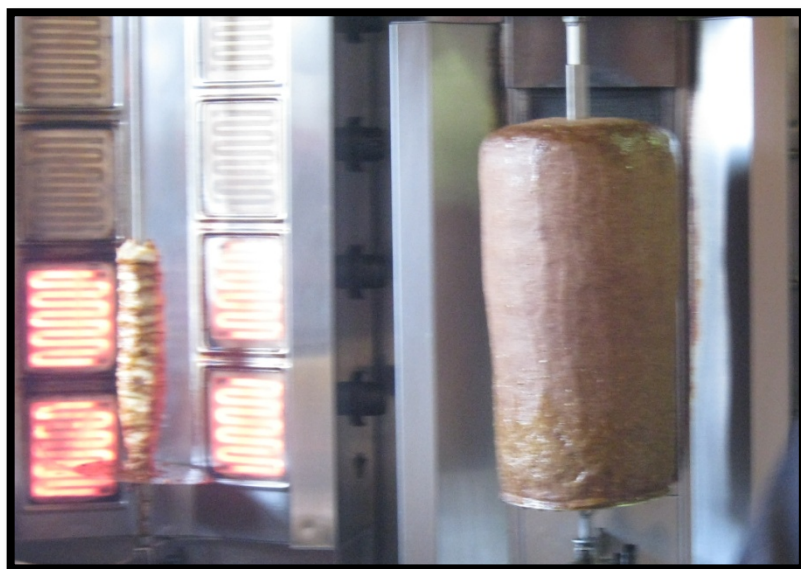
Another example of global influence on a menu is Restaurant Millennium. Doruk, the owner, stated that he first started a similar restaurant in Lund, a student town close to Malmö, in order to attract students with different backgrounds. He thought hamburgers and its varieties would be attractive for students on a budget, and it is an internationally popular meal to ensure a safe customer flow, as Lund is a city with an important amount of international students. He stated that he made the menu himself by downloading popular hamburger recipes on the Internet, particularly from the USA.

3.2. How local are the locals?

After I interviewed Ahmet at his popular restaurant specialized on ‘French’ food, he took me to Restaurant Milas to have some ‘kebab’ together for lunch, with the assumption that I would like to taste something reminiscent of Turkey. The restaurant was part of a food court near a small shopping passage close to the Möllevången square. Ozan, who has been in the business

for more than 30 years, was working alone at the restaurant. Ahmet said Ozan is one of the few restaurant owners who is not buying kebab meat ready-made from a supplier.

Later I asked Ali if they are preparing their own kebab meat, he told me that they buy their kebab from a Swedish supplier from Helsinborg, who himself buy kebabs frozen from a manufactory in Kalmar whose owners are from Turkey⁴². This kebab manufactory, via intermediates, supplies almost all the kebab Malmö needs, with the same taste and the same price⁴³. The standardization of kebab on a local scale is a good example of the complexity of food chains. In that sense, the classical confrontation of local enterprises against the homogenizing globalization process is misleading; homogenizing can also occur at a local level in the search for cost and labor efficiency.



Eda, whose father Ozan together with Öncel introduced first kebab to Malmö at the end of 1970s, was proud to claim that their kebab is always prepared freshly at the restaurant every morning. However, as it is seen in the picture, they are also making their kebab from minced meat.

Image 16

The customer preference in Sweden is another important factor in the standardization of food on a local scale. As articulated by numerous entrepreneurs, Emre, one of the owners of a very popular beer place/restaurant in Möllevången, Restaurant Ölcity, claims that it is really difficult to convince ‘Swedish’ customers to buy unfamiliar food. He gives this as the reason

why they do not sell any ‘Turkish’ food. He points out that there are already two restaurants in central Malmö trying to promote ‘Turkish’ food (Restaurant Antalya and Restaurant Padisah); however, they are not really doing well. Meanwhile, Restaurant Ölcity is one of the most popular places of its quarter. Similarly, Öncel, Eda, and Ozan, who all sell mostly ‘kebab’, claim that they repeatedly tried to diversify their menus with some other ‘Turkish’ food, but that they failed to convince the customers to buy this food. In the end, they all focused on selling the widely demanded fast food specialty, kebab. Ozan complains about this situation bitterly:

I tried everything here. I opened a bakery. It did not work. You give 100 loafs of bread to the market, and it tries to give back 50 back. It did not work. It was not worth it. I had two bakeries. I sold them both. These Swedish people don’t eat fatty food; they don’t eat dessert; they don’t eat in the mornings, only lunch.

Despite the general resemblances of restaurants due to globalism, there are still peculiarities in each city and in each country that differentiates one from the other. In that sense, research literature points out that it is not rare to claim that globalization also triggers localization (Firat, 1995: 115). Against the popular concept of *mcdonaldization*, which describes the eventual triumph of homogenization in the search for efficiency, calculability, predictability and control in the global age (Ritzer, 2000:11), *glocalization* is a counter concept that clarifies this dual effect of globalization (Roudometof, 2005: 118; Jonsson, 2005:108). There are different factors behind the development of local specialties. Firstly, the resources of different localities are different, and likewise the ability and the opportunity to have access to these resources can differ. Despite the fact that goods are now circulating in the world more quickly and freely than ever before, there are still important structural restrictions, logistical advantages/disadvantages, and political preferences that play a role in favoring a particular good over another (Wilk, 2006: 117). Secondly, the traditions and history of a particular

locality sneak into the scene and make small but distinctive changes in the global 'recipes'. Additionally, globally mobile actors also look for some level of genuineness and uniqueness at a local place, which in turn can make their trip legitimate in their eyes (Cohen 1988, 372; Sims, 2009: 323). Lastly, the counterculture of the 1960s, created a demand for food that is produced small-scale and locally, outside of the massive, 'modern' production units. It is claimed that the outcome of producing industrialized, large-scale, modern food is unnatural (Jonsson. 2005: 108).

While I wondered about the peculiar 'pizza salad' in Sweden, Ali told me that this salad is available only in Sweden. The importation of pizza to Sweden certainly has a complex story including firstly the strong affinity Sweden has with American since great emigration to the other side of the Atlantic ocean at the end of the 19th until the beginning of 20th centuries, and secondly, the Italian migrants who came to Sweden to work after the second world war and stayed till 1970s, and, lastly, new cohorts of migrants after the 1980s, who had difficulty finding a jobs and who then started running small-scale pizzerias instead. Despite these macro factors, it is still possible to find features in the pizzerias specific to Sweden. The pizza salad made out of cabbage, which is cheap and common in all Sweden, is one of them. A migrant from Italy presumably introduced it to Sweden in 1960 in Stockholm, and all the other pizzerias copied afterwards. (www.onlinepizza.se). "Swedish pizza salad" represents an interesting case, since it includes all the three factors; globalization, localization and standardization. Although it is peculiar to Sweden and in that sense 'localized', it is served with 'globalized' pizza, and since it is the same in almost all of Sweden, it is 'standardized'.

Lastly, local institutional regulations, also the local institutions in the sample in Malmö, create some standards for the food restaurants offer. For example, there are specific rules legislated by EU about food importation (Jonsson & Ekelund, 2009:3). İsmail's answered in the

negative to my question as to whether the ‘Turkish’ meals they sold tasted similar to the ones being served at a regular restaurant in Istanbul. He told me that it is mainly because they have to buy the ingredients from Sweden. Since regulations complicate the importation of some portion of the items from Turkey, they must buy meat and vegetables from local suppliers. Then the question that makes the food in İsmail “Turkish” arises, since the distinctiveness of local ingredients are believed to be vital in making a ‘cuisine’ (Mintz, 1996: 95).

3.3. Is it really authentic?

During one of my visits to Restaurant Padisah, I wanted to have a desert which is quite popular in Turkey, baklava⁴⁴. When the desert arrived alongside my coffee, I noticed that the baklava was served with a cup of vanilla ice cream, a combination that is not thinkable in Turkey; instead baklava is served with kaymak⁴⁵. The headwaiter told me that it is due to the Swedish customers’ preference, that they really like ice cream and that they have no knowledge of kaymak, which he believes could be seen as odd to them.

There is also another branch of Restaurant Padisah in Copenhagen with the same name. İsmail told me that the branch in Copenhagen opened twenty years ago by his uncle, and when he moved to Denmark in 1995, he started working together with his uncle in his restaurant⁴⁶. The menu of his restaurant, he says, is the same as at the restaurant in Copenhagen. He claimed that the menu includes only ‘Turkish’ food. However, when I pointed to the excessive salad varieties on the buffet, he admitted that Swedish customers like salads because it is ‘healthy’. The same feature is also visible at Restaurant Antalya where there were twelve different salads available on the buffet. Ceyhun also admitted that it would not be the same case at a restaurant in Turkey.

In this sense, in regards to food, it can be stated that the authenticity is ‘staged’ for the customers (MacCannell, 1973 in Cohen, 1988: 372). If one important factor affecting Restaurant Padisah’s and Restaurant Antalya’s ‘Turkish food’ menus are the preferences of ‘Swedish’ customers, the other is the background of the entrepreneurs. Both Ceyhun and İsmail have a Kurdish background, and it is directly visible in the menus, which are inspired by the popular dishes in eastern Turkey. Even though Ceyhun is not from Turkey, he had lived in Turkey for several years. He is originally from Kurdish part of Iraq. He claimed that ‘Kurdish’, ‘Turkish’, and ‘Arabic’ cuisine is the more or less same, and he was also selling dishes from Iraq under the title of ‘Turkish’. He argued that it would not make a difference in Sweden anyway.



An interesting outcome of negotiations in the ‘Swedish’ market, a pizzeria in Lomma, a town close to Malmö. The restaurant sells both pizza and kebab, and it is owned by a migrant from Turkey. While selling outsider specialities, the restaurant tries to ‘integrate’ into Sweden as well, with using the Viking figure and the colors of Swedish flag.

Image 17

3.4. How bloody are falafel wars?⁴⁷

It was my third weekend at Restaurant Kronprinsen. There were customers only at two tables. One table wanted to pay, and I went there with the bill. They were three adults and two

children, and they had ordered two big pizzas to share between five plates. Pizza salads were also served when they asked for pizza, which is normally adding 5 SEK per person extra to the bill. They had ordered soft drinks too. The bill came 235 SEK, and they objected to the bill. They did not want to pay for the salads because they came without ordering. I asked Ali if he could help me handle the situation. He reduced the bill to 210 SEK after a short discussion. After the customers left, he came to me with anger and frustration and complained about the customers and how they ordered two pizzas for five people, occupied a table for almost 40 minutes, and despite already cheap prices, they were not satisfied.

According to Ali, the low prices primarily stem from fierce competition. He claims that there are six restaurants on the street block where the restaurant is located, while there should be two. He adds that in the radius of one square kilometer around the restaurant, there are around thirty restaurants. This creates pressure on prices.

Ali is not the only entrepreneur with the same complaint. Erkin also points out that in recent years, the competition has risen steadily. Interestingly, Erkin thinks that the policies of the Swedish state after the 1990s have had an important responsibility in this situation, since the state encouraged unemployed people to start their own places, and they helped them financially via its institutions (Arbetsförmedlingen, Skatteverket). In result, this created unfair competition. The first reason why there is unfair completion is, according to Erkin, that while some took help, the ones who already existed prior to the 1990s did not have the same opportunity. Because the new entrepreneurs were previously unemployed, they do not need to set high standards and do not have long-term plans. This resulted in an aggressive attitude regarding prices; they do not have anything to lose anyway. However, I have not met anyone that fits into Erkin's description in my sample.



The competitive prices of Restaurant Matlandet, which is located at the north side of central Malmö, close to the Malmö University.

Image 18

Ali complained also about the fact that others copied his menu invention so quickly that he lost his genuineness, which also affected his overall sale according to him. He said it is not possible to hinder copying as others can come into his restaurant as a customer and take a take-away pizza menu with them, which they give away menus in order to increase sales via phone-ordering. The copying attitude is also a common pattern among migrant entrepreneurs. It seems one innovative entrepreneur emerges, and the rest follows him/her, and then the competition expresses itself not via quality but via prices. Öncel was once an innovative entrepreneur⁴⁸. According to him, he and Ozan were the first people to introduce kebab to Malmö, and back then, they were selling kebab without any sauce, just like it has been done in Turkey. No sauce and little salad is the traditional way. However, listening to the demands of ‘Swedish’ customers, they introduced three main sauces now available on the market; one garlic/yogurt sauce and two tomato/chili pepper sauces, mild and strong. And they also enhanced the amount and increased the richness of the salad given together with kebab. Now it is a standard in Malmö, and even in the entire country of Sweden, to offer garlic/yogurt or tomato/chili pepper sauce together with kebab. Likewise, the service of a rich salad with

kebab has become standard, which is the result of good reading of the customers' preference towards 'healthy' food⁴⁹.

Öncel says that their business went really well in the initial years; however, he made some bad business decisions and simultaneously, a lot of new places opened, also by the people who worked with him and learned the recipes. Öncel's restaurant, Restaurant Iskender, is now not different than any other dozens of kebab/falafel shops. It keeps its cheap pricing, even though he is one of the few owners who does not buy 'kebab' rolls frozen from a manufactory, but rather makes his own. He apparently missed the opportunity to exploit the initial years of his innovation, when he had a monopoly and few competitors, by developing his business further (Rath & Kloosterman, 2000:669).

