

The Mixed Embeddedness of Ethnic Tourist-based Entrepreneurship: An exploratory study in *Rosengård*, Malmö, Sweden

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Abstract

This thesis reconnoiters the involvement of immigrants as owners, producers and organizers of multiethnic business ventures that appeal outside visitors, so called ethnic tourist-based entrepreneurship. The study is informed by the principles underlying an interpretive case study conducted in Rosengård, Malmö, and the data were collected through semi-structured interviews complemented by participant observation and serendipitous informal discussions. The findings show that ethnic communities in Rosengård lack the skills, knowledge, capital and wide outside network base required to exploit the opportunity structure for the ethnic tourist business. As a result, the tourist-based multiethnic ventures are formed with the involvement of enthusiastic native social and cultural entrepreneurs, who aspired to reorient the local economy. With their small and innovative ethnic businesses, both immigrant and mainstream entrepreneurs are carving their own niches in the market for cultural diversity. An inherent aspect of this entrepreneurial occurrence is the objectified commodification of ethnicity and its multiple manifestations, and their transformation into economic value. Using the mixed embeddedness conceptual framework, the study also found out that a myriad of social, economic and politico-institutional factors tremendously influence this emerging entrepreneurial phenomenon, and the overall economic manifestation of ethnic communities.

Keywords

Commodification, mixed embeddedness, entrepreneurship, ethnicity, multiethnic ventures, ethnic tourism business, Rosengård

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Contents

Chapter One..... 4

1.1 Introduction4

1.2 The Field of Immigrant Entrepreneurship vs. the Ethnic Tourist-based Entrepreneurship.....6

1.3 Aim of the study.....9

1.4 Organization of the Thesis9

Chapter Two: Conceptual Framework 10

2.1 The Theory of Mixed Embeddedness.....10

2.2 Opportunity Structures10

2.3 Mixed Embeddedness & the Ethnic Tourist business.....13

Chapter Three: Research Methodology..... 16

3.1 Ontological Assumptions.....16

3.2 Epistemology17

3.3 Research Design18

3.4 Research Strategy18

3.5 Case study19

3.6 Data Collection & Analysis.....20

 3.6.1 Methods of Data Collection20

 3.6.2 Data Analysis23

Chapter Four..... 24

4.1 Malmö as an Immigrant Gateway City.....24

4.2 Ethnic Entrepreneurship in *Rosengård*.....25

4.3 The Ethnic Tourist Business: The Culinary Trip “*Spices of Rosengård*”.....28

4.4 Implications of the Ethnic Tourist Business32

Chapter Five..... 34

5.1 The Mixed Embeddedness of Immigrant Entrepreneurship and the Ethnic Tourist Business34

 5.1.1 Social Embeddedness34

5.1.2 Economic Embeddedness	37
5.1.3 Politico-institutional Embeddedness.....	39
5.2 Discussion & Conclusion	42
5.3 Policy Implications of the Research.....	45
5.4 Research Implications & Future Research.....	46
References	47

List of Figures

Figure 1. The beginning stage of the Culinary Trip “ <i>Spices of Rosengård</i> ”	29
Figure 2. Participants of the Culinary Trip “ <i>Spices of Rosengård</i> ” while consuming the architecture and the new lifestyle of the <i>Bokaler</i> at <i>Bennets Bazaar</i>	30
Figure 3. Participants at the allotments while testing ethnic spices.....	31

Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

Over the past few decades, urban growth authorities in traditional countries of settler immigration, such as North America and the UK, shifted their attention towards ethnic minority and immigrant entrepreneurship² to reimagine their impoverished urban neighborhoods (Aytar & Rath, 2012; Rath, 2007; Rath, 2005). They acknowledged the potential of their multiethnic spaces, and the entrepreneurial spirit and talents of their immigrant communities as vital resources for economic development (Rath, 2005). In doing so, regular ethnic precincts were transformed into breeding grounds for different entrepreneurial functions marked by thoughtful commodification and marketing of ethno-cultural diversity (Aytar & Rath, 2012). Multiethnic commercial thoroughfares and other cultural expressions were upgraded, refurbished and progressively packaged to create picturesque backdrops for consumption (Chan 2004; Bell & Jayne, 2004; Shaw, Bagwell & Karmowska, 2004). Ethnic entrepreneurs played a remarkable role in this development process through the formation of business ventures that captured the interests of outside visitors (Aytar & Rath, 2012). The contrived valorization of multiethnic spaces constituted what I prefer to call in this thesis ethnic tourist-based entrepreneurship³ paving new prospects for socioeconomic development.

Researchers argue that the commercialization of ethnic spaces create opportunity structures not only for immigrants but also for native citizens to engage in entrepreneurial activities (Ford et. al., 2008; Loukaitou-Sideris & Soureli, 2012; Rath, 2007; Shaw, 2011; Terzano, 2014). They can emerge as proprietors of their own business ventures in the form of ethnic food stores, gift shops, and restaurants or as organizers of monetized cultural events and activities. The ethnic tourist-based business provides immigrants from all social strata with possibilities

² Following the work of Mitchel (2015), I found it relevant to make a clear distinction between the terms ethnic minority entrepreneurship and immigrant entrepreneurship. Most of the previous studies from North America and the UK utilize the term ethnic minority entrepreneurship to explain the phenomenon of people with foreign backgrounds initiating and owning their business ventures. But the term immigrant entrepreneurship refers the same phenomenon and processes in the Swedish context, and this thesis follows the same procedures.

³ The ethnic tourist based entrepreneurship in this thesis refers to the emerging business activities and functions in *Rosengård* that deal with organizing, commodifying and packaging immigrants' culture, material objects, and locales of everyday life for outside visitors.

to reinforce their integration into the host economy. The transformative processes can fuel employment prospects for skilled and unskilled workers, enhance livability, and become a panacea for promoting socioeconomic development in urban landscapes (Rath, 2007; Shaw, 2011; Aytar & Rath, 2012).

Ethnic tourist-oriented commercial ventures have also begun to flourish across the urban landscapes of Western European gateway cities (Hall and Rath, 2012). My own living experiences in Malmö during the last five years, and prior research engagement in *Rosengård*⁴ indicate the upsurge of similar entrepreneurial activities and processes in these multiethnic spaces. Immigrant entrepreneurs and communities, in these areas, work together with enthusiastic mainstream cultural entrepreneurs, and not-for-profit organizations in the creation of newfangled multiethnic business entities that fascinate outside visitors. Both, members of the native society and international tourists, looking for ethnic cuisine or hedonistic experiences in exotic milieus are provided with ethnic gastronomies and other aesthetic functions exclusively adapted to their tastes. However, our current knowledge about this complex phenomenon primarily hails from conventional press and media sources that only provide superficial information. My close investigation of existing literature on the issue shows that the academia and research community in immigrant entrepreneurship lack proper understanding of the emergence, cultural and material organizations, and the broad social, economic and politico-institutional factors that affect this entrepreneurial process.

This thesis, therefore, provides empirical knowledge regarding the growing involvement of immigrant and mainstream entrepreneurs, and ethnic communities in *Rosengård* as owners, producers and organizers of tourist-oriented business activities. I am particularly interested in examining the myriad of social, cultural, economic and politico-institutional factors that shape their entrepreneurial activities through the lenses of the mixed embeddedness approach to immigrant entrepreneurship (Kloosterman et al., 1999; Kloosterman & Rath, 2001, 2003; Rath, 2002). The framework helps to analyze how the concrete embeddedness of ethnic communities in their extended social networks (both local and transnational), and their abstract embeddedness in the host country's socioeconomic and politico-

⁴ *Rosengård* is one of the largest physical forms of adaptation by immigrant communities in contemporary Sweden.

institutional contexts influence their overall entrepreneurial activities, strategies, outcomes and involvement within the ethnic tourist-oriented business.