Chapter IV

Institutions and restaurants

To understand immigrant and ethnic businesses, it is crucial to take into account the wider economic, institutional and social contexts in which the businesses operate, for example, policy issues such as labour market policies and opportunities. (Wahlbeck, 2007: 546)

4.1. Who to trust?

I had come to Restaurant Milas, the small kebab shop, for the second time in order to interview Ozan. He proposed that we have a meal while he was handling his other customers, who were few on that day. I sat at the petite food court and started eating my free kebab and chips served on a plate with salad and garlic sauce. Five minutes later, a man with a suit approached Ozan. After a short dialog, he gave his business card to Ozan and left. Later, during the interview, Ozan told me that he was trying to sell cash machines. Due to the new legislation imposed by Skatteverket⁵⁰, every entrepreneur had to have a cash machine that could be connected online to the tax agency. Ozan said they were trying to prevent ‘black’ earnings in this way:

The ones who would really like to make tax evasion, they would do it anyway. Why would one register the intake at the cash machine? The cash machine producers will earn money, that’s it. If you want to earn black, you put the money directly into the pocket.

* * *

During the interview questioning regarding institutions, Skatteverket was the main topic. This is because Skatteverket has focused lately on restaurants in order to hinder tax evasion. The representative I have interviewed from the Skatteverket in Malmö gave me information about some new methods they introduced for this purpose. She pointed out that they started making controls more often since 2006, and they came up with the idea of the “personnel notebook”, which they call the ‘green notebook’, that every workplace has to have in order to register everyone who is working in the place daily. If, during a control, an inspector from the Skatteverket sees someone who is actually working but not registered in the green notebook that day, then the place gets a fine of thousands of Swedish crowns. It is enough to receive a fine if there is a ‘stranger’ in the area reserved for staff only. In addition, Skatteverket started making controls undercover, i.e. the inspectors pretend to be a customer. This method turned out to be very ‘effective’ in finding practices against procedures.

Ozan thinks that the introduction of the personnel notebook has greatly reduced the employment of ‘black’ labor. He says that a lot of people work ‘black’ for very low salaries and simultaneously take money from Socialstyrelsen⁵¹. This, in turn, makes it impossible for other to find a job with an ‘OK’ salary. Ahmet has a parallel idea with Ozan. He really liked that this notebook introduced because he is paying his employees according to the collective nation-wide negotiations of around 200 SEK with taxes, while the other restaurants gives 60 SEK black. This ‘black’ payment makes it hard for him to keep up with the competition. He pointed out another restaurant on the other side of the street from his restaurant: “They sell a pint of beer for 25 SEK, while I sell it for 49, how? Because they use black labor, as simple as that.”

On the other hand, Yusuf drew a broader picture and stated that it is not fair that Skatteverket is paying such close attention to the small-scale restaurants:

Migrant Entrepreneurs in Malmö: *The Case of Restaurant Owners from Turkey*

In big firms, they hide millions of dollars, even here (the biggest shopping center in Malmö) in this organization, there is a huge amount of black money involved, all rich Swedes clean their money abroad, but Skatteverket is after the restaurants' 30 SEK.

As I mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, starting from 2010, a new cash registration system has become obligatory to all restaurants, and according to the numbers from 2010, registered turnover increased drastically; however, bankruptcies also increased by 14%. The president of Sveriges Hotell och Restaurangföretagare⁵² links this incident with the new cash registration system (www.svt.se). In other words, it became harder to work 'black' with the new system, and it led to bankruptcies because some small restaurants heavily relied on 'black' labor. This is generally in line with the entrepreneurs' opinion in the research sample. Some of them argue that it would not be possible to survive if they pay tax according to laws:

In most of the places, owners can't pay the proper salary according to the rules. It is impossible. What are they going to do? Are they going to give all their money to the employees, while they also work seven days a week, 12-14 hours a day? They have to cheat, there is no other way. Do they want me to close the restaurant and have 4 more unemployed who live on the State? (Necip)

However, it is not the case for most of the restaurants in the sample, i.e. they would not go bankrupt if they pay taxes and salaries in accordance with the law⁵³.

Some entrepreneurs claimed that they are subjected to discrimination during controls, and interestingly, most of the ones who articulated this opinion moved to Sweden via Denmark (Ceyhun, İsmail, Yusuf, Bahadır, Caglar): "They are really oppressing. They come just too often. You know, this branch has a really bad reputation now, and when you are a migrant, they don't let you breathe" (Caglar).

On the other hand, a few entrepreneurs see controls as being useful, helpful, and necessary to build a common ground for fair competition⁵⁴, although they add that sometimes controls focus on insignificant details and miss the bigger picture (Oner, Emre). Even Ahmet said that

the discrimination claim is ridiculous because the ones responsible for these controls at Malmö Kommun generally have foreign backgrounds. Necip also agreed with Ahmet that there is no discrimination in regards to controls, but he brought up another dimension:

The ones that started working for the Tax Office with foreign backgrounds are the problem. They misinterpret the position they have; they feel like they need to show that they have the power. Maybe in the countries they come from having a post or a uniform really means something, but it is not ok to behave like that here. They overlook people.

The other way of getting in touch with official institutions is having support via recruitment. Six of the entrepreneurs (Ceyhun, İsmail, Yusuf, Koray, Emre, Bahadır) employed staff via Arbetsförmedlingen, an institution who pays the employees salaries, leaving only relevant taxes to be paid by the restaurants. In this way they can reduce employment expenditure and keep their competitive prices. When I discussed how it is common to recruit workers via Arbetsförmedlingen, the representative of Arbetsförmedlingen was surprised. Unfortunately they did not have any direct relation with the small-scale restaurant owners, but only with big companies. It is the workers themselves who find the restaurants, armed with a paper in-hand that indicates Arbetsförmedlingen will pay their salaries. Ali stated that it is not a useful way of recruitment, although he actually has one employee, the pizza-baker, who initially started as an intern via Arbetsförmedlingen:

The ones who recruit employees as interns via Arbetsförmedlingen, I reckon, are the unserious ones. Because these interns leave the restaurants after they work for six months. Then either they open their own places, since they learn the job a bit, or they continue living on social service. I don't take interns anymore, I tried, but apart from one person, it did not work with the others. They are not committed; they don't take the job serious.

Necip is more open to the idea of recruiting workers via institutions. Since he has permanent workers already, he said he does not mind if an extra person comes and helps out a bit. He also hires summer interns via the municipality. Some troublesome 16-year-old children, as

part of their rehabilitation, work in various places for a couple of weeks during the summer, and they get paid from Malmö Kommun. Necip told me that he had three such students in the summer of 2010, and during one of my visits, I saw that one of them who had Somalia as his birthplace. Necip also regarded this recruitment practice in the terms of a social responsibility, i.e. by hiring these interns; he is helping them to integrate into the job market.

Another supportive service for migrant entrepreneurs is the state's contribution of money for starting a business. If someone is registered with the Arbetsförmedlingen, or working, and they want to start a business, he or she would get six months of payment equivalent to their former salary or formal social contribution payment. Yet, none of the entrepreneurs in my sample used such contribution.

* * *

One other way that entrepreneurs indebt themselves to institutions occurs during financing. Only four entrepreneurs of sixteen stated that they did not use any bank loans in Sweden; two of them brought capital to Sweden from Denmark (Ceyhun, İsmail), and two others (Koray, Emre) used only family savings. This is against the general assumption about migrant entrepreneurs that they mainly rely on informal financial assistance (Miera, 2008: 761; Pecoud, 2004: 5). All the other entrepreneurs, twelve out of sixteen, used bank resources to solve their financial problems or to gather start-up capital. The assumption is that Muslims are traditionally reluctant to take loans from banks, as orthodox Islam prohibits interest, also conflicts the findings of the research (Basu & Altinay, 2002: 384).

Despite the fact that usage of bank loans is common, their stories reveal that it is not an easy mission. Caglar pointed out that he tried several banks before he could get an approval from a bank even though he had had a steady income in the previous two years and sector-related

education. Yusuf said it took six months to convince a bank to give him a loan. One obvious reason was that they needed a significant amount of money, and the other reason was that they had done business for a long time in Denmark, and after moving to Sweden, they did not have a banking system in the country. In the end, they mortgaged their house to acquire the loan.

Interestingly the entrepreneurs that moved from Denmark were boldly pessimistic about finding a bank loan, like Ceyhun: “It is worthless even to try to get a loan from the banks. They don’t give anything to restaurants, especially if you are an immigrant”.

Ahmet admitted that it has become really difficult to get a loan compared to the year he started his business, 1983. He said in those days, it was enough to present a reasonable plan to assure a bank loan. As an example, he said managed to get around 500,000 SEK in a bank loan when he decided to buy the restaurant despite the fact that he literally had no money. However, he stressed that now in order to get 50,000 SEK, you have to fulfill a list of requirements, like steady income or possession of a property. Ozan agrees with Emre, and he puts the blame on migrant entrepreneurs to explain the change in the banks’ approach. He claimed that many did not pay the loans back and declare fake bankruptcies, then they opened new restaurants under their wives’ names, or they took a bank loan just before they decided to permanently move back to their homelands and therefore with the intention of never paying back the loan. In this sense, according to Ahmet, the new entrepreneurs carry the burden of others who exploited the ‘Swedish system’.

According to research done on the financial funding of migrant businesses, governmental financial support is an important factor in influencing financial funding of migrant entrepreneurship (Kushnirovich & Heilbrunn, 2008: 182), however migrant entrepreneurs in Malmö, at least in my research sample, do not seem to benefit from any form of support even

though there is an actual program declared by the government for this purpose with a budget of 60 million SEK (www.tilvaxtsverket.se):

Foreigners have the highest rate of unemployment, but the lowest likelihood to have had access funds made available for self-employment. (Wilpert, 2003: 238)

* * *

In general, a ‘distance’ can be observed between the entrepreneurs and the outside mechanisms, and on a broader level between the ‘migrants’ and the ‘Swedish’ state. It is partly because of the fact that institutional controls in northern European countries are stronger than the others (Tuzin & Nijkamp, 2009: 392). Entrepreneurs feel like they are mistrusted and excluded by the state. Meanwhile, the state institutions feel like the entrepreneurs are cheating them. It is the state institutions goal to solve this problem.

Jonas Frykman and Kjell Hansen did research on the common practice of sick leave in northern Sweden and found that the number is almost doubly higher when compared to the southern and more industrialized parts of Sweden (Frykman & Hansen, 2007: 121). One of the reasons behind this disparity is the mistrust and suspicion regarding the central state organization, and the other, in relation to this common mistrust, is the common norm that it is ethically acceptable to cheat on the State. (Frykman & Hansen, 2007: 130, 137). How this ‘distance’ can be closed should be the main concern with tax evasion, otherwise, as Ozan stated, if one really wants to earn ‘black’, there is always a way.

The fact that Skatteverket, Arbetsförmedlingen, and Kommun have web pages and brochures, even available in different languages, to encourage migrant entrepreneurship and provide useful information is important. Even in the city library there is a section reserved for future migrant entrepreneurs. Nevertheless, it is also important to find ways for direct

communication to reduce the problems due to misunderstandings and to hinder the possible ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ confrontation. There are already entrepreneurs who have not negative ideas about the controls and the outside organizations; it would be a good opportunity if these institutions establish links with them instead of only imposing controls.

4.2. Do entrepreneurs need advice?

After calling the same phone number about twenty times within a month, I finally managed to reach to an adviser from the IFS⁵⁵ and convince her to have an interview with me. The office of the IFS in Malmö is located in the city centre, in a fancy building. After getting there at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, I rang the bell from the outside door and introduced myself and my intention to the voice that was talking to me via a speaker. I was let in to the building where I waited in a finely decorated waiting area for around ten minutes for my informant. The interior design was chic, modern, and sterile. The first thing I thought was how the atmosphere inside did not match the feeling I had gotten from the migrant entrepreneurs I had interviewed. The brochure from IFS was in my hand stating the following:

IFS' purpose is to stimulate and increase entrepreneurship among migrant groups, raise competence among individual migrant entrepreneurs, and work to improve the climate with regards to migrant entrepreneurship.

* * *

Apart from the control and support mechanisms, although not as determinant as them, there are free-of-charge advice mechanisms at everyone's disposal, including the migrant entrepreneurs. Some of them only provide information online and via brochures, like the Tillväxtverket⁵⁶ who only provide information on their internet site 'www.verksam.se'. While others provide advisors with whom it is possible to book a personal appointment, like

the agency NyföretagarCentrum⁵⁷. There are dozens of institutions available to future entrepreneurs, and most of them have a specific target group, to give example there is Drivhuset⁵⁸, which is only available to university students. Some of them are throughout the entire country, like Coompanion⁵⁹, and there are also available regional organizations too, like FöretagServiceiSkåne⁶⁰. In all of the advice organizations' brochures and web sites, there is a call for new enterprises and entrepreneurs that Sweden needs and they emphasize that new ideas and new enterprises are mandatory in order to sustain and improve the country's development⁶¹:

There is a big need for new enterprises! The majority of the giant companies that employ important amounts of Swedish people, like Ericsson, AstraZeneca, and Volvo were all established before the 1950s. Now we need new companies. Because without new companies there will not be new jobs. (www.drivhuset.se)

The IFS was founded in 1996 by the Social Democrat government of the time. The Malmö office opened two years later, in 1999. The association was founded as only an advice mechanism in the beginning, and it lacked the ability to provide financial support until it started to function under the organization of ALMI in 2007⁶². In this sense, it can be said that it is the IFS who is responsible for advice giving to migrant entrepreneurs, and ALMI supplies loaning alternatives⁶³. The advisor from IFS who I interviewed pointed out that all of the advisors, who already have university degrees, got extra certificates after starting collaboration with ALMI so that they were able to also deal with the financial aspect.