1.2 The Field of Immigrant Entrepreneurship vs. the Ethnic Tourist-based Entrepreneurship

Researchers documented several practical evidences on how the ethnic tourist-based entrepreneurship⁵ stimulated the economy of deprived urban neighborhoods in many North American postindustrial gateway cities (Rath, 2007: 2; Ford et al., 2008; Hackworth & Rekers, 2005; Shaw, Bagwell & Karmowska 2004; Pang & Rath, 2007). However, a close scrutiny of existing literature on immigrant entrepreneurship shows that the manner in which similar processes would work for the advanced Welfare States, like Sweden, in the continental Europe remained completely elusive. Ford et al. (2008) argue that the American way of celebrating ethnic identity can facilitate business development opportunities in postindustrial European cities, like Malmö, which are undergoing similar processes of changes, like their US counterparts. They claim that many of these cities comprise significant proportion of “exotic” and non-European immigrant population in their demographic fabric occupying underprivileged precincts that can benefit from similar tourist-based business development strategies. Yet, the growing role of such entrepreneurial strategies for providing new frontiers of socioeconomic growth has been fundamentally overlooked among urban growth authorities. Even though anecdotal evidences suggest the emergence of self-initiated ethnic commodification processes and tourist-oriented commercial ventures across the multiethnic landscapes of some Scandinavian gateway cities, like *Rosengård* in Malmö, they linger undocumented. Ford et al. (2008) further contend that “...less information exists on the promotion of multiethnic landscapes in efforts to revitalize marginal, near-downtown districts in European cities” despite the growing waves of literature on immigrant entrepreneurship and ethnic minority communities.

⁵ One of the difficult tasks encountered while researching entrepreneurial processes and activities is the ambiguity to define entrepreneurship and the entrepreneur, and this haziness has led to the emergence of several definitions (Landström, 2007; Mitchel, 2005). This thesis deals with how the mixed embeddedness of ethnic communities influences the opportunity structures available to them to engage in entrepreneurial activities. Thus, Shane’s (2004) definition of entrepreneurship in terms of discovering and subsequently exploiting opportunities to craft a new venture seamlessly aligns with how I view the entrepreneurial processes and functions in *Rosengård*.

The proliferation of an ethnic tourist business has so far dragged scholarly attention primarily to its ethno-cultural and entrepreneurial facets (Rath, 2007:3; Aytar & Rath, 2012: 2). Some studies, particularly those within ethnic and migration fields, accounted this process with ethno-culturally specific commercial drives, and the concerted mobilization of immigrants' social and cultural resources (Ma Mung, 1998; Zhou, 1992). Aytar and Rath (2012) reviewed that numerous other studies, in a similar fashion, focused on the spatial, geographical, mental and symbolic meanings, internal dynamics, and broad socioeconomic implications of this phenomenon in specific contexts. The major hallmark of these studies is the fact that they draw heavily on the works of scholars from the fields of city and regional planning, urban development, ethnology, tourism, anthropology, sociology, place marketing, geography, behavioral sciences, and cultural studies. Thus, while the social, cultural, historical, and geographical issues might have been documented in these studies at length, the entrepreneurial flank remains shallow (Aytar & Rath, 2012).

The phenomenon of ethnic tourist-oriented business has also been one of the subjects of immigrant and ethnic minority entrepreneurship (Rath, 2007; Aytar & Rath, 2012). Nonetheless, if we perform a meticulous examination of most of the studies, they exclusively focus on the ethnic entrepreneurs, and are mainly interested in their proclivity to engage in ethnic businesses, and their chaotic trajectories across the entrepreneurial boulevard (Rath, 2007: 3). In this regard, we have researches highlighting how culturally propelled disposition among certain groups (Light, 1972; Hammarsedt, 2004; Metcalf, Mood & Virdee, 1996), and the impacts of blocked upward socioeconomic mobility (Barrett, Jones & McEvoy, 1996; Collins et al., 1995; Ram, 1993; Saxenian, 1999) drive ethnic communities to engage in ethnic minority entrepreneurship. We also have other cultural studies that draw our attention to the role of ethnically configured cultural, human and financial capital in facilitating immigrants' business operations within the ethnic tourist industry (Yoo, 1998; Zhou, 1992; Light & Gold, 2000).

Nevertheless, all the above-mentioned studies disregard the specific economic opportunities and market structures, political conditions, and regulatory structures in diverse metropolitan areas that act contingently in a process of cumulative causation (Rath, 2007). Aytar & Rath (2012: 2), for instance, argue that the occurrence of ethnic entrepreneurial activities across European cities corresponds with the creation of new opportunity structures following the

breakdown of Fordist modes of commodity production and the rise of new forms of economies that deal with the production of images, symbols, values, and sign systems as part of their productive strategy. It is also contingent on the desire and motivation of national and local authorities for designing suitable urban policies and regeneration strategies using the competitive advantages in their multiethnic urban neighborhoods (Rath, 2007). Therefore, any research that endeavors to theoretically interpret and explain the phenomenon of ethnic tourist based entrepreneurship and related occurrences "...should go beyond studying the use of social, cultural and other resources, and embed this usage within wider economic and political contexts" (Aytar & Rath, 2012: 2). This study implements the mixed embeddedness framework to scrutinize the web of complex relationships focusing on the ethnic tourist business in *Rosengård* and its position in the wider urban political economy of Malmö. For the meantime, I am aware of the fact that the perspective lacks empirical depth, elaboration and applications (Mitchel, 2015; Kloosterman & Rath, 2003). This research endeavors to deliberate on its strengths and limitations to guide our understanding of similar entrepreneurial phenomena.

Besides, immigrant entrepreneurship research will immensely benefit from a contextualized investigation of this concerted commodification process in multiethnic spaces. Locating such kind of entrepreneurial occurrences in their unique contexts enriches our understanding of their nature, dynamics and uniqueness (Zahra, 2007; Low & MacMillan, 1998). In the interim, the research in immigrant entrepreneurship per se in Sweden is at its infancy stage (Mitchel, 2015: 17). Mitchel further argues that most policy makers and researchers refer to the studies undertaken in North America and the UK to guide their understanding of such issues related with immigrant entrepreneurship. These countries have rich histories of immigration, and were pioneers of commodification with several practical and successful stories. Of course, Sweden, since it opened its doors to mass immigration beginning from the Second World War, has been experiencing similar processes of changes, and many of the theories and concepts adopted from North America and the UK can have several useful implications. Hitherto, it is quite important to fully capture the overall picture of the entrepreneurial occurrences in their unique situation (Dalhammar, 2004), and this thesis investigates the ethnic tourist business in its unique Swedish context.

1.3 Aim of the study

This thesis reconnoiters the growing involvement of immigrant and mainstream entrepreneurs, and ethnic communities in *Rosengård* as owners, producers and organizers of multiethnic business ventures that appeal outside visitors. I am primarily interested in uncovering the multifaceted social, cultural, economic and politico-institutional factors that act contingently on each other in the processes of cumulative causation using the mixed embeddedness approach. The study endeavors to answer the core research question; *how does the mixed embeddedness of immigrant entrepreneurs and ethnic communities in multifaceted social, cultural, economic and politico-institutional structures and contexts of the mainstream society affect their involvement within the ethnic tourist business?*

1.4 Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is structured as follows. The proceeding chapter introduces the mixed embeddedness conceptual framework, and deliberates its particular relevance for examining the ethnic tourist business. The third chapter explicates the methodological structure from the design of the study until the final analysis of the data. Chapter four provides contextualization to the research along with presentation of the empirical material. Chapter five discusses the multifaceted of sociocultural, economic and politico-institutional factors that act contingently on each other to affect the entrepreneurial activities, strategies, and outcomes of ethnic communities in *Rosengård*. The final chapter provides discussion and conclusion, policy and research implications, and future research suggestions.

Chapter Two: Conceptual Framework

2.1 The Theory of Mixed Embeddedness

The mixed embeddedness perspective was initially forwarded by the Dutch scholars, Kloosterman, Van der Luen, and Rath in the 1990s to provide comprehensive analysis of the myriad of social, economic, and institutional contexts shaping any entrepreneurial processes, strategies and outcomes (Kloosterman et al., 1999; Kloosterman & Rath, 2001, 2003; Rath, 2002; Rath, 2007). Mitchell (2015) argues that, irrespective of being too structuralist in its nature, the perspective is regarded as one of the most important conceptual developments in the field of immigrant entrepreneurship that can, to a large extent, capture the complexity of the phenomenon. One of the major strengths of the approach is its ability to locate entrepreneurial actions and processes within the context of specific sets of mixed embeddedness (Mitchell, 2015: 12, 43; Rath & Kloosterman, 2000; Hall & Rath, 2007). By mixed embeddedness, Kloosterman and Rath (2001: 190), refer to the “*concrete embeddedness*” of immigrant entrepreneurs and their businesses in their social networks, as well as their “*abstract embeddedness*” within existing socioeconomic and politico-institutional atmosphere of their host society. Put in other way, the perspective offers a multilevel framework to critically analyze how the crucial interplay of social, economic, and institutional contexts along with political and regulatory structures, at different levels, affect different opportunity structures available for immigrant entrepreneurs (Kloosterman, 2010; Kloosterman & Rath, 2001; Rath, 2002; Kloosterman et. al., 1999; Mitchel, 2015).

2.2 Opportunity Structures

At the heart of the mixed embeddedness conceptual framework in immigrant entrepreneurship are, inevitably, opportunity structures (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001: 190). According to Kloosterman et al. (1999), opportunity structures comprise the set of openings in the market, which immigrant entrepreneurs capitalize for setting up their new ventures. Once again, these market openings and conditions are largely influenced by the socioeconomic and politico-regulatory institutional frameworks in which their businesses are embedded. Due to this, opportunity structures for potential businesses increasingly differ across time and space (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001: 193). In order to foster a better understanding of the

opportunity structure, the mixed embeddedness approach entails three crucial entwined building blocks. These consist of social embeddedness, market dynamics or economic embeddedness, and politico-institutional embeddedness (Mitchel, 2015; Rath, 2003; Kloosterman et al., 1999). And, these building blocks are operationalised briefly in the subsequent paragraphs.

The component of social embeddedness indicates the socially instituted networks and interactions in immigrants' circadian business operations. Entrepreneurs' position in a social network increasingly regulates the accessibility of relevant information, and other set of resources available for their businesses (Rath, 2007: 4). Scholars argue that the propensity towards entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success rates are significantly determined by the size, nature and density of immigrants' social networks, and their capability to galvanize these networks towards specific economic ends (Yoo, 1998; Zhou, 1992; Jack & Anderson, 2002; Granovetter, 1995; Waldinger, 1986; Cahn, 2008). In many particular instances, immigrant entrepreneurs, lacking financial resources, were nonetheless able to form their own businesses through relying on their social capital (Lee, 1992; Kloosterman et al., 1999; Rath, 2007). They vigorously benefit from ethnically configured economic networks when it comes to recruiting labor, raising capital, procuring knowledge and heterogeneous information, maintaining relationships with suppliers, and distributors and customers (Kloosterman et al., 1999: 9-10; Rath, 2007). Rath (2007: 6) further argues that this social embeddedness helps immigrant business owners to curtail their transaction expenditures through discarding formal employment contracts, and gaining privileged access to vital economic resources. Particularly relevant to this thesis are cases, where cultural entrepreneurs involving in ethnic tourist business, as it is also true in most parts of the tourism industry (Rath, 2007:4), use cheaply available and flexible labor sources from members of ethnic residents facing labor market disadvantages to build their businesses.⁶ It is also equally interesting to see how they strive to achieve enduring viability for their businesses (Drori & Lerner, 2002; Rusinovic, 2008) through breaking out into mainstream networks, and by responding to specific demands of the wider socioeconomic environment.

⁶ This can be also directly connected to today's political economic practices positioned in a neo-liberal ideology that advocates for liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms through free markets including labor recruitment (see for example Harvey, 2005). But such discussions are beyond the scope of this research.

Kloosterman and Rath (2001) argue that markets are the major components of the opportunity structure that facilitate better understanding of the concept. This is from the assumption that any opportunities for (immigrant) entrepreneurs in contemporary societies are fundamentally connected with market dynamics and policy regulations (Kloosterman et al., 1999: 8). The market provides opportunities for entrepreneurs by setting the physical economic space to forge products, through combining different resources in a value adding way, and sell these products to their customers (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001: 192). Of course, for opportunities to occur in markets there must be enough demand for a certain bundle of products, either goods or services (Rath, 2007: 5). Therefore, opportunity structures for businesses occur in very specific and identifiable product markets. The creation of a new business in a specific market context requires a delineation of a specific set of products along with a specific set of production processes targeting more or less identifiable customer base anchored in a definite time and space (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001). In other words, new businesses, with large prospects for success, are those which imply the demand for certain products, and occupy specific place on the market with identifiable set of products (Swedberg, 1994: 255). Above and beyond, for the entrepreneur, to establish a particular business in response to the demand from the market side requires the right kind of resources such as financial, human, and social (and ethnic) capital (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001). Put in other words, markets have to be accessible for new entrants.

The third component includes the different forms of rules, institutional frameworks, and governance affecting business activities on different scale levels (Rath, 2003; Mitchel, 2015; Kloosterman et al., 1999). These politico-institutional factors regulate markets through defining the specific conditions of market exchanges, such as the type of commodities to be sold, which economic actors can sell them, and under which particular set of conditions (Kloosterman, 2010). Regulation of economic actions creates barriers through defining legal boundaries as to what entrepreneurs can do. Simultaneously, it also creates a stable and predictable environment of exchange that facilitates business operations (Rath, 2007). Thus, as Rath (2002) argues, politico-institutional factors can both constrain and enable the possibilities for business within particular opportunity structures.

2.3 Mixed Embeddedness & the Ethnic Tourist business

Researchers have argued that it is difficult to understand the inherent nature of the ethnic tourist business by merely analyzing the social and cultural predispositions of the entrepreneurs involved in it (Kloosterman & Rath, 2003; Kloosterman et al., 1999; Rath & Kloosterman, 2000; Hall & Rath, 2007). Even though factors like entrepreneurial behaviour and competitive ethos are also relevant, focusing on the web of complex relationships centering on ethnic entrepreneurs and their position in the boarder urban economy helps to better understand this occurrence. The ethnic tourist business is largely affected by a myriad of other factors that include "...changing market structures and the dynamics of supply and demand, urban renewal and revitalization, the role of regulatory structures and larger governmental frameworks and the impact of the 'third sector' or actors within civil society" (Aytar & Rath, 2012: 4). For this reason, any research on the commodification of multiethnic neighborhoods for leisure and consumption, and resultant ethnic tourist business must be grounded within the mixed embeddedness perspective to foster comprehensive and contextual understanding of these phenomena (Rath, 2007: 5). Concrete evidences from successful gateway cities show that multiethnic neighborhoods have the clout to captivate the interests of outside visitors only if they emerge as thoughtfully commodified spaces of cultural production and consumption (Ibid: 9). This transformation process, in most of the cases, is not natural, rather the collective end product of the subsequent social, cultural, economic and politico-institutional factors that are to a large extent contingent on each other in a process of cumulative causation (Kloosterman & Rath, 2003; Kloosterman et al., 1999; Rath & Kloosterman, 2000; Hall & Rath, 2007).