All of the advisors of IFS are also 'migrants', who are able to give advice in a broad range of languages. However, in Malmö, there were only five advisors working, and not one of them could speak Turkish. The advisor who I interviewed summarized the advice giving process as follows:

They (migrant entrepreneurs) should be in touch with the schools, university, Job Center or Tax Office. When they want to start a business they are recommended to be in touch with us. (...) People find a place, they buy it, then they start the business, but they do not know about the taxes, they don't know about VAT⁶⁴, they don't know about different certificates they need. They know about bureaucracy very little. So when we meet them for the first time we ask them what they want to do. It is the starting question. If you would like to start a restaurant you need to, first of all, be in touch with the environment department, because you need to get permission to run the business, special things you need to invest in this place, ventilation system, special toilets for the customers etc. There are different rules for different branches. Depends on what you want to run. Then we sit down, if you are unemployed and registered in Job Center, you can apply for "start a business" contribution money. (...) Before getting in touch with different organizations, you get information from us about when you have to go, and who can help you.

Later the budget plan and the financial organization of the business are discussed, and in case of need, IFS advisors help the entrepreneurs to apply for a loan either from ALMI or from banks. The advisor stressed that their advice is not limited to bureaucratic procedures and financial planning:

If someone comes here and says, 'I would like to open a restaurant', then we ask what kind of restaurant (...). So we can say, ok you would like to open that kind of a restaurant, but there are five more in the same street of the same kind, then we give the advice, "I do not think that you would be successful. So you need to find another place, or maybe different food, or something like this." Then we can recommend also what you have to do with marketing and selling. We also have courses that are for free for our customers in bookkeeping, selling, marketing, and networking.

During my interviews with entrepreneurs in Malmö, none of the sixteen entrepreneurs had heard of IFS. Most of them were surprised to hear that there is an advice organization particularly for migrant entrepreneurs.

Necip stated some new entrepreneurs ask advice from him since he is experienced in the branch. It seems like asking friends and relatives is a common way of seeking advice. Koray has a similar view with Necip. He stated that the ones who open restaurants have some

familiarity with the business anyway, and people prefer to talk to friends and other people who are already in the business. If one needs to know about the procedures, he thought that the person is able to check on the internet, so it is unnecessary to go to an institution to learn about things you can just read and find out about by yourself. Just like Necip, Koray stated that many people come to him and ask about things like how and where to buy kitchen equipment, etc. The advisor from IFS agrees on the fact that people mostly rely on their friends:

They think that it is enough (to consult to friends). On the other hand, in Malmö. 34 percent of the population has a foreign background; we cannot help all of them. If somebody wants to get in contact with us, he or she can.(...) Sometimes people are a little afraid to come to us because they think about how the system works in their own countries. They do not want to be in touch with us.

Koray thinks that people might feel distrust to a stranger outside the organization, that they might be interrogated, for instance, about their capital, i.e. how they found the money to start a place, etc. He stated that controls in this branch are so intensive, and people think that it is better not to be so visible. They therefore do not want to get into contact with any outside institution if it is not necessary. The IFS advisor agreed with the argument that there is a trust issue, and their situation of being in the middle of the migrant entrepreneurs and the control mechanisms is not easy. To my question, “how IFS can solve the problem that migrants might associate IFS with control mechanisms”, the IFS advisor’s answer was pessimistic and also essentialist. She thinks that it is all about ‘culture’:

It is a difficult question, because some different cultures live in the same way as they do in their home countries. So when they come to Sweden, they would like to live in the same way. When they meet us, it is different. Because we are telling them about the rules, we cannot say anything else. So it is up to them to change their thinking. We cannot change them; we can only say you have to pay all these taxes. If you don’t do it, the tax office will come and close your restaurant. We cannot support you, and give you loan. A lot of people who want to buy a restaurant come here to get advice. If a restaurant’s

Migrant Entrepreneurs in Malmö: *The Case of Restaurant Owners from Turkey*

balance sheet is minus, then we say we cannot support you, because we don't know how you are going to survive with this money. We say, 'Sure we know that you earn on 'black', but we don't have it on the paper, so in this case we cannot do anything.' We go by the rules. We work for people who pay their taxes in Sweden. In this way, we exist and help other people who would like to pay their taxes. I think it is much about the culture. They say, 'The other person works this way, so I can also work this way. (..)' But I think when they leave the room they do the same as what their neighbor does.

Caglar, who once decided to open a private advice office for 'migrants', admitted that he did not know about IFS either, but that he thinks it is IFS's responsibility to reach migrant entrepreneurs:

These kinds of institutions do not advertise themselves. They take money from the government, and sit in their offices. Even I did not have any idea about this organization. I am here for seven years, running a restaurant for four years, and I am personally interested in working as a consultant to other migrants.

Ali also agrees with the opinion that it is IFS' duty to reach entrepreneurs, stating that he had never heard of IFS before. On the other hand, when I shared this information with the advisor from IFS, she rejected the argument that they do not try enough to reach migrant entrepreneurs:

No, of course we are advertising ourselves. We are on the TV and in the newspapers. We also have a website, we are at the library, we are at SFI⁶⁵ courses. People who learn Swedish in the beginning hear about us (...). Last year, we also organized a big meeting in Rosengård⁶⁶.

The advisor from IFS stressed that there were already 450 new customers in 2010, in the first five months, and about 20% percent of them started their business. Every year the number of 'migrants' they give service and advice to is rising. She also stated that the financial crisis triggered more people to start their own business. There are only five advisors, and almost half of Malmö's population has a 'foreign background'. They would not be able to reach more people than they currently give advice to anyway⁶⁷.

Institutions are not the only actors in the advice area. After Ali's cousin visited him and had lunch together with Ali's older brother, Ali told me that his cousin works as an advisor to 'migrants'. Ali stated that his cousin speaks English, Swedish, and Danish in addition to his mother languages Turkish and Kurdish, that he works as an informal consultant, and that he 'fixes' problems for 'migrants'. Ali claimed that his cousin earns so much that he bought three restaurants with the money he earned from consultancy:

He does anything, whatever you need. He has been doing this thing for twenty years and everyone knows of him in Malmö and in Copenhagen, that there is one guy who can fix things. For instance, you need to be registered at an address, he fixes it, takes your 2000 SEK, let's say. If you want to sell your house and you don't know how to find a customer, he finds one. If you need to get a loan from a bank, he will come with you because he knows how the system works and knows people everywhere. He will then take a percentage from the loan. Do you need to have a residence permit? He finds you a wife in one day, or a job on paper, but it sure costs.

The fact that Ali's cousin does such a wide range of jobs for people, from printing a personbevis⁶⁸ at Skatteverket, to filling out a form for a visa application, to arranging a fake marriage gives him a competitive position in the 'consultancy' market. Ali told me that some restaurant owners also go to him in order to get a bank loan or to fix a certain license.

Caglar, who himself planned to open his own consultancy office for 'migrants' told me that he knows at least four more people who do more or less the same job as Ali's cousin. One of them is in the informal market; however, the other three are working partly informal and partly formal. Those that work in the formal market have offices, and they function as consultants in recruitment offices. Meanwhile those that work informally, as Caglar claimed, send workers to Denmark from Malmö to work 'black' there, and they also fix residence permits for people in need, often by arranging fake marriages and fake jobs. The price for this service ranges from 100,000 SEK to 150,000, according to Caglar.

Unlike IFS, Ali's cousin and other migrant advisors are reachable by telephone. Ali's cousin has personal contact with almost all the entrepreneurs who speak Turkish and Kurdish, Ali claimed. Since these migrant advisors are located within the margins of the informal economy, they do not pose a threat for the entrepreneurs. Although these advisors cost a deal, even for little things like filling in a form, migrants still prefer to consult them instead of trying to search for free-of-charge consultancy services like IFS.

Conclusion

A. Is it ethical to do provide knowledge on 'co-ethnics'?

As a part of our thesis writing process we had to present our thesis to our classmates and lecturers in our department. There were about twenty students and five academics, and for my presentation, I had about five minutes to summarize the process I followed and what my thesis was regarding. After the presentation, three fellow classmates who had read my thesis draft in advance started sharing their comments. Firstly, they talked about the structure of the thesis and some parts that were not particularly clearly or neatly written. Later, the discussion focused on me personally and the fact that I am also from Turkey and that I am providing knowledge about migrants from Turkey and how this is a fundamental part of my thesis. They added that I needed to further reflect upon this and make myself more present in the text. My first reaction was that I felt exposed and uncomfortable, as if they stated that the thesis would not carry the same importance if I came from another country. However, I later realized that I do constitute an important part of my research, as being an insider as well as an outsider. It is also a question of ethics and morality to reflect upon my role:

Certainly, anthropologists must respect and promote the rights of those affected by their work, but one of those affected is the anthropologist. The researcher is in a continuing dialogical relation with those studied, no matter what the imbalances of power between them; there are no monologues in anthropological research, even when attempted. (Osborne 1993: 5,6)

* * *

During the period when I was conducting my fieldwork, I informed all the restaurant owners⁶⁹ about the goal of the thesis, what its main issue was, where it was going to be presented, and how it could be used. In ethnical debates about anthropological research, it is seen as primary and

fundamental that the people who can be affected by the research are provided information and are asked for their consent (Marshall, 1992: 1). I was also careful in my thesis to present all parties involved as anonymous personalities, as this is in line with the accepted research ethics within the field.

However, in doing anthropological research as a researcher, we always find ourselves in unique situations, and even though we have basic ethical guidelines concerning the conducting of research, we need to evaluate each case separately:

Like other applied social scientists, anthropologists often confront unique ethical challenges because of the special nature of their research and the subjects with whom they work. (Marshall, 1992: 1)

In my case, I confronted my informants with multiple identities. I was coming from the same country, which generates a feeling of solidarity. I was a vulnerable student living in a foreign country, leading them to show pity and sympathy. Lastly, I was well educated and coming from the biggest metropolis of Turkey, which made my company enjoyable. In addition, the fact that the majority of the employees and employers in my sample were male, I did not need to deal with any ‘gender barrier’. These multiple identities paved the way for the giving of excessive information, including some that can be troublesome for them to give.

In this sense, I carried an extra responsibility about what I was going to do with their trust, hence creating an experience of an inner conflict (Simmons, 2007: 14). Is the knowledge I would provide weaken the migrant entrepreneurs or empowers them? Do I simply contribute to the governmentality of minorities in Malmö, or would I help them to vocalize themselves (Pels, 2008: 291)?

In almost every interview, I had the feeling that they put me into the role of a ‘journalist’ - against my will - who would make their voices heard. Even one of the owners, as a joke, introduced me to a customer as a journalist. Journalists generally neglect their stories, and

they wanted me to play a role in helping them to vocalize their frustrations and complaints since they finally had the chance to speak out and be heard. On the other hand, as a researcher my responsibility is not to just make their voices heard in a way they would like. While I was taking pictures of Restaurant Antalya, Ceyhun wanted me to take the pictures of the ‘beautiful’ parts of the restaurants and to use only those images in my thesis, as if it was an advertisement for his restaurant, but it was not.

Especially after the 1960s, there has been a growing trend among anthropologists of siding with the oppressed as part of a greater moral obligation. This is in reaction to the colonialist past of the school system (Comitas, 2000: 202). However, unlike early anthropology studies in the colonial era, my research field is subject to more complex power relations than just the confrontation of the dichotomous oppressor and the oppressed. Swedish institutions, customers, migrant entrepreneurs, migrant workers, female service workers, and undocumented labor are all related to each other in different ways, which makes it not easy to ‘take a clear side’. What I tried to do during my thesis writing process was to not only empower my informants by vocalizing them and stressing their diversity, but also by putting them into a broader context consisting of drifting power relationships.

B. What are the findings of the research?

While I was walking in Möllevången with a recent female acquaintance, I offered to take her to lunch at the Restaurant Padisah, which has a cheap lunch menu. She was surprised that I knew all the waiters at the restaurant by name, and that the headwaiter refused to take money from us. After leaving the restaurant, she wondered if I ate at Restaurant Padisah often, or if they were my relatives, because I seemed very familiar with the place. With the feeling that I could finally proudly present my educational and intellectual background, I told her that as

part of the research I did for my thesis, I came to the restaurant quite often and interviewed the owner and the employees. She was impressed, but wanted to know what sort of conclusion I had drawn from my research. I could talk about my thesis for hours, tell her the entrepreneurs' amazing life stories, point out the peculiarities of each restaurant, share dozens of interesting anecdotes, but I realized then that my conclusion was unclear even to me. I realized that it would take a while to crystallize my fieldwork of six of months into bullet points.

B.1. Common assumptions on migrant entrepreneurs can be misleading

There are several assumptions or reifications about migrant entrepreneurs from Turkey in the relevant literature that does not fit the research sample of my thesis.

In contrast to some of the literature on migrant restaurants, the restaurants in this sample have a broad clientele. None of them inclusively serve to other 'Turkish' 'migrants', and very few of them have migrants as their major customer profile. To the contrary, the majority of the restaurants in this sample sell food to 'Swedish' customers.

The belief that migrant entrepreneurs only rely on cheap 'co-ethnic' labor is not proved in the sample. Even small-scale restaurants have a tendency to employ workers from other migrant groups instead of hiring workers that come from Turkey, and all the middle and large-scale restaurants' personnel are greatly varied in their country of origin. It is also quite common to employ 'Swedish' restaurant workers, although it is limited to only females.

The assumption that migrant entrepreneurs do business with the help of their cultural capital is another common point in the literature (Putz, 2002: 555). Since they bring unique knowledge about particular goods and know-how from their homelands, they are supposed to gain a competitive position (Rath & Kloosterman, 2000: 660). However, in the research

sample there are only three self-declared ‘Turkish’ restaurants, and three more sell the popular specialty *kebab*. The common concept of “ethnic entrepreneurship” does not really explain most of the enterprises (Coenni 1997, in Rath & Kloosterman, 2000: 666).