Hall and Rath (2007) contend that an ethnic infrastructure capable of supporting such contrived commodification processes is the primary requirement for the formation of an ethnic tourist business. Most ethnic landscapes, except the artificially manufactured ones, are formed through the everyday activities of immigrant communities. This implies that it is particularly important for ethnic communities to find a spatial locus to live, congregate, imprint multiple features of their ethnic identities and presence, and strengthen their social linkages for setting up their business activities (Rath, 2007). This spatial confinement is necessary for the production of the ethnic tourism space.

The mere presence of immigrant communities in ethnic precincts cannot automatically entice outside visitors by itself (Rath, 2007). There should be some sort of immigrant entrepreneurship to create those features that radiate the distinct characteristics associated with them. Immigrant entrepreneurs need to discern existing opportunity structures to form their ethnic businesses that deal with the commodification of particular features of their ethnic identity (Kloosterman et al., 1999). For ethnic businesses to flourish also requires small clustered neighborhood shops that help them in imprinting ethnic flavors onto the precinct, and fostering the socioeconomic exchanges with visitors (Hall & Rath, 2007). Ethnically themed restaurants, bars, groceries, commercial thoroughfares, bazaars, etc., have these desired mixing and containing characteristics, and roles.

Ethnic tourist business activities are integral parts of the recent large scale transformation processes in urban economies (Hall & Rath, 2007; Aytar & Rath, 2012). The opportunity structures for all urban tourism activities are the interplay of the breakdown of Fordist modes of production and the transformation of the manufacturing economy into knowledge based and beyond (Rath, 2007: 5). For Pine and Gilmore (1999), this process concurs with the occurrence of a form of hypercapitalism revolving around not only commodities and services, but also experiences. Cultural diversification due to continuous immigration, and the increasing intense competition between cities to stand out attractive for potential investors, presumptive inhabitants, holiday tourists, and mobile international capital are few of the changes that Western cities have experienced in recent years (Scott, 2000, 2007; Zukin, 1995, 1997; Florida, 2002). The manifestation of ethnic tourist-based business that deals with the commodification and marketing of ethnic 'Others' seamlessly fits well within these postindustrial transformation processes in the urban economy (Halter, 2000). The market openings for ethnic entrepreneurial activities are also dependent on the living standard, changes in the consumption patterns and practices of people living in Western cities, and the degree to which they develop distinctive tastes for immigrants' cultural products (Rath, 2007: 6). In other words, there should be enough number of consumers, who are captivated with the emerging ethnic-specific attractions.

As discussed above, it is important to consider the impact of macro level fundamental changes within market structures and the dynamics of supply and demand in pushing this scenario into reality (Aytar & Rath, 2012: 4). We have moved from Fordism, through Keynesianism, into embedded liberalism; and are

now under the influence of neoliberalism, which highly perceives the individual in control of oneself as an agent of change (Ibid). However, Zukin (1991) argues that there exists a critical infrastructure of individuals who largely influence people's consumption patterns and taste. The critical infrastructure includes wide range of knowledge workers within the tourism industry, which design cultural production and consumption. This often consists of tourist boards, cultural mediators and entrepreneurs, marketing firms, connoisseurs, business organizations, and government agencies, etc. The critical infrastructure shapes multiethnic urban landscapes through affecting the popularity of certain cultural products regardless of their own underlying intentions. This can be, for instance, through identifying particular cultural products, and making strong statements regarding their real or alleged authenticity (Rath, 2007: 7). Thus, it is no doubt that the critical infrastructure must support and promote ethnic-theming and commodification for the ethnic tourist business to thrive across multiethnic neighborhoods.

The commodification of multiethnic neighborhoods for tourism business also requires favorable regulatory frameworks, rules, policies, and institutional frameworks at different levels that support ethnic businesses and the whole transformation processes (Rath, 2007: 9-10; Kloosterman et al., 1999; Aytar & Rath, 2012). Opportunities offered by the economic environment for ethnic tourist activities are the outcomes of the politico-institutional factors that influence the position of small business economies (Kloosterman, 2010). Politico-institutional factors shape the postindustrial roles and functions of urban spaces, and the trajectories of different entrepreneurial activities occurring in these areas through informing what should be commodified and decommodified (Rath, 2002; Kloosterman, 2010). Any chances of the commercial use of cultural diversity and the dynamics of the consequential ethnic tourist business are contingent on the availability of compassionate policies, regulations and institutional frameworks (Rath, 2007). There needs to be the active participation and partnership with central government, city municipalities, land owners and developers to make ethnic tourism neighborhoods safe and accessible to outside visitors (Shaw & Karmowska, 2006; Shaw, 2011).

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

Choosing appropriate methodology for a research requires careful consideration. In other words, any decision in terms of selecting a sample, data collecting instruments, methods to analyze the collected data, and theories to guide the whole research process benefits immensely from a clearly justified research paradigm. This is particularly relevant since any form of research constitutes basic assumptions that are largely informed by the fundamental paradigm guiding it. A paradigm implies the researcher's position in relation to the question of what is real or reality (Ontology), knowledge of this reality (Epistemology), and the way this knowledge is gained (Methodology) (Denzin & Lincoln, 2001; Ackroyd & Fleetwood, 2000; Guba & Lincoln, 1999). The assumptions made in these three categories determine what constitutes as acceptable knowledge, and affects the ways in which the research questions are addressed. Accordingly, this section attempts to elaborate the research methodology based on the views held on ontological and epistemological assumptions in a logical and coherent manner that helps to accomplish the objectives of the thesis. I will also justify the rationale for the choices over certain research and data analysis methods.

3.1 Ontological Assumptions

Ontology describes the major views held by the researcher with regards to the way the world functions in terms of objectivism and constructionism (Saunders et. al., 2008). Objectivism is an ontological position which contends that social realities exist independently of consciousness, and are defined prior to their relation with individual actors. Gill and Johnson (1997) argue that realities exist in the form of empirical entities made up of hard, tangible and relatively irreversible structures. Thus, social actors can only attain objective knowledge about empirical realities from sensual perception, observation and measurement (Morgan & Smircich, 1980; Bryman & Bell, 2011:21). In contrast, constructionists assume that social realities and their meanings are consistently performed by social actors. Unlike objectivism, the cognitive categories people use to understand the social world are in fact social products in which their meanings are constructed and generated through social interactions (Bryman & Bell, 2011: 22).

This research draws on a social constructionist ontological position. I assume that social actors derive knowledge from the social world through their continued interaction, and immigrant entrepreneurs are no exceptions. The decision to involve in entrepreneurship among ethnic communities emanates from either a necessity or out of a choice, and in either of the cases, their decisions are affected by their complex surroundings, and their actions are in line them. Immigrant entrepreneurs are embedded in different social, economic and politico-institutional structures that affect their business activities. Particularly, entrepreneurs engaged in ethnic tourist businesses are in unremitting interactions with visitors, policy makers and other stakeholders, and they acquire the meaning of their activities through these interactions. I assume that the ethnic tourist business needs to be studied in depth from the constructionist way to foster our understanding of how its mixed embeddedness influences it.

3.2 Epistemology

Epistemology answers the question of what should be considered as acceptable knowledge. It deals with the sources, elements, and limits of certain knowledge and how this knowledge is justified (Bryman & Bell, 2011: 15). This implies understanding of the science behind the methods of acquiring the knowledge in a particular research. Positivism and interpretivism are the major philosophical positions within epistemology. Positivism advocates the implementation of methods from the natural sciences to the study of social reality. When applied to entrepreneurship research, it would help to clearly explain and make generalizations about the observable and measurable aspect of social reality in a manner which is similar to the one produced by physical and natural scientists (Hakim, 2000; Saunders et al., 2003: 83). Conversely the interpretivists' philosophical position emanates from recognizing the fundamental difference between the subject matter of the social and natural sciences. Interpretivists urge researchers to focus on understanding the interpretations that social actions have for the people under investigation. For them, social realities can be constantly constructed, reconstructed and deconstructed through multiple interpretations (Creswell, 2009).

This thesis follows the interpretative epistemological stand. This is from the assumption that immigrant entrepreneurs are social actors with experiences,

actions, memories and expectations in their entrepreneurial and ordinary lives that are influenced by the social world they are embedded. I try to interpret their everyday interactions based on their own understanding of the meanings of their roles, and against a framework of social, economic and cultural experiences that define how these social actors think of their own role. And the interpretivism position helped me to interpret the subjective reality of their action in order to make unique sense of the meaning behind it. I was part of the world of the immigrant communities and entrepreneurs involved in the study, and tried to view circumstances from their point of view.

3.3 Research Design

Deductive and inductive approaches consist of the general paradigm of enquiry underpinning the scientific method for a research. The principal difference between the two is that whilst a deductive approach uses existing theory to embark on interpretative work, an inductive approach is concerned with the development of a new theory from the emerging data (Bryman & Bell, 2011:13). Looking at the inherent features of the two approaches, this research has a deductive nature. The theory of mixed embeddedness is adopted from the outset to develop the research question, and foster a better understanding of the multifaceted social, economic and politico-institutional factors affecting the ethnic tourist business. Since the study is purely qualitative, no initial hypothesis was formed. I assume that the positionality helps to fulfill the objectives of the research.

3.4 Research Strategy

Research strategy provides a general orientation for obtaining answers to research questions. Generally, research strategies are categorized under quantitative and qualitative (Bryman & Bell, 2011: 26). Quantitative methods are favored by researches in the fields of natural sciences, economics, and business that have traditionally adopted a positivist philosophy (Caldwell, 1980). However, as an exploratory study, not only on the ethnic tourist-based entrepreneurship but also on the immigrant community, this research calls for an approach different from the natural sciences paradigm. The principal intention of this research is to uncover the myriad of social, economic, politico-institutional contexts in which immigrant communities and their entrepreneurial activities are embedded. This requires

uncovering the views, opinions, experiences, feelings and stories of all relevant stakeholders including immigrant entrepreneurs, other members of ethnic communities, politicians, development agents, urban planners and municipal authorities, representatives from not-for-profit organizations, etc. Through adopting subjectivist views on commodification, the process of business formation, resourcing and mixed embeddedness are all viewed from the research participants' perspectives drawing on data captured through their own narratives. Then, these perspectives and narratives are interpreted with the help of the conceptual framework. This interpretative approach subscribes to qualitative research methods to foster full-fledged understanding of people's perspectives (Bryman, 1984). The major advantage of qualitative methods is their ability to generate descriptive data on different social issues from people's words and observable behavior in their realistic environment. In doing so, they help us to develop new concepts and insights that can be used to analyze the phenomenon in similar contexts.

3.5 Case study

This empirical research is informed by the principles underlying interpretive case study. Darke et al (1998) propose that the case study method will be applicable in a research where investigation of the contextual dynamics affecting the phenomenon under study is main focus. This research approach is particularly relevant for this study as it attempts to explore the emerging involvement of ethnic communities as owners of tourist based ventures, and the wide range of key issues and variables that affect their entrepreneurial activities. My intention is not only to find the myriad of embedding factors but also to perceive the views, thoughts, opinions and personal experiences of different stakeholders that to a varying extent influence this thoughtful commodification process. An interpretative case study seamlessly fits for such purposes.

Commodification of ethnic neighborhoods is a relatively new phenomenon in Sweden. However, anecdotal evidences and media reports disclose that the process has begun to be apparent in gateway cities. The case study approach helps to obtain an up-close, in-depth, and detailed examination of this phenomenon. The case study research has been used as a principal tool for investigating similar trends and specific situations in different disciplines. The pillars of the thesis largely hinge on rigorous case study organized around the

emerging ethnic tourist business in *Rosengård*, Malmö. The city was selected over other Swedish cities due to the subsequent two important processes of changes shaping its urban landscapes. Just like most contemporary Western cities, Malmö is undergoing through a swift postindustrial transformation, and it has been a receptor of uninterrupted volatile global cultural flows forming numerous diasporic-shaped urban spaces. *Rosengård*, which is the research site, is the largest and most contested immigrant neighborhoods in Malmö with some important attributes similar to American and European immigrant precincts. Thus, the case study research design provides the possibility to test whether scientific findings and theoretical models from immigrant entrepreneurship studies in these areas can be validated in the Swedish context.

3.6 Data Collection & Analysis

3.6.1 Methods of Data Collection

The thesis is built upon a rigorous fieldwork conducted around two multiethnic business ventures that constitute the ethnic tourist-based entrepreneurship, and relevant stakeholders that affect it. Collaborating with the ethnic businesses abridged initial negotiations with informants, and deepened my research experience through providing set of initial community contacts and research base to plan interview scheduling. Due to the highly personal and socially sensitive nature of some part of the discussions, it was difficult to implement focus groups. I was aware of the fact that people might refrain from saying anything at all or refer to completely different issues within the prevailing political context of immigration in Sweden. As a result, I chose to implement semi-structured individual interviews as the principal data collection tool complemented with participant observations and serendipitous discussions. Semi-structured interviews appeared to be highly relevant for this thesis provided the fact they allowed for leads and perspectives to be explored at great lengths.

Fourteen people were regularly contacted for face-to-face interviews and follow-up discussions. I undertook six semi-structured interviews with “food ambassadors”⁷ and entrepreneurs associated in different ways with the “*Spices of*

⁷ These are ethnic residents who participate in the production of television series, cookbooks and culinary trip of “*Spices of Rosengård*”

Rosengård". The questions focused around the formation of this multiethnic venture, the challenges and progressive developments incurred through time, and the different factors affected its business operations. These interviews were further reinforced through my own participant observation in two season première culinary trips. I diligently observed how ethnicity and the locales of everyday life were commodified in a contrived manner to craft this emerging tourist-based business. Participating in the culinary trips formed opportunities for serendipitous discussions with the organizers and the participants regarding their overall experiences and a wide range of social, economic, cultural and institutional issues.