There is also a common idea that ‘migrants’ are choosing to be self-employed to avoid unemployment⁷⁰. According to this belief, being self-employed, in many cases, it is not worth it, as one earns similar to what one would make with unemployment benefits (Hjerm, 2004: 749). My sample shows that the overwhelming majority enjoys being entrepreneurs, and they would not chose a paid job in exchange working at their actual restaurants.

One more generalization in the literature is that the economic activities of the migrant entrepreneurs from Turkey often carry a religious tone (Metcalf et al. 1996: 22). Although all of the entrepreneurs in my sample are ‘officially’ Muslims, their approaches to Islam show a great variety (Altinay, 2008: 118). Only six venues do not sell pork even though prohibition on the eating and selling of pork is accepted as an important identifying practice that separates Muslims and Jews from others (Narayan, 1995: 5). Similarly ten places out of sixteen are exclusively selling alcohol, and the rest are places for which getting an alcohol license is almost impossible.

I am not arguing that the common literature is not based on facts - it might be, given a different context. However the conclusions of the literature simply do not work in my sample. Therefore, it is important not to take the short and easy way and treat all the migrants, even migrants from Turkey, as a homogeneous entity. It is essential to appreciate their very practices by exploring them.

B.2. Every migrant entrepreneur is individual, it needs to be appreciated

All of the restaurants mentioned throughout the thesis, together with their owners, their interior and their menus, have separate stories, different challenges, and distinct strategies. In that sense, it is important to appreciate every entrepreneur and restaurant in their own special uniqueness.

Although it is possible to state that there is some sort of network, and some of the entrepreneurs do follow certain patterns that have been discussed by others in previous research, the relationship between them is weak and discrete. The restaurants in this sample do not function as informal community centers (Gabaccia, 1998: 78). The entrepreneurs who sell 'non-ethnic' food are unwilling to reveal their country of origin to the wider public and therefore, they prefer to establish networks outside of the 'co-ethnic' clusters.

Apart from being migrants from Turkey, all of the entrepreneurs carry multiple identities. Despite the literature, the entrepreneurs who have originated from Turkey are generally lumped together under the title of 'Turkish' entrepreneurs (Constant et al, 2003; Basu & Altinay, 2002; Tuzin & Nijkamp, 2009), even though many of them come from different. Migrants do not behave as 'communities', i.e. they are never built on common and homogenous ethnicity or race (Putz 2001:558). It is not only ontologically wrong, but also misleading for further conclusions. In reality there are *communities within communities as well as cultures across communities* (Baumann, 1996: 10). Each entrepreneur practices a peculiar trans-identical experience (Pecoud, 2004: 13). That is to say, they sometimes switch between identities, and sometimes they hybridize them.

They also have different attitudes regarding religion, host society, or country of origin (Miera 2008: 757). They develop different reactions to outside factors, such as controls regulated by the institutions. They show variety when it comes to their relation with the informal economy.

Their restaurants are not alike, their target customers are different, and they sell food of a great variety.

In this sense, it would be wise to avoid generalizations when it comes to migrant entrepreneurs, as it is often done by policy makers and academics. It is necessary to appreciate the peculiarities of agents (Putz, 2001: 557). Qualitative research methods are convenient tools, and curious minds that challenge biases are essential.

B.3. A busy restaurant is one with a strategy

In order to attract customers, restaurants need to have a clear and coherent strategy about what they are going to sell, what sort of customers they target, and which kind of atmosphere and experience they offer.

An eclectic restaurant, which does not have a clear strategy fails to offer an experience, and fail in convincing customers about its genuineness. Instead of bringing together disharmonic elements like combining a pizzeria, bar and fine dinner restaurant together, migrants should focus on one major aspect and develop it.

When the offered experience is incomplete, it can create a negative value. This was the case for the restaurants in the sample that offered ‘Turkish’ food. Instead of creating an extra value, they were boxing themselves into negative stereotypes. Therefore, the restaurants that do not self-label themselves as ethnic restaurants and which do not sell any food associated with migrants are in general more successful in reaching a higher numbers of customers and selling their food at a better price.

The internationality was another working strategy that was spotted during the research. The usage of internationally recognized symbols and food can help migrant entrepreneurs to

camouflage their background and to relocate themselves in the market at a higher position by making use of the affinity of Sweden to the international world, especially to the USA.

Most of the entrepreneurs in the sample have the intention to create a ‘homely’ atmosphere in the restaurants, i.e. the restaurant staff feel like they are at home and the customers feel relaxed and welcomed. In most of the restaurants, it was working well as a marketing strategy. In this sense, it is important to keep the intimate atmosphere and show personal interest in the customers at the restaurants.

B.4. The food sold in the restaurants are outcomes of complex negotiations at local and global level, it is crucial to read the dynamics for successful business

Food is the main substance at the restaurants and the reason for their existence. As it is shown in the thesis, there are great numbers of factors – from globalization, to international fashion, to micro dynamics of local market, to customer preference and personal stories – determining what sort of food is supposed to be sold at a particular restaurant and in which style.

In this sense, it is difficult to take static ways of labeling food as ‘authentic’ or ‘global’ seriously. But the more important thing is to acknowledge the exceptional dynamism going on around a single plate of food and to understand its complexness.

An entrepreneur needs be aware of these ongoing negotiations and its dynamic and ever-changing nature in order to be successful. To avoid harsh price-cutting competition a deep understanding of this process, reading new trends, being open to new hybridizations, and keeping an ‘innovative spirit’ is mandatory.

B.5. Mistrust and miscommunication is the case between entrepreneurs and the official institutions; a reform is needed.

In Chapter III, it is shown that miscommunication and mistrust are the main concepts when it comes to describing the relationship between migrant entrepreneurs and ‘outside’ institutions. The majority of migrant entrepreneurs have been involved with informal economy, to different degrees, in order to sustain low prices (Jones et al, 2006: 145). Therefore, they are trying to avoid any contact with any sort of outside institution. Even the ones avoiding informal economy have complaints about the controls being done, claiming that the attitude of the control institutions is not constructive. Many of them think that migrant restaurants have become scapegoats. In order to avoid this situation, for efficiency in controls, and for a more functioning business climate, a dialogical relationship needs to be constructed, and the us vs. them confrontations need to be eliminated.

Similarly, existing advice mechanisms do not have organic contact with the entrepreneurs. They have limited capacity, and they rely only on indirect advertisements. Even if they start reaching out to the entrepreneurs, there is a risk that they will be seen as part of the control mechanisms. To enhance their capacity and radically reform their relations to entrepreneurs, I think it would be meaningful to encourage the operation of private consultancy mechanisms that can provide financial support to entrepreneurs. In this sense, it would also be possible to restrict the effect of the informal advisors’ function in the ‘black’ market.

References

- Akgunduz, A. (1993). Labor migration from Turkey to Western Europe (1960 – 1974). *Capital & Class*, 17, 153-194.
- Altinay, L. & Altinay, E. (2008). Factors influencing business growth: the rise of Turkish entrepreneurship in the UK. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*, 12:1, 24-46.
- Altinay, L. (2008). The Relationship between an entrepreneur's culture and the entrepreneurial behavior of the firm. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 15:1, 111-129.
- Andersson, P. & Wadensjö, E. (2004). Why do self-employed immigrants in Denmark and Sweden have such low incomes?. *IZA Discussion Paper Series*.
- Bailey, J. R. & Eastman, W. N. (1994). Positivism and the promise of social sciences. *Theory Psychology*, 4, 505-524.
- Basu, A. & Altinay, E. (2002). The interaction between culture and entrepreneurship in London's immigrant businesses. *International Small Business Journal*, 20, 371-393.
- Baumann, G. (1996). *Contesting Culture: Discourses of Identity in Multi-ethnic London*.
- Belasco, W. (2008). *Food: The Key Concepts*
- Bevelander, P. & Lundh, C. (2007). Employment integration of refugees: the influence of local factors on refugee job opportunities in Sweden. *IZA Discussion Papers*.
- Bevelander, P. (2011). The employment integration of resettled refugees, asylum claimants, and family reunion migrants in Sweden. *Research Survey Quarterly*, 30:1, 22-43.
- Bevelander, P., Broomé, P., Dahlstedt, I. & Schölin, T. (2010). *Företagare i Skåne: kartläggning och analys av inrikes och utrikes födda företagare*.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*
- Bruinessen, M. (1996), Kurds, Turks and the Alevi revival in Turkey. *Middle East Report*, 200, 7-10.
- Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing Gender*.
- Caglar, A. (1995), McDöner. Döner kebab and the social positioning struggle of German Turks. *Marketing in a Multicultural World: Ethnicity, Nationalism and Cultural Identity*, 209-230.
- Carlbom, A. (2003). *The Imagined versus the Real Other*.

Migrant Entrepreneurs in Malmö: *The Case of Restaurant Owners from Turkey*

- Carswell P. & Rolland D. (2007). Religion and entrepreneurship in New Zealand. *Journal Of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy*, 1:2, 162-174.
- Cohen, E. (1988). Authenticity and commoditization in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15, 371-386.
- Coleman, S. & Crang, M. (2002). *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*.
- Comitas, L. (2000). Ethics in anthropology: dilemmas and conundrums. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 925:1, 196-210.
- Constant, A. & Zimmermann, K. F. (2003). What makes an entrepreneur and does it pay? Native men, Turks, and other migrants in Germany. *IZA Discussion Papers*.
- Essers, C. & Benschop, Y. (2009). Muslim businesswomen doing boundary work: the negotiation of Islam, gender and ethnicity within entrepreneurial contexts. *Human Relations*, 62:3, 403-423.
- Firat, F. (1995). Consumer culture or culture consumed?. *Marketing in a Multicultural World*, 105-126.
- Fischer, F. (2003). *Reframing Public Policy*.
- Florida, R. (2003). *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community, and Everyday Life*.
- Frykman, J. & Gilje, N. (2003), *Being There: New perspectives on Phenomenology and the Analysis of Culture*.
- Frykman, J. & Kjell, H. (2007). Welfare state, health and local culture. *MACA TOOLBOX*, 121-141.
- Gabaccia, D. R. (1998). *Ethnic food and the Making of Americans*.
- Galbraith, C. S., Rodriguez, C. L. & Stiles, H. C. (2007). Social capital as a club good: the case of ethnic communities and entrepreneurship. *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy*, 1:1, 38-53.
- Gans, J. H. (1999). Participant observation in the era of ethnography. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 28:5, 540-548.
- Gras, M & Bovenkerk, F. (1999). Migrants and ethnic minorities in the Netherlands: discrimination in access to employment. *Migrants, Ethnic Minorities and the Labor Market*.
- Grigoriadis, I. N. (2009). Islam and democratization in Turkey: secularism and trust in a divided society. *Democratization*, 16:6, 1194-1213.
- Held, D., McGrew, A., Goldblatt, D. & Perraton, C. (1999). *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics, Culture*.

Migrant Entrepreneurs in Malmö: *The Case of Restaurant Owners from Turkey*

Heldke, L. (2003). *Exotic Appetites: Ruminations of a Food Adventurer*.

Hermelin, B. (2005). Recruitment procedures in the construction of labor market relations. The ethnic divide in Sweden. *Geografiska Annaler*, 87:3.

Hernandez, M. (2007). Forming family identity in an American Chinese restaurant: one person's transformational process. *Restaurants Book: Ethnographies of Where We Eat*, 25-35.

Hjerm, N. M. (2004). Immigrant entrepreneurship in the Swedish welfare state. *Sociology*, 38:4, 739-756.

Hurdley, R. (2007). Focal points: framing material culture and visual data. *Qualitative Research*, 7, 355-374.

Jackson, M. (2005). The space of appearances in existential anthropology.

Jarratt, D. G. (1996). A comparison of two alternative interview techniques used within an integrated research design: a case study in outshopping using semi-structured and non-directed interview techniques. *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*, 14:6, 6-15.

Jonsson, H. & Ekelund, L. (2009). How does modernity taste?.

Jonsson, H. (2005). A land of milk and money. *Magic, Culture and the New Economy*, 105-117.

Keifer, N. M. (2002). Economics and the origin of the restaurant. *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly*, August.

Kobayashi, A. (1993). Representing a Canadian institution. *Place/Culture/Representation*, 205-231.

Krishnendu, R. (2008). Ethnic succession and the new American restaurant cuisine. *The Restaurants Book: Ethnographies of Where We Eat*, 97-115.

Kushnirovich, N. & Heilbrunn, S. (2008). Financial funding of immigrant businesses. *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, 13: 2, 167-184.

Labaree, R. V. (2002). The risk of 'going observationalist': negotiating the hidden dilemmas of being an insider participant observer. *Qualitative Research*, 2, 97-122.

Latour, B. (1999). Pandora's hope: essays on the reality of science studies.

Lenn, W. (2007). Daughters, duty and deference in the Franco-Chinese restaurant. *Restaurants Book: Ethnographies of Where We Eat*, 133-151.

Levie, J. (2007). Immigration, in-migration, ethnicity and entrepreneurship in the United Kingdom. *Small Business Economics*, 28, 143-169.

Light, I. & Bonacich, E. (1988). *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Koreans in Los Angeles 1965 – 1982*.