I also had an interview with the founder of a similar ethnic business known as "*Yalla Trappan*" to deliberate different topics including, but not limited to, the genesis of the association, its working structure, the ongoing developments, the nature of relations with other stakeholders affecting their work, the lives of immigrant entrepreneurs in the precinct, etc. An interview with a woman working at the unit helped to document interesting migration stories, her struggle to penetrate the membranes of the Swedish labor market, and the changes observed in her life after her involvement with the tourist business. I also interviewed a regular customer of "*Yalla Trappan*" to learn about his cultural tastes, preferences and experiences with ethnic cultural products. The commodification of multiethnic neighborhoods involves the active participation of the Central Government, urban municipalities, land owners and developers, not-for-profit organizations, etc. Having this in mind, interviews were made with an architect from the City Municipality, a project manager from MKB (the largest municipal housing company), and two urban development workers and an information officer from Rosengård City District Office. I was interested to know how each of these stakeholders affected the commodification process. The subsequent table provides a brief description of the participants of the research.

Table 1. Brief description of the research participants

No.	Name*	Gender	Organization	Type of involvement	Country of Origin
1.	Ghenwa Naim	F	<i>Spices of Rosengård</i>	Immigrant entrepreneur and spokes women	Lebanon
2.	Kristina Merker	F	<i>Yalla Trappan</i>	Mainstream cultural entrepreneur	Sweden
3.	Mustafa Yasini	M	<i>Spices of Rosengård</i> and <i>Falafel No. 1</i>	Immigrant entrepreneur and food ambassador	Lebanon
4.	Ahmed Hassen	M	<i>Bennets Bazaar</i> and <i>Spices of Rosengård</i>	Immigrant entrepreneur	Lebanon
5.	Goranka Vojislav	F	<i>Spices of Rosengård</i>	Immigrant entrepreneur and culinary trip organizer	Former Yugoslavia, born in Sweden
6.	Fatima Zaidi	F	<i>Spices of Rosengård</i>	Culinary trip organizer	Afghanistan, born in Sweden
7.	Zeineba Boulini	F	<i>Yalla Trappan</i> and <i>Spices of Rosengård</i>	Employee and food ambassador	Lebanon
8.	Amina Hassad	F	<i>Spices of Rosengård</i>	Owner of Spice garden, cover women and food ambassador	Afghanistan
9.	Anna Lindqvist	F	<i>MKB</i>	Project manager	Sweden
10.	Ismail Thor	M	Rosengård City District Office	Information officer	Somalia
11.	Markus Peter	M	-	Customer	Sweden
12.	Per Svensson	M	Rosengård City District Office	Development worker	Sweden
13.	Magdalena Alevrá	F	Malmö City Municipality	City planner and architect	Sweden
14.	Magnus Thomas	M	Rosengård City District Office	Urban planner and development worker	Sweden

* Some of the names are changed upon the requests of the participants

All of the research participants were approached based on their involvement and relation to the emerging business. My target groups were immigrant entrepreneurs who operated their ethnic businesses and/or participated as producers and

organizers of the multiethnic experience, ethnic residents who worked in the new venture, mainstream cultural entrepreneurs who helped in the creation of the business, and policy makers and development agents that affected the commodification process in different ways. I implemented the snowball sampling method (Bryan & Bell, 2007: 200) to select the respondents. Interviewees were approached via email and telephone to fix the date and time for the interviews, and provide a brief overview of the overall aim of the research and personal background of the researcher. The interviews began with basic questions about the participants' and then proceeded onto the variables that came out of the overall research objective.

3.6.2 Data Analysis

With the consent of the informants, all of the interviews were recorded using digital audio recorders. In the meantime, I also took summarized notes of each interview and observation in line with the major themes outlined in the research, and these were very instrumental in helping the final data interpretation and analysis process. My overall research engagement in the neighborhood juxtaposed to the responses from informants produced tremendous body of data to interpret and analyze. According to Handcock (1998), data analysis during a research process entails summarization of the collected mass data, and presentation of major findings in a manner that uncovers and/or understands the big picture. The data for this research were analyzed using a thematic narrative analytic approach. Thematic analysis is the simplest form of qualitative data categorizing and analytic strategy, which helps researchers first to review their data, make notes and sort them into different categories. Then, the analysis will shift from a mere reading of the data towards uncovering nuanced patterns, and developing themes (Boyatzis, 1998).

I used prior researches from North America and the UK that deal with the commodification of multiethnic neighborhoods, and the mixed embeddedness theory to identify the key concepts and variables that classified the informative information into initial categories. Then, these categories were further grouped into specific themes with their own operational definitions using the mixed embeddedness theory, which was adopted as the guiding conceptual framework. In the study, the three main building blocks of opportunity structures served as an initial framework to identify and categorize the wide range of social, cultural,

economic, political, and institutional factors that acted contingently to affect the ethnic tourist business in *Rosengård*. The data obtained from all the interviewees were compared with each other to synchronize the information in every category. Besides, there were efforts to maintain a clear understanding of each meaning in its unique context, and this helped to find out the latent information required to draw the 'the big pictures' for the study.

Chapter Four

4.1 Malmö as an Immigrant Gateway City

Malmö is now widely considered as popular gateway city that has evolved into one of the top immigrant destinations in Sweden. Although the city opened its doors to outsiders since the early decades of the 20th century, it saw a sudden rise in its foreign-born population only in recent decades. Today, some 31% of the population in Malmö is born abroad, and another 11% of the population is from foreign-born parents (City of Malmö, 2011). The rise in foreign-born population is attributed to the large international migration. Initially, most immigrants were foreign workers and daily laborers from Italy, Turkey, Greece, Portugal, former Yugoslavia, but also from the Nordic countries, e.g. Finland, who came to work in the factories. From the beginning of the 1970's, however, the city rather saw the beginning of refugee immigration from the Middle East and the Balkan region that changed its demographic profile significantly.

Making up almost one-third of its population, immigrants have a noticeable presence. It is easy to discern how they have altered some parts of the urban landscape, like *Möllevångstorget*, in conspicuous ways through their ethnic stores, restaurants and services for their co-ethnic clientele. Most of the immigrants live in urban neighborhoods, which are more homogeneous in their socioeconomic background than ethnicity. *Rosengård* is one of these largest physical forms of adaptation by immigrant communities. The neighborhood began accommodating immigrants after the native ethnic Swedes congregated to the contagious suburbs

due to the mounting unpopularity of the million housing projects⁸, which it was part of, and the green wave movement.⁹ The advent of foreign labor and influx of refugees was hailed by the urban authorities to recuperate the life and economy in the abandoned neighborhood. Information obtained from Rosengård City District Office shows that more than 86% of the inhabitants has some sort of foreign ancestry. Through the years, the precinct has been physically, socially, economically and psychologically cut off from the mainstream society and the brighter lights of the city. With its high level of unemployment, criminality, residential segregation and all sorts of social illnesses, it has come to represent the “SinCity” of Malmö. Most of its inhabitants are systematically barred from achieving a formal career in the host society. The fluid labor market characteristics combined with their proclivities for business have compelled a considerable number of them to engage in immigrant entrepreneurship, which can be manifested through the proliferation of several small ethnic business stores across the spatial landscape of the neighborhood.

4.2 Ethnic Entrepreneurship in Rosengård

From socio-economic point of view, most foreign-born population in the neighborhood with the exception of labor migrants, have found themselves in a rather marginalized position. When Malmö was an industrial town, most immigrants could easily acquire jobs since its industries dreadfully required their labor forces. Magnus Thomas, an urban planner and development worker at Rosengård City District Office, mentioned that “the labor migrants came to Malmö on Sunday, and they were already in the factories with their uniforms on the next day.” Although *Rosengård* was moving towards being ethnically segregated space following outflow of the native residents, and the inflow of labor migrants, but they were fully incorporated in the mainstream public sphere through their work, which also entailed the use of other services. As a result, these immigrants are today less

⁸ The million programme refers to Sweden’s ambitious housing project undertaken between 1965 to 1974 by the governing Swedish Social Democratic Party with an aim to build a million new dwellings (hence the project’s name) to provide affordable housing units to the mass.

⁹ This refers to a movement that swept the working class inhabitants from the then industrial city of Malmö to the contiguous suburbs of Svedala, Skurup, Lomma, Bjärred and Staffanstorp during the 1970’s in order to full fill the dream of having one’s own villa.

represented in immigrant entrepreneurship, and the section of the neighborhood where they reside barely consists of ethnic stores of any kind.

My interviews with immigrant business owners reveal that entrepreneurship among ethnic communities in Rosengård is the product of blocked upward socioeconomic mobility. With the industrial downturn following the oil crisis and recession, civil war refugees (and their families), who largely make up its contemporary demographic fabric, were met with unfavorable labor market situation. Under the framework of the global economic reformation, and the swift postindustrial transformation, the labor market in Malmö has attained a level of sophistication demanding high standards of qualification. Anna, a project manager at MKB, argues that the job market now requires country specific human capital such as good knowledge of Swedish language, organizational norms and behaviour, and work practices. Besides, there are no standard services that translate foreign educational qualifications and experiences directly into the labor market in Sweden. Zeineba Boulini came to Malmö as refugee from Lebanon with her husband following a civil war. Even she had three years of healthcare education and worked as a department head, she could not pursue with the same profession in Sweden. She believes that domestic employers lack much trust in foreign-acquired education and work experiences.

For children from foreign parents, factors other than deficiencies explain their exclusion from the labor market. My two Sweden-born informants, Goranka Vojislav and Fatima Zaidi, have labor migrant, and refugee parents from former Yugoslavia, and Afghanistan respectively. They argue that most job vacancies, although are meant to be reported to employment offices by law, are filled through informal networks and social contacts. These networks are limited for them, who spent their entire life in a segregated context with limited education. Ismail Thor, an information officer at "*Medborgarkontoren*" in Rosengård claims that young people find it challenging to drift from the stigma of a misspent youth with many of them having police records. Even for those, who are well-mannered, the inexorable link to their crime-ridden neighborhood makes it difficult for getting established in the labor market.

Hence, it is no surprise that most of the working age inhabitants remain unemployed. They are systematically barred from participating in the mainstream society through formal channels due to combinations of the above factors. For some of them, their choices were to accept jobs that were beneath their skill levels. For

many others, the growing labor market disadvantages along with their cultural propensities for business compelled them to configure their economic roles through entrepreneurship. They provided business functions primarily targeting certain groups of clients- those with direct attachment to their countries of origin. Their commercial strips have served uninterrupted surfs of migrants from different countries, co-ethnic clientele and other local residents. Most immigrants are drawn towards small and labor-intensive businesses in the form of pizzerias, falafel and kebab shops, grocery stores, butcheries, gift shops, supermarkets, clothing stores and other similar businesses with low entry barriers in terms human and financial capital that embrace ethnic elements into their daily operations.

Some members of the ethnic community involve in the emerging ethnic tourist business as producers and organizers in the form of either self-employed entrepreneurs or workers. Their businesses, cultural products, and immigration stories are featured in the contrived narratives during commodified guided tours and arranged visits to the neighborhood. However, one of the interesting finding is that most immigrant entrepreneurs do not carry out their daily business operations with a calculated intention to create mass visitor attractions. They set up their businesses, as Ahmed Hassen, who owns his store at Bennets Bazaar mentioned, to become self-sufficient and achieve their deprived upward social and economic mobility in the host society, and their daily cultural activities are integrated parts of interfacing with their co-ethnic members, reconstructing their previous life, asserting their ethnic identity, and warming their present life. Apart from the profits they earn from their business activities, they lack the awareness and skills to monetize their cultural resources and ethnicity to outside visitors. Goranka, who is one of the culinary trip organizers at Spices of Rosengård, claimed that it is puzzle for most of the ethnic communities to understand how their mundane life and other trivial events in the neighborhood intrigue the interests of spending spectators.

However, their small businesses have contributed to the ethnic ambiance of the area, and in doing so; they have carved their own niches in the incipient visitor-based economy through their self-employment and commodifying some of their cultural features to craft innovative ethnic businesses that sell cultural diversity. By involving in visitor-oriented commercial ventures, immigrants have provided an ethnic competitive advantage that supports largescale cultural transformation process in the district. In the subsequent sections, we will

investigate the cultural and material organizations, and implications of this evolving form of entrepreneurship.

4.3 The Ethnic Tourist Business: The Culinary Trip “*Spices of Rosengård*”

Rosengård consists of tremendous entrepreneurial talent and spirit, low-cost labor, and diverse cultural fabrics and practices that can be configured within its disparate resident communities for fostering an ethnic tourist business. In recent times, these competitive advantages have captured the interests of cultural entrepreneurs from the mainstream society and not-for-profit organizations who aspire to reorient the local economy. These stakeholders collaborated with immigrant entrepreneurs and other ethnic communities in the formation of new business functions attracting outside visitors tracking ethnocultural experiences to the neighborhood. These mainstream cultural entrepreneurs assumed organizing roles, and their experiences, intentions and perceptions helped to match the demands of visitors seeking exoticism and authenticity.

The cultural entrepreneur — Lena Friblick — explored the neighborhood’s cultural assets to produce a new multiethnic experience that is currently becoming key motor for social and economic revitalization. Her engagement with immigrant entrepreneurs and ethnic residents for six months created recipes and cooking episodes for the TV4 program called “*Nyhetsmorgon*” that were later converted into an innovative business concept called “*Spices of Rosengård*.” The production of the first season took place with the participation of sixteen people with exotic culinary practices (these are called food ambassadors), brief stories about their life and the cultural functions of their authentic food. The instant success of the first TV-show led to the creation of another season. Meanwhile, all the recipes from the TV programme together with the immigration stories of the participants were published in a book entitled “*Spices of Rosengård*”. All these processes were finally culminated in the formation of a multiethnic experience in the form of commodified guided tour, and the company *Xenofilia*, which manages the different activities. “*Spices of Rosengård*” now offers spice tours, packed oriental spices, cooking occasions, culinary courses and customized events.

The favorable responses from individuals and companies after the TV show and the publication of the book laid the foundation for the creation of the

culinary trip “*Spices of Rosengård*” in the summer of 2011. Ghenwa, who is the spokesperson of the company, explained that,

. . . after the book, a lot of people thought that it was great and they wanted to work with us. Different companies requested the participants to go out and inform people more about the recipes through cooking classes and other events. It is at this moment that we thought of creating a mechanism to maintain the inspiration that the book and the TV-show created. I started the culinary trip “*Spices of Rosengård*” last summer to stimulate more people through our cooking and spices.

For the cost of 295 Swedish Kronor, the trip participants get the opportunity to hike through *Rosengård* for approximately two hours while listening to contrived narratives about the multiethnic lifestyle, and tasting fresh ethnic herbs and food items from the Orient. The tour organizers begin by serving the participants with Lebanese bread called “*Maneesh*” and tea, and informing about the cultural functions of the food. Then, the participants are guided through carefully selected, packaged and symbolically imbued parts of the neighborhood with steady regulations, guidance and oral presentations from the organizers.



Figure 1: The beginning stage of the Culinary Trip “*Spices of Rosengård*”. Here, the spokesperson begins the trip by serving Oriental food, and informing its cultural functions. Pictures by the author.