Migrant Entrepreneurs in Malmö: *The Case of Restaurant Owners from Turkey*

- Maranhao, T. (1986). The hermeneutics of participant observation. *Dialectical Anthropology*, 10, 291-309.
- Marshall, P. A. (1992). Research ethics in applied anthropology. *IRB: Ethics and Human Research*, 14:6, 1-5.
- May, T. (1998). *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Processes*.
- Metcalf, H., Modood, T. & Virdee, S. (1996). *Asian Self-Employment: The Interaction of Culture and Economics in England*.
- Miera, F. (2008). Transnational strategies of Polish migrant entrepreneurs in trade and small business in Berlin. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34:5, 753-770.
- Mintz, S. W. (1996). *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom: Excursions into Eating, Culture, and the Past*.
- Narayan, U. (1997). *Dislocating Cultures, Identities, Traditions and Third World Feminism*.
- O'Dell, T. (2005). *Experience-spaces*.
- O'Dell, T. (2008). Borders or careers in the cultural economy?. *KulturSverige 2009: Problemanalys och Statistic*, 154-158.
- O'Leary, Z. (2004). *Essential Guide to Doing Research*.
- Oliver, D. G., Serovich, J. M. & Masion, T. L. (2005). Constraints and opportunities with interview transcription: towards reflection in qualitative research. *Social Forces*, 84:2, 1273-1289.
- Osborne, W. T. (1993). The ethical Symbiosis between anthropologists and the peoples they study. *Anthropology Newsletter*, 34:9, 5-6.
- Oushi, N. (2005). *Women in Motion: Globalization, State Policies and Labor Migration in Asia*.
- Panayiotopoulos, P. I. (2008). Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in the European Union: a political-institutional approach. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*, 14:6, 395-413.
- Pare', S., Menzies, T. V., Filion, L. J. & Brenner, G. A. (2008). Social capital and co-leadership in ethnic enterprises in Canada. *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy*, 2:1, 52-72.
- Peck, J. (2006). *Work-place: The Social Regulation of Labor Markets*.
- Pécoud, A. (2003). Self-employment and immigrants' incorporation: the case of Turks in Germany. *Immigrants & Minorities*, 22:2/3, 247-261.

Migrant Entrepreneurs in Malmö: *The Case of Restaurant Owners from Turkey*

- Pécoud, A. (2004). Entrepreneurship and identity: cosmopolitanism and cultural competencies among German-Turkish businesspeople in Berlin. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30:1, 3-20.
- Pels, P. (2008). What has anthropology learned from the anthropology of colonialism?, *Social Anthropology*, 16:3, 280-299.
- Portes, A. (1995). Children of immigrants: segmented assimilation and its determinants. *The Economic Sociology of Immigration*, 248-281.
- Putz, R. (2002). Culture and entrepreneurship: remarks on transculturality as practice. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 94:5, 554-563.
- Quataert, D. (1997). Clothing Laws, State and the Society in the Ottoman Empire. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 29:3, 403-425.
- Ram, M., Sanghera, B., Abbas, T. & Barlow, G. (2000). Training and ethnic minority firms: the case of the independent restaurants. *Education & Training*, 42:4/5, 334-341.
- Rath, J. & Kloosterman, R. (2000). Outsiders' business: a critical review of research on immigrant entrepreneurship. *International Migration Review*, 34:3, 657-681.
- Rath, J. & Kloosterman, R. (2003). *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Venturing Abroad in the Age of Globalization*.
- Ray, K. (2007). Ethnic succession and the new American restaurant cuisine. *The Restaurant's Book: Ethnographies of Where We Eat*, 97-115.
- Ritzer, G. (2000). *The McDonaldisation of Society: New Century Edition*.
- Roudometof, V. (2005). Transnationalism, cosmopolitanism and glocalization. *Current Sociology*, 53:1, 113-135.
- Sahin, S. (2005). The rise of Alevism as a public religion. *Current Sociology*, 53, 465-485.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*.
- Sennett, R. (1976). *The Fall of Public Man*.
- Simmons, M. (2007). Insider ethnography: tinker, tailor, researcher or spy?. *Nurse Researcher*, 14:4, 4-17.
- Sims, R. (2009). Food, place and authenticity: local food and sustainable tourism experience. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 17:3, 321-336.
- Sunderland, P. L. & Denny, R. M. (2007). *Doing Anthropology in Consumer Research*.
- Sutton, D. & Beriss, D. (2007). Restaurants, ideal postmodern institutions. *The Restaurant's Book: Ethnographies of Where We Eat*, 1-17.

Migrant Entrepreneurs in Malmö: *The Case of Restaurant Owners from Turkey*

- Sutton, D. (2007). Tipping: an anthropological meditation. *The Restaurant's Book: Ethnographies of Where We Eat*, 191-205.
- Trevor J., Monder R. & Edwards P., (2006). Ethnic minority business and the employment of illegal immigrants. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 133-150.
- Trevor, J. & Monder, R. (2007). Re-embedding the ethnic business agenda. *Work Employment Society*, 21, 439-457.
- Tüzin, B. L & Nijkamp, P. (2009). Characteristics of migrant entrepreneurship in Europe. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 21:4, 375-397.
- Tuzin B. L., Enno M. & Nijkamp P. (2003). Diversity in entrepreneurship: ethnic and female roles in urban economic life. *International Journal Of Social Economics*, 30:11/12, 1131-1161.
- Ursem, S. (2010). Ethnic food is anti-multicultural. *Critical Concepts in Sociology*, 432-439.
- VanTubergen, F. (2005). Self-employment of immigrants: a cross-national study of 17 western societies. *Social Forces*, 84:2, 709-732.
- Wahlbeck, Ö. (2007). Work in the kebab economy: a study of Turkish immigrants in Finland. *Ethnicities*, 7, 543-563.
- Wallerstein, I. (1991). *Unthinking Social Science: The limits of Nineteen-Century Paradigms*.
- Wilk, R. (2006). The global supermarket. *Home Cooking in the Global Village*, 1-13.
- Wilpert, C. (2003). Germany: from workers to entrepreneurs. *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Venturing Abroad in the Age of Globalization*, 233-261.
- Wrench, J., Rea, A. & Ouali, N. (1999). Migrants, Ethnic Minorities and the Labor Market: Integration and Exclusion in Europe.

Online references

<http://almi.se/ALMI-in-English/>

http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/newsroom/cf/_getdocument.cfm?doc_id=3323

http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-BP-03-001/EN/KS-BP-03-001-EN.PDF

http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Glossary:EU-27

<http://onlinepizza.se/filer/Svenska-Pizzarapporten-2008-OnlinePizza-se.pdf>

http://oxforddictionaries.com/view/entry/m_en_gb0275130#m_en_gb0275130

Migrant Entrepreneurs in Malmö: *The Case of Restaurant Owners from Turkey*

<http://regeringen.se/sb/d/10742>

<http://svt.se/2.58360/1.2289999/>

<http://www.almi.se/ifs-radgivning/>

http://www.drivhuset.se/icms/om_drivhuset.html

<http://www.ifs.a.se/en/Olika-sprak/Engelska/Om-oss/>

<http://www.ifs.a.se/en/Om-IFS/>

http://www.jusek.se/templates/JK_SimplePage.aspx?id=54703

<http://www.mah.se/upload/GF/MIM/Malm%C3%B6M%C3%A5ngfald2008.pdf?epslanguage=sv>

http://www.malmo.com/swedish/thecity/the_bridge/welcome.asp?Menu=City

<http://www.malmo.se/download/18.5d8108001222c393c00800090343/Riktlinjer+f%C3%B6r+serveringstillst%C3%A5nd.pdf>

<http://www.malmo.se/download/18.76105f1c125780a6228800069675/Aktuellt-ombefolkningsutveckling-2009-2.pdf>

<http://www.malmo.se/Medborgare/Kultur--noje/Arkiv--historia/Kulturarv-Malmo/H-K/Kockums.html>

<http://www.migrationsinfo.se/arbetsmarknad/sysselsattning-bland-utrikes-fodda/effekter-av-finansskrisen/>

http://www.skane.se/Public/Naringsliv/Dokument/Rapporter/utrikes_fodda_fullversion.pdf

<http://www.ssd.scb.se/databaser/makro/Visavar.asp?yp=bergman&xu=scb&huvudtabell=UtlSvBakgTotNK&deltabell=K1&deltabellnamn=Antal+personer+med+utl%EDAndsk+eller+svensk+bakgrund+efter+kommun%2C+%OZANlder+i+tio%OZANrsklasser+och+k%F6n.+%C5r&omradekod=BE&omradetext=Befolkning&preskat=O&innehall=UtlSvBakg&starttid=2002&stopptid=2009&Prodid=BE0101&fromSok=&Fromwhere=S&lang=1&langdb=1>

http://www.svd.se/nyheter/utrikes/drommen-om-sverige_363556.svd

<http://www.tillvaxtverket.se/huvudmeny/programfortillvaxt/foretagaremedutlandskbakgrund.4.3c4088c81204cca906180008636.html>

<http://www.val.se/val/val2010/slutresultat/R/rike/index.html>

Appendix A. Research sample - Graphs

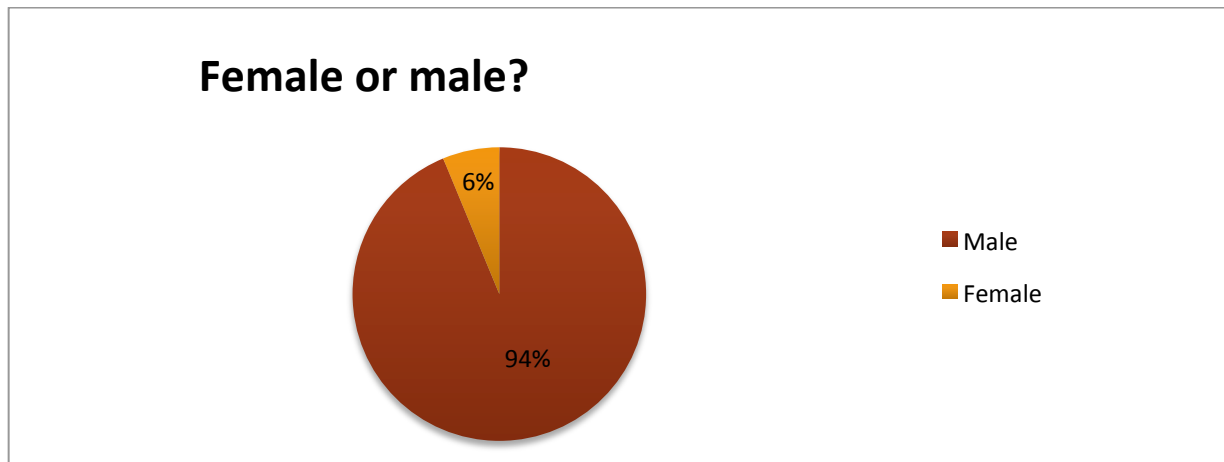


Figure 1

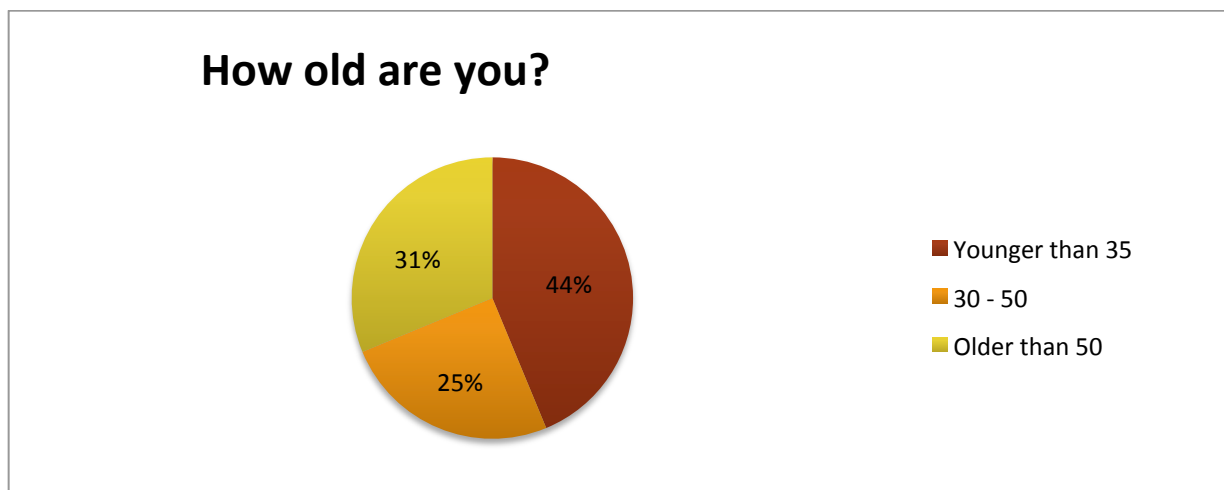


Figure 2

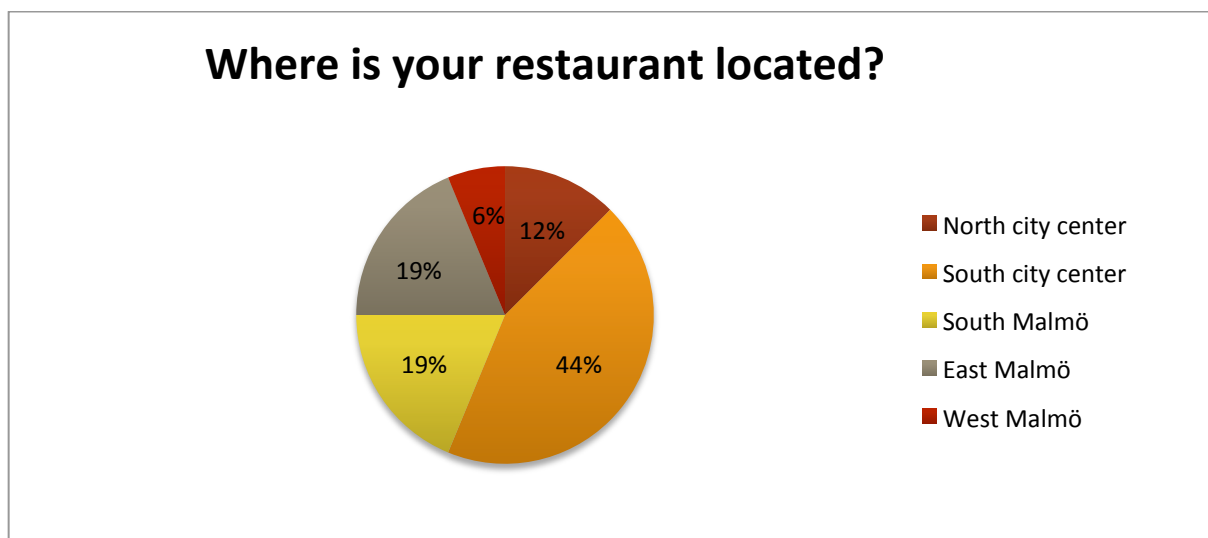


Figure 3

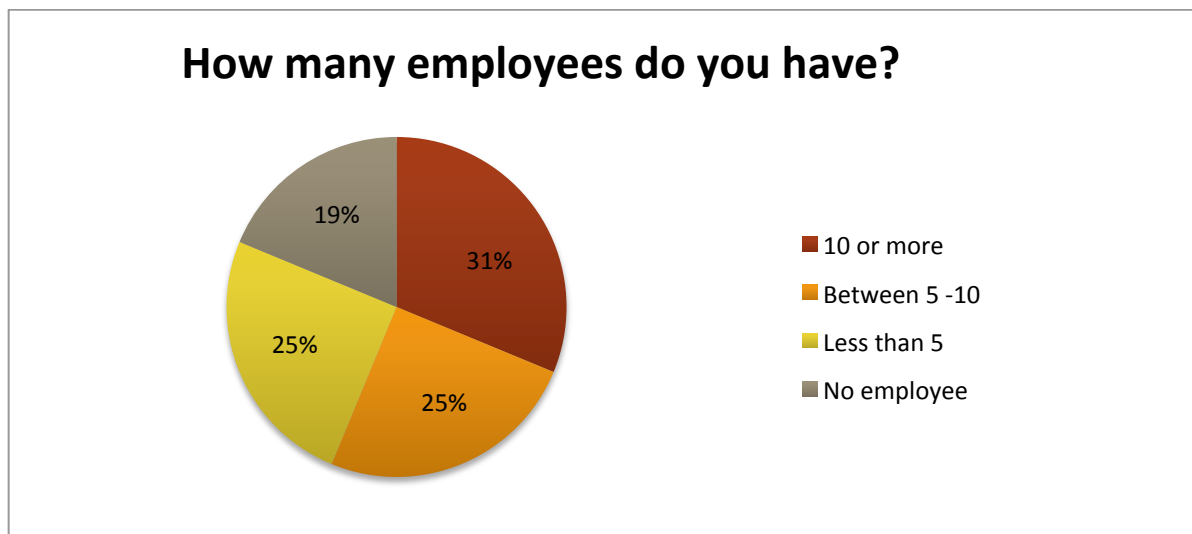


Figure 4

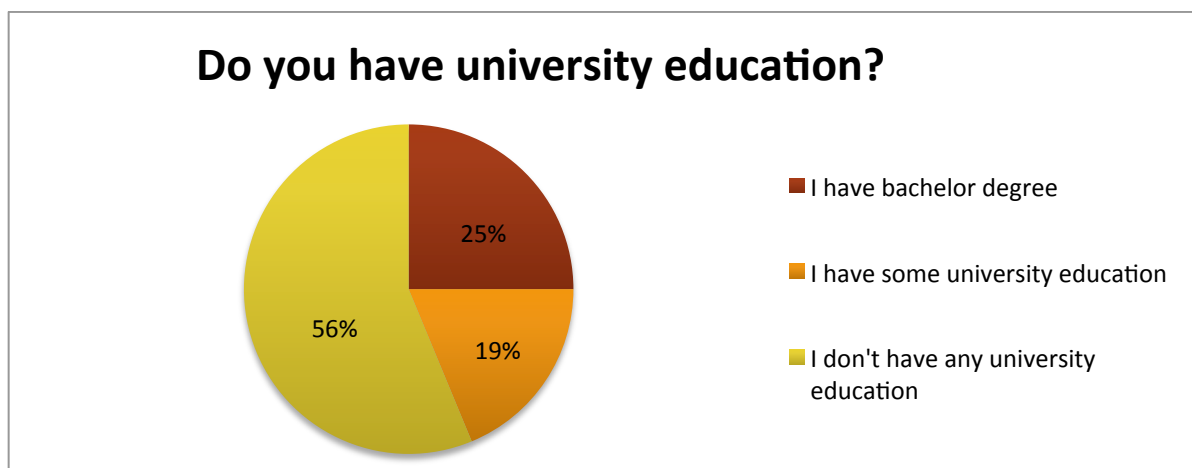


Figure 5

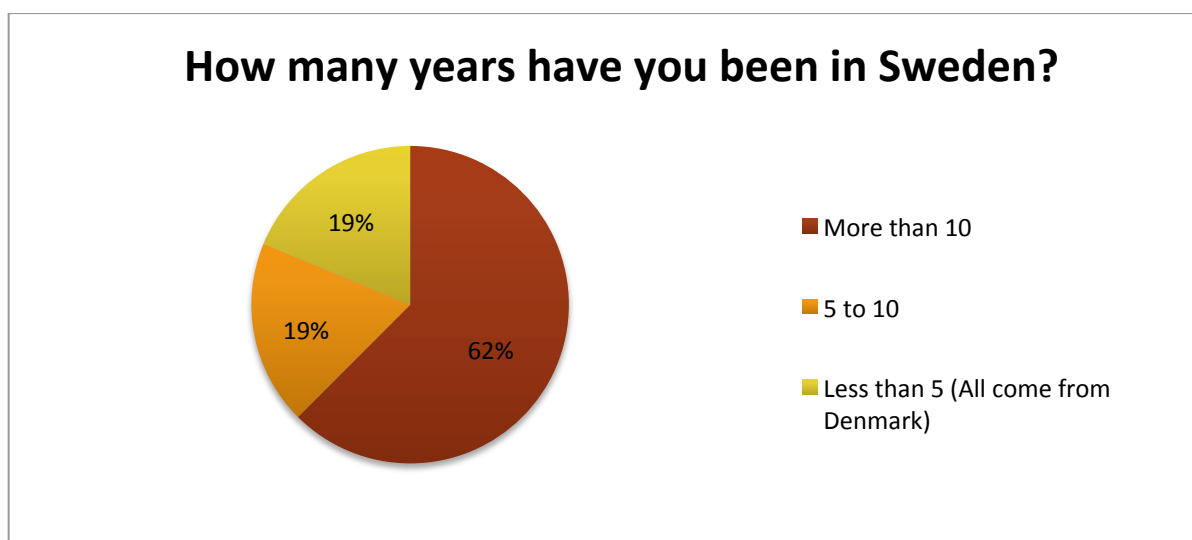


Figure 6

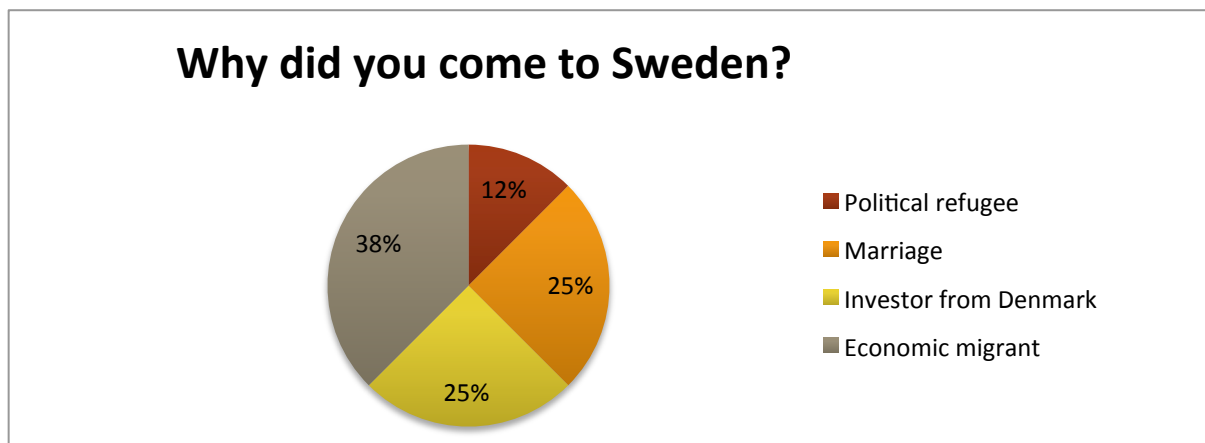


Figure 7

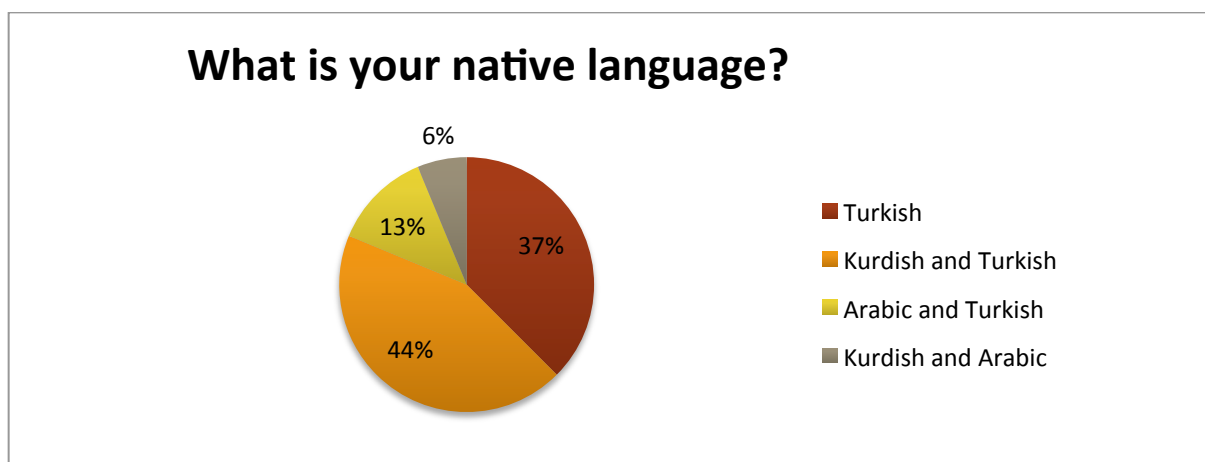


Figure 8

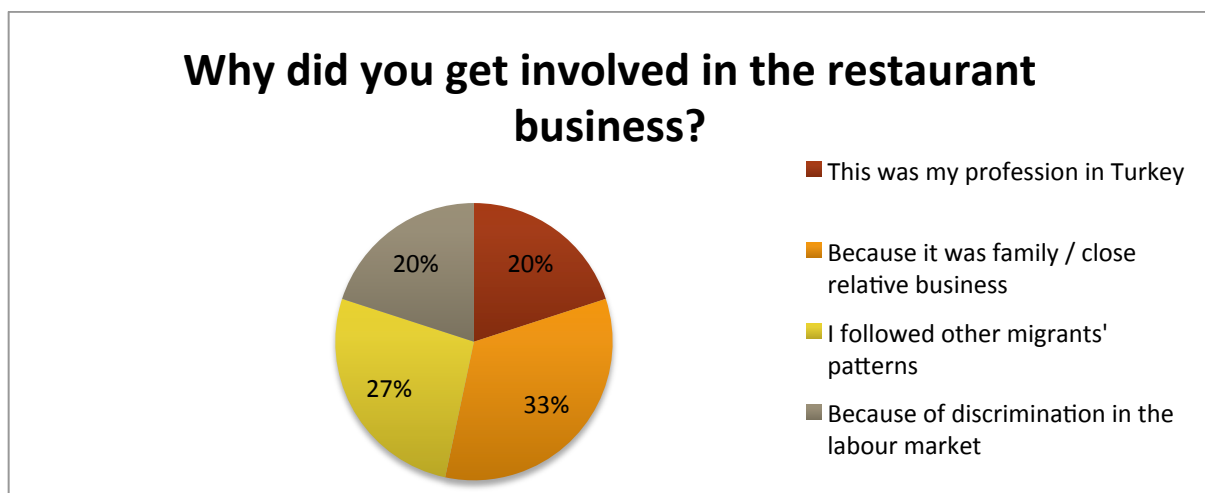


Figure 9

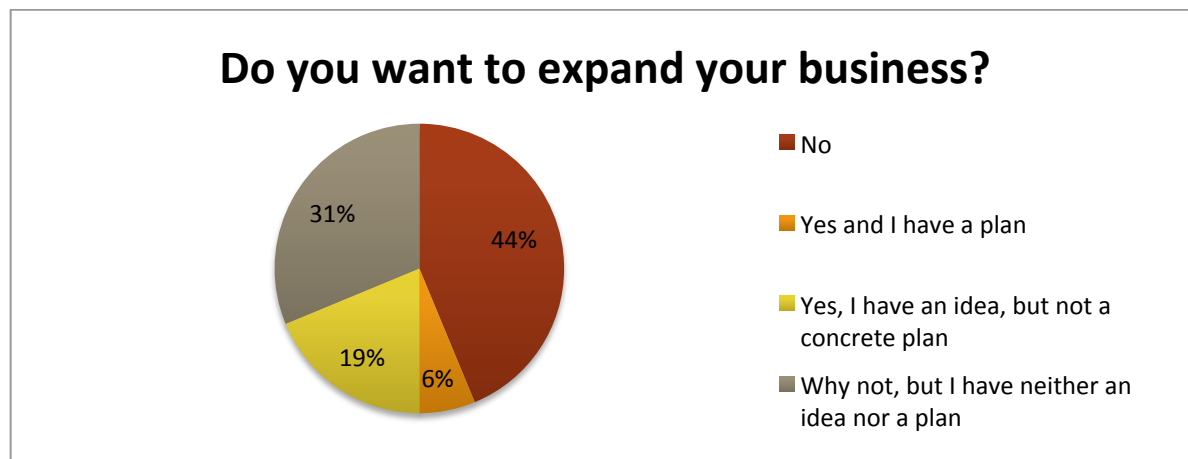


Figure 10

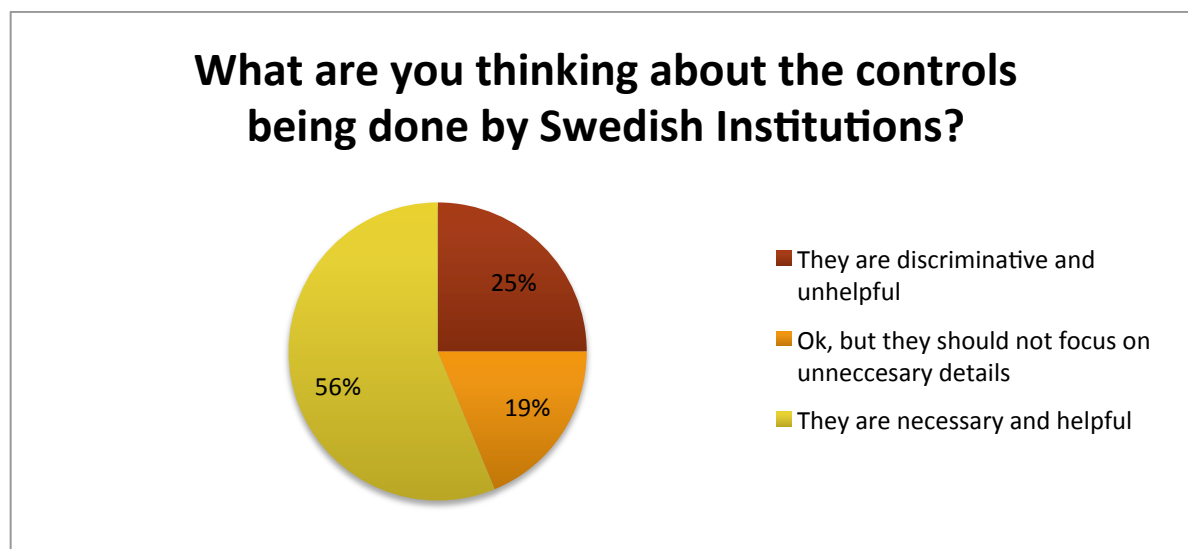


Figure 11

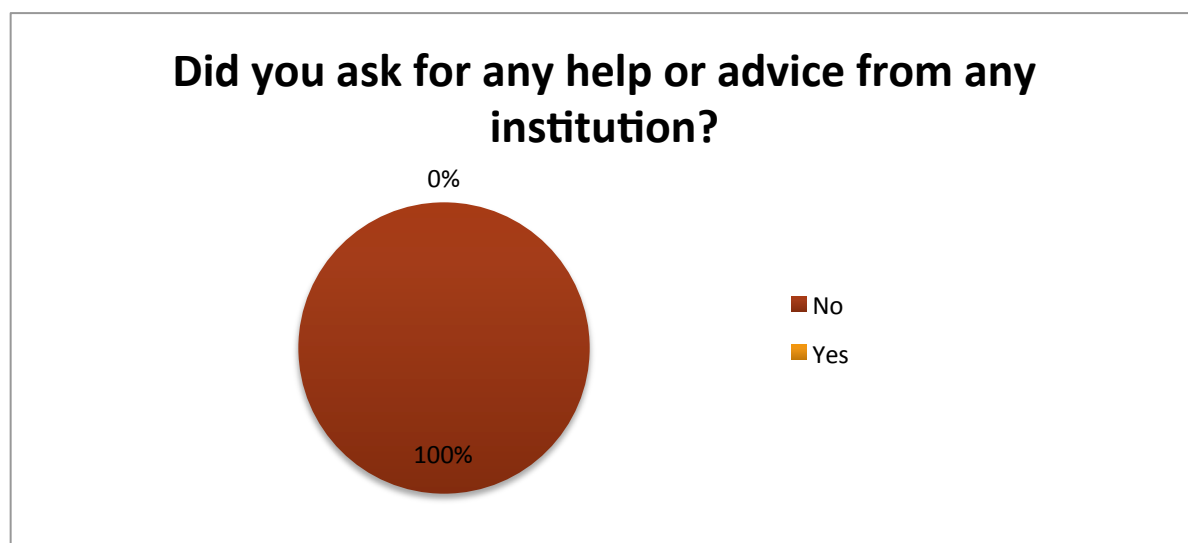


Figure 12

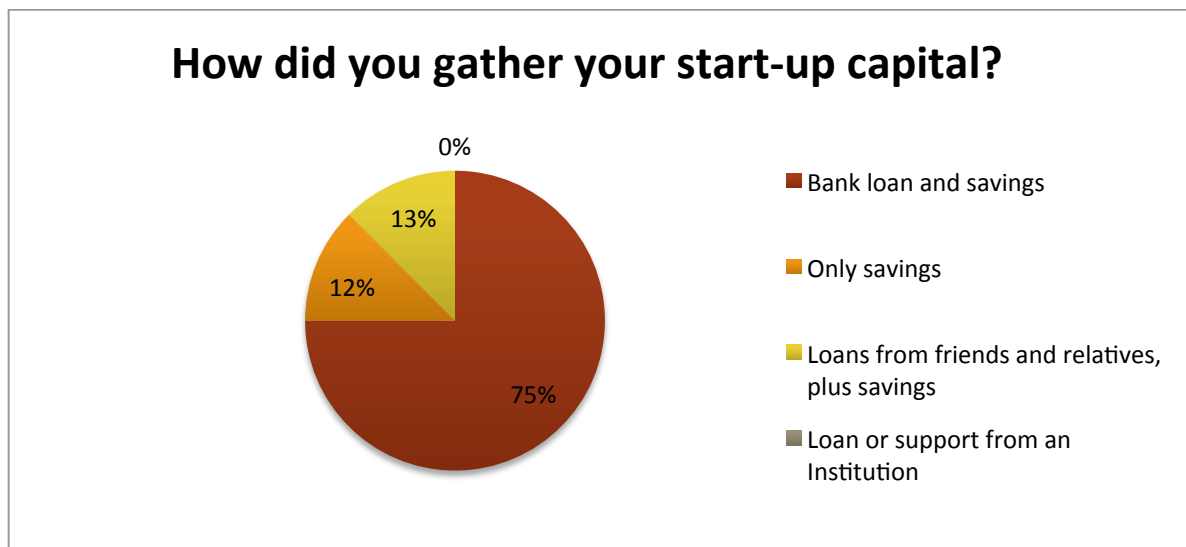


Figure 13

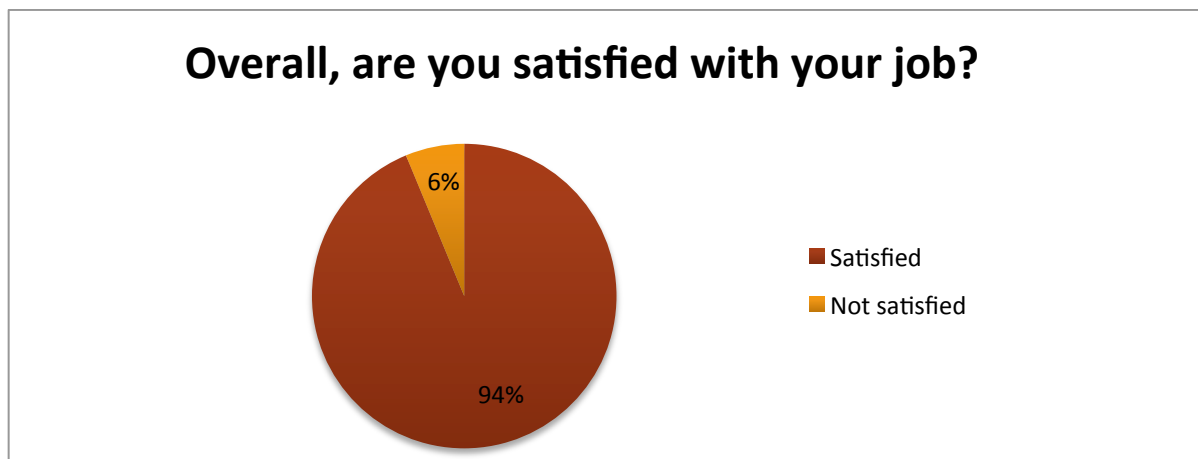


Figure 14

Appendix B. Research sample – ID

Restaurant: Restaurant Antalya

Type: Self-declared Turkish Restaurant

Location: Centre

Capacity: Up to 400

Staff: More than 10

Entrepreneur: Ceyhun

Sex: Male

Age: Around 35

Mother Tongue: Kurdish and Arabic

University Education: -

Years in Sweden: 5

Reason for migration: Business from Denmark

Restaurant: Restaurant Padisah

Type: Self-declared Turkish Restaurant

Location: Möllevången

Capacity: Up to 150

Staff: Around 10

Entrepreneur: Ismail

Sex: Male

Age: Around 35

Mother Tongue: Kurdish and Turkish

University Education: -

Years in Sweden: 6

Reason for migration: Business from Denmark

Restaurant: Restaurant Iskender

Type: 'Kebab' restaurant

Location: South centre

Capacity: 20

Staff: 2

Entrepreneur: Öncel

Sex: Male

Age: Around 55

Mother Tongue: Turkish

University Education: -

Years in Sweden: 30

Reason for migration: Recruited

Restaurant: Restaurant Matlandet**Type:** 'Kebab' restaurant**Location:** Centre**Capacity:** 10**Staff:** -**Entrepreneur:** Eda**Sex:** Female**Age:** Around 35**Mother Tongue:** Turkish**University Education:** Economics**Years in Sweden:** 30**Reason for migration:** Family**Restaurant:** Restaurant Milas**Type:** 'Kebab' restaurant**Location:** In a mall in Möllevången**Capacity:** 20**Staff:** -**Entrepreneur:** Ozan**Sex:** Male**Age:** Around 60**Mother Tongue:** Turkish**University Education:** -**Years in Sweden:** 30**Reason for migration:** Recruited**Restaurant:** Restaurant Rome**Type:** Pizzeria**Location:** South Malmö**Capacity:** 10**Staff:** 1**Entrepreneur:** Oner**Sex:** Male**Age:** Around 35**Mother Tongue:** Kurdish and Turkish**University Education:** -**Years in Sweden:** 8**Reason for migration:** Marriage**Restaurant:** Restaurant Milan**Type:** Pizzeria - Pub - Restaurant**Location:** Värnhem**Capacity:** 40**Staff:** 3**Entrepreneur:** Necip**Sex:** Male**Age:** Around 50**Mother Tongue:** Turkish**University Education:** Engineering – no degree**Years in Sweden:** 30**Reason for migration:** Education

Restaurant: Restaurant Kronprinsen**Type:** Pizzeria – Pub - Restaurant**Location:** West Malmö**Capacity:** 60**Staff:** 4**Entrepreneur:** Ali**Sex:** Male**Age:** Around 55**Mother Tongue:** Kurdish and Turkish**University Education:** -**Years in Sweden:** 10**Reason for migration:** Marriage**Restaurant:** Restaurant Ocak**Type:** 'Oriental' fast food**Location:** In a mall in Värnhem**Capacity:** 80**Staff:** 8**Entrepreneur:** Yusuf**Sex:** Male**Age:** Around 35**Mother Tongue:** Kurdish and Turkish**University Education:** -**Years in Sweden:** 6**Reason for migration:** Business from Denmark**Restaurant:** Restaurant Burlöv**Type:** 'Swedish' fast food**Location:** In a mall in Burlöv**Capacity:** 80**Staff:** 7**Entrepreneur:** Erkin**Sex:** Male**Age:** Around 45**Mother Tongue:** Kurdish and Turkish**University Education:** -**Years in Sweden:** 25**Reason for migration:** Family**Restaurant:** Restaurant Divan**Type:** Pizzeria - Pub - Restaurant**Location:** South Malmö**Capacity:** 100**Staff:** 8**Entrepreneur:** Koray**Sex:** Male**Age:** Around 50**Mother Tongue:** Turkish**University Education:** Sociology**Years in Sweden:** 30**Reason for migration:** Politic

Restaurant: Restaurant Millennium**Type:** Hamburger Restaurant**Location:** Möllevången**Capacity:** 60**Staff:** 7**Entrepreneur:** DORUK**Sex:** Male**Age:** Around 35**Mother Tongue:** Turkish**University Education:** Philosophy**Years in Sweden:** 30**Reason for migration:** Family**Restaurant:** Restaurant Ölcity**Type:** Bar - Restaurant**Location:** Möllevången**Capacity:** 100**Staff:** More than 10**Entrepreneur:** Emre**Sex:** Male**Age:** Around 30**Mother Tongue:** Arabic and Turkish**University Education:** -**Years in Sweden:** 10**Reason for migration:** Economic**Restaurant:** Restaurant Copenhagen**Type:** Bar - Restaurant**Location:** Möllevången**Capacity:** 150**Staff:** More than 10**Entrepreneur:** Bahadir**Sex:** Male**Age:** Around 55**Mother Tongue:** Kurdish and Turkish**University Education:** Policeman**Years in Sweden:** 5**Reason for migration:** Education from Denmark**Restaurant:** Restaurant Syd**Type:** 'French' restaurant**Location:** Möllevången**Capacity:** 50**Staff:** 6**Entrepreneur:** Ahmet**Sex:** Male**Age:** Around 55**Mother Tongue:** Kurdish and Turkish**University Education:** Teacher – no degree**Years in Sweden:** 30**Reason for migration:** Marriage

Restaurant: Restaurant Galata

Type: 'Swedish' fast food

Location: South Malmö

Capacity: 15

Staff: -

Entrepreneur: Caglar

Sex: Male

Age: Around 35

Mother Tongue: Arabic and Turkish

University Education: Tourism

Years in Sweden: 7

Reason for migration: Marriage

Endnotes

¹ Swedish Tax Agency.

² Swedish Public Employment Service.

³ Internationalla Företagarföreningen i Sverige: International Entrepreneur Association in Sweden.

⁴ Municipality of Malmö

⁵ Skåne Regional Council.

⁶ Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth.

⁷ The European Union was established on 1 November 1993, with twelve member states, which were Belgium, Greece, Luxembourg, Denmark, Spain, Netherlands, Germany, France, Portugal, Ireland, Italy, United Kingdom (epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu).

⁸ International Labor Organization.

⁹ The name given to the migrant workers in Germany after 1950s, meaning 'guest worker'.

¹⁰ Growth and diversity among the self-employed in Skåne.

¹¹ Internationella Företagarföreningen i Sverige, International Entrepreneur Association in Sweden.

¹² Invandrare in Swedish.

¹³ 'Immigrant' in Swedish, in contrast to 'utvandrare' which means emigrant.

¹⁴ Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth.

¹⁵ Skåne Regional Council.

¹⁶ As it is mentioned in the introduction chapter, the research sample includes 16 different restaurants and their owners in Malmö. For brief information about the research sample, please check Appendix A and B.

¹⁷ More than half of the correspondents had Kurdish as their native language.

¹⁸ Swedish Public Employment Service.

¹⁹ Swedish Tax Agency.

²⁰ Skåne Regional Council.

²¹ Internationalla Företagarförening i Sverige, International Entrepreneur Association in Sweden.

²² The major difficulty I had with my participant observation in working at Restaurant Kronprinsen was the confusion the owner and I had about my position. I tried behave as a 'normal' worker would, and work as hard as I could, but even after three weeks, Ali, the restaurant owner, was introducing me to his 'friend-customers' as a researcher. However the concepts of being an 'insider' or an 'outsider' are two mutually exclusive concepts; therefore, in different situations, it felt like I switched from one to the other (Labaree, 2002: 100). After the last day I worked at the restaurant, Ali then also asked me if I would like to work for him during the summer.

²³ All the names of the restaurants and entrepreneurs are fictitious.

²⁴ The name is also fictitious.

²⁵ Sweden's state-controlled gaming operator.

²⁶ The baker was from Iraq's Kurdish region, migrated to Sweden eight years ago, and he had worked together with Ali for 2 years. Ali told me that the baker started working as an intern via Arbetsförmedlingen. For one year, Arbetsförmedlingen paid his salary, and Ali paid only the relevant taxes, but since the baker is really hard-working and friendly, he recruited him afterwards.

²⁷ Municipal adult education.

²⁸ Please check appendix B for brief information about the entrepreneurs and restaurants.

²⁹ I could not get a job there. Instead, I got advice from the headwaiter to find a girlfriend and move in to her place as soon as possible.

³⁰ The original of the proverb is "ucuz etin yahnisi olmaz".

³¹ Fez is an accessory that was introduced in Ottoman Empire in 18th century to change the appearance of the empire's people to 'modern' (Quataert, 1997: 413).

³² Apart from the fact that all the owners are male with one exception (Eda), another common feature of these restaurants, in relation to gender roles, was that almost all the female employees were working as service staff while the kitchen staff was solely male:

At the end of the day, it requires hard work in the kitchen. Our working hours are long, the job is difficult, I mean, it would not be possible that girls could stand these conditions. One needs to carry stuff, throw out the rubbish. It is not a job for a girl. But if girls are serving at the tables, it is better. At the end of the day, serving is a women's duty. (Ismail)

In bigger restaurants, most of the serving staff was women. However, the interesting fact was that none of them were from Turkey, but from other countries, primarily from Sweden.

³³ For brief information about restaurants and entrepreneurs please check Appendix B.

³⁴ Turkish shop.

³⁵ "Skogsturken" and "Laserturken" are other popular examples of this 'ordinary racism'; see:

http://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=skogsturken&aq=f

http://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=laser+turken&aq=f

³⁶ Sweden Democrats.

³⁷ Swedish National Parliament.

³⁸

³⁹ The pattern of taking over a restaurant that has its own routines, menus, and staff is common practice with migrant entrepreneurs. In doing so, they skip over creativity problems and the difficulty of the first months in establishing a new restaurant. Other examples in the sample are Restaurant Rome, Restaurant Divan, and Restaurant Galata. In October 2011, Ali also told me that he sold Restaurant Kronprinsen to another migrant from Turkey. This practice signifies that a sort of network exists, although I pointed out that there is no single, interconnected 'Turkish Community'. This network does not need to carry a sense of solidarity, i.e. 'migrants' do not sell their venues to their 'co-ethnic' fellows in order to protect their community's power in the wider society and secure jobs for their 'countrymen'. The network is about having access to particular information. Caglar told me that once he went to bankruptcy for the first time, three people including Ali's advisor cousin (see Chapter IV, section 4.2.), all from Turkey, came separately and asked him if he would like to sell the venue for one fourth of its actual price.

⁴⁰ There is an interesting story behind it. Migrants from Konya coming from particularly two provinces of Konya; Cihanbey and Kulu. Kulu, although it is a very small town and unknown to many in Turkey, is the source of more than 60% of all 'migrants' in Sweden coming from Turkey. Even the Swedish prime minister Fredrik Reinfeldt visited the town in 2009, as a part of his official visit to Turkey (www.svd.se). These towns have special situation, since almost their entire population's native language is Kurdish. Their roots go to the nomadic Kurdish tribes who have been forced to migrate to Konya at the end of 18th century and settle down because they had some problems with the central Ottoman authority. Since they are totally surrounded by non-Kurds, they claim, many still feel alienated and rootless. To top it off, in 1960, Sweden needed workers for the post World War II economic boom and started recruiting workers from those towns hit by poverty, and many were already eager to migrate further. Those recruitments started a migration route and tradition, and due to kin bounds, still many come from those towns to Sweden every year. The brother of Ali said there are more people in Sweden from Kulu than Kulu's own population.

⁴¹ When we go to a restaurant, also a global name, we expect to find someone to serve us, and have a table-like place where we can locate the food, mostly on plates (which are in general alike) together with cutlery. Almost at all restaurants we expect to have salt and napkins for free. Again the categorization of restaurants seemed to be also globalized, we know to great extent what to expect from a self-service restaurant and a 'a la carte' restaurant. The concept of giving tips, ordering a meal at the table, getting service from the waiter/waitress are some of the expectations we have from a 'a la carte' restaurant, while when we chose to ease our hunger at a restaurant with a self-service facility, we would not tip and we would take our meal to the table ourselves (Sutton 2007: 192).

⁴² They make kebab from minced meat, against the common practice in Turkey, since it is much cheaper, and it is easy to mix the minced meat with other ingredients like flour, spices, water etc. Öncel, who also makes his own kebab, despises ready-made, frozen kebab claiming that only 30% of 'kebab' is actually meat, but the rest consist of other ingredients.

⁴³ In other words, the statements that people hear from each other like, "*The best kebab in town is sold there*" have no foundation.

⁴⁴ A sweet pastry made of layers filled with different nuts.

⁴⁵ A creamy dairy product which is made of cow milk.

⁴⁶ Ismail moved to Malmö six years ago and opened the restaurant one year later. The reason why he chose to live in Malmö was he could not assure residence permit to his wife, who is also from Turkey, in Denmark, so instead they moved together to Sweden.

⁴⁷ In the end of 1990s, there was a strong competition between falafel shops in Sweden, particularly in Stockholm, which resulted in price increases up to 8 SEK for a falafel roll, that price competition is known as falafel wars.

⁴⁸ His restaurant is located somewhere between Möllevången and Rosengård. Just next to it there is an association of 'Bulgar-Turks' from where he attracts some customers. Although it generally works as a take away place, there is also a dining area for 20 people. It was opened last year after his former place was shut down in Saluhallen by Lillatorg due to renovation. He sells almost only kebab and its varieties together with his wife and his two employees, with the occasional help of his son. Öncel is 56 years old and was recruited to Stockholm, Sweden in 1980 as a kebab specialist from Izmir, a cosmopolitan big city at the west coast of Turkey. After working a couple of years in Stockholm, the owners of the place opened a new branch in Malmö, and he also became a partner at that place together with his former colleague from Stockholm, Ozan. Since then, for over 25 years, he has run small-scale restaurants in Malmö.

⁴⁹ That is why, in my opinion, 'falafel' and 'kebab' alternatives are more popular compared to traditional 'Swedish' snacks like sausage, and even compared to hamburger.

⁵⁰ Swedish Tax Agency.

⁵¹ The National Board of Health and Welfare.

⁵² Swedish Hotel and Restaurant Association.

⁵³ One of the cooks at Restaurant Padisah, who is actually working for around 35 SEK per hour, explained to me that most of the restaurants exploit this position in order to increase their profit margin; the owners know that most of the employees have a really difficult time in finding a job. They mostly do it by registering the full-time workers as part-time workers, i.e. a worker works 60 hours a week, but gets paid as if s/he worked 25 hours, in this way they legalize the workers' position. And if a worker rejects under-payment, there are dozens of others waiting in the queue.

⁵⁴ I would like to mention another incident from my fieldwork notes from Restaurant Kronprinsen to illustrate the heterogeneity of the entrepreneurs' approach to follow rules set by outside organizations. A couple came to the restaurant in the early hours of the evening. They chose a table by the window, and I took their orders. While ordering their meals, the man ordered also a beer. When I served the beer, the woman also ordered a glass of red wine. The man was around his 40s, but the woman was fairly younger compared to him, probably around 20, both 'Swedish' looking, and talking Swedish without an accent. Before I had time to fill the glass with red wine, Ali noticed the situation from the table where he usually sits. He stood up and went to the table to ask if the girl had an ID with her, but she did not have one. As a result, he explained that we cannot serve alcohol to her according to the law. However the man got upset because of this 'insulting' behavior and they left the restaurant furiously, he did not pay for the beer he drank half of either.

⁵⁵ Internationalla Företagarföreningen i Sverige, International Entrepreneur Association in Sweden.

⁵⁶ Development / Growth Center.

⁵⁷ New Entrepreneur Center.

⁵⁸ Drivhuset" is the Swedish word for hothouse, the heated building where young plants are nurtured into blooming maturity (www.drivhuset.se).

⁵⁹ An organization focused on cooperative entrepreneurship.

⁶⁰ Company Service in Skåne region.

⁶¹ Institutions offer advice in more or less in the same pattern; first the assessment and discussion of the 'idea' behind the new company, then following the checklist for the bureaucratic procedures and other details like business plan, budget planning etc., later on it comes to the step of how to realize the company, i.e. recruitment of employees, finding an office or workplace, how to create a customer network etc., and lastly the ways to make a company bigger in the sense of organization and business capacity (www.verksam.se).

⁶² ALMI is a nation-wide, strong organization whose aim is to support small and middle-sized enterprises: "ALMI's task is to promote the development of competitive small and medium-sized businesses as well as to

stimulate new enterprise with the aim of creating growth and innovation in Swedish business life. (...) What is unique about ALMI is the combination of financing and business development.”(www.almi.se)

⁶³ Apart from financial and advisory services, IFS gives a prize once a year, in the name of ‘Årets Nybyggare’, The Settler of the Year, to a successful migrant entrepreneur to encourage entrepreneurship. Since 1999 it is the King of Sweden who hands the prize to the selected entrepreneur.

⁶⁴ Value added tax.

⁶⁵ Svenska för Invandrare, Swedish courses for ‘migrants’ organized by local municipalities all around Sweden.

⁶⁶ A district in Malmö that is famous in all of Sweden for its high percentage of migrant inhabitants and high criminality.

⁶⁷ After the interview, I gave the IFS advisor’s phone number to a friend of mine, who was an international student in Lund University and was thinking of starting a café. I told her it would help her to talk to an advisor who knows about procedures in Sweden, and eventually she could possibly get some financial support. My plan was to make an interview with her after she gets advice from the institution. However after one week’s effort to reach the advisor, my friend gave up; the number was unreachable.

⁶⁸ Personal registration paper.

⁶⁹ However I did not ask permission from every individual working at the restaurants; it was inapplicable. On the other hand, the staff working at the restaurants would probably not dare to decline when the owner gives the permission, because of the obvious power disadvantages. I, however, showed attention to not exploit this situation. To the contrary, while I was working at Restaurant Kronprinsen, the staff was happy with my presence, as I was helping out them without being rival.

⁷⁰ In their research on self-employment in Denmark and Sweden, Andersson and Wadensjö (2004) claimed that along with the fact that migrants are over represented among self-employers, they also earn on average less than wage owners. They interpret this feature as those who are self-employed and earn less than wage owners do not chose this option in order to improve their incomes, but only to avoid unemployment.