The new innovative commercial functions at “*Bennets Bazaar*” constitute the opening plots of the culinary trip. “*Bennets Bazaar*” refers to the name of the “*Bokaler*”¹⁰ built in 2009 to give immigrant entrepreneurs the opportunity to rent a

¹⁰ “*Bokaler*” is the combination of two Swedish words— “*bostad*” (home) and “*lokal*” (business premises)

flat located on the first floor of a three-story apartment from the million programme together with the newly built glass fronted commercial outlets. Ahmed Hassen owns one of the stores to run his shop that specializes in Oriental snacks and pastries. According to him, this architectural structure has blurred the commonly perceived border between the working and the living space providing opportunities for immigrant entrepreneurs to integrate their commercial functions with domestic tasks. This new lifestyle categorizes immigrant entrepreneurs in a "better social matrix" offering a unique sense of self and identity through sets of aesthetic and symbolic expressions that are subjectively meaningful to them. It represents the shift from traditional business structure towards future way of living and working. These latent symbolic and aesthetic attributes of one's sense of self and membership among the "future" social groups provide the cultural base for business constituting the contrived narratives of the culinary trip and different forms of visits organized by housing agencies and other stakeholders. "Bennets Bazaar" has variety of offerings that gives it exotic tangs with stores serving oriental food items, sweets, imported gift items, ethnic clothing, pastries, and spices. The main consumers of the market at the moment are mostly the residents; but it has begun to be a key motor to the local economy through reviving the missing multiethnic shopping experience. The large sized pictures displayed on the buildings facing the bicycle route provide additional picturesque narratives to inform strollers and visitors about the variety of ethnic gastronomic practices.



Figure 2. Participants of the Culinary Trip "Spices of Rosengård" while consuming the architecture and the new lifestyle of the Bokaler at Bennets Bazaar. This is a concrete manifestation of the contemporary physical and social transformation processes in Malmö due to the changes from Fordist commodity production towards more aestheticized consumption practices. This shift in the economic structure and consumption

patterns has created the opportunity structure for immigrant entrepreneurs to engage in ethnic tourism in urban neighborhoods. Pictures by the author.

Few moments after, there is a break at urban agriculture allotments owned by ethnic communities. The Afghan war refugee — Amina — owns a plot of land to grow everything from her country. The participants stop-off at her garden to relish fresh oriental leeks, vegetables and ethnic herbs. After a while, the partakers continue their visit towards “*Falafel No. 1*”. Located at the back of Rosengård Centrum (RoCent), the store attracts a lot of people during lunch times. Mustafa, who is the entrepreneur, propelled his first store fifteen years ago with the help of his father. He explains that his father began selling falafel already when they lived in Lebanon. So when the family fled to Sweden following a civil war, it was natural for them to engage in similar business stream. It took ten years before the family taught themselves Swedish, saved money and got all the paperwork sorted out to establish the property. In no time, *Falafel No.1* began to be the public favorite and its reputation reached out across the whole areas of Malmö. The falafel cart has emerged like a business empire with the family members maneuvering nine similar restaurants in the city at the moment. Here, the participants get the opportunity to experience another ethnic recipe.



Figure 3. Participants at the allotments while testing ethnic spices. An inherent form of this entrepreneurship is the commodification of culture, ethnicity, ethnic products and locales of everyday life, and their transformation of into economic value. Pictures by the author.

Finally, the culinary trip comes to an end with a visit to a similarly formed ethnic venture known by the name “*Yalla Trappan*”. The enterprise grew out of a series of projects (called “*Trappan*”) from the year 2006 to 2010 that sought to cultivate the competencies of underprivileged women for future employment opportunities. The

social entrepreneur—Christina Merker—organized few of the passionate women from the projects to craft this new meeting and market space in the form of a workers' cooperative through combining social, cultural and educational activities with work and entrepreneurship. She argues that the cooperative, which is run by a non-profit board, now operates a café serving breakfast and lunch, and studio that performs different sewing jobs on submitted pieces under the same roof. It has also branched out into corporate catering. The eatery's oriental-themed menu, using locally grown vegetables and herbs, draws an enthusiastic clientele of people working at different organizations located in and around *Rosengård*, few local residents of different nationalities, visitors from the mainstream society, and also international tourists.

4.4 Implications of the Ethnic Tourist Business

The contrived aestheticisation and commodification of certain features of cultural identity, ethnicity, material culture and the everyday life in the neighborhood has constituted the ethnic tourist industry. Ethnicity is commodified in the process of developing this new form of immigrant entrepreneurship in the neighborhood. Both, members of the native society and international tourists, looking for ethnic cuisine or hedonistic experiences in exotic milieus are provided with ethnic gastronomies and other aesthetic functions adapted and modified to suit their tastes. The thoughtful valorization of material culture and space has transformed and re-framed the neighborhood as commodified space of consumption. The built environment now functions not only as the space of experience production but also as an object of consumption in itself among visitors providing ethnic communities with opportunity structure to engage in different forms of similar entrepreneurship.

The emerging ethnic tourist entrepreneurship that largely deals with commodifying different features of ethnicity offers new prospects of socio-economic revitalization with opportunities that otherwise would not exist. It fosters the integration of immigrants into the labor market as owners, producers and organizers of tourist experiences. My two informants, Goranka Vojislav and Fatima Zaidi, who were handicapped from the labor market due to lack of social networks and incomplete school credentials respectively have procured employment from *Xenofilia* as organizers of the culinary trip of "*Spices of Rosengård*". Zeineba Boulini works at "*Yalla Trappan*" and earns her own income after twenty years of her life in

Sweden. Employment prospects constitute more than the bases of livelihood for the majority of immigrants in *Rosengård*. They are rather reflections of power, self-confidence and the feeling that they are equally acknowledged factions of the society. The working frontiers at both *Xenofilia* and “*Yalla Trappan*” have raised the power and self-esteem of women not only in their dealings with themselves but also with other family members. The founder of “*Yalla Trappan*” argues that,

That is why “*Yalla Trappan*” is so important! It shows how a woman, who has been so far from work, can be productive. Today, she stands up, she is employed, she is proud and she has got self-confidence. She is sitting at the table in the kitchen to stand up for the good values in the society in comparison with her teenage son coming and saying “ohh!! Fucking Swedish! I don’t care!”

Other immigrants like Ghenwa, and Mustafa involve in the tourist business as entrepreneurs, and their culture, ethnicity and immigration stories feature in the contrived narratives of the tours, and their stores are among the physically visited spaces. However, it is apparent that everyone involving in the immigrant tourist business do not automatically benefits from the process. Whether all the women behind the emerging multiethnic ventures procured abrupt financial gains is another dimension. Many of the women from “*Spices of Rosengård*” work voluntarily as “food ambassadors” with the assumption that their involvement might lead to further job opportunities and better reputations of their neighborhood. Amina, who is an Afghan war refugee, is one of the food ambassadors for “*Spices of Rosengård*”. Amina is famous in the shops and the city. She has become a fun figure and a cover woman. Just like many of the women in the project, she works voluntarily because she thought it will lead to a permanent work.

Chapter Five

5.1 The Mixed Embeddedness of Immigrant Entrepreneurship and the Ethnic Tourist Business

Understanding the inherent nature of different ethnic entrepreneurial activities in urban neighborhoods, and the prospects for large scale commodification driven revitalization processes requires analyzing the mixed embeddedness of these phenomena in a myriad of social, cultural, economic and politico-institutional factors.

5.1.1 Social Embeddedness

The impact of immigrant entrepreneurs' social embeddedness on their subsequent entrepreneurial strategies and outcomes has been examined in different contexts. Kloosterman et al (1999) studied how Islamic butchers managed cut-throat competition in the sector by pooling ethnically specific economic networks. Their principal strategies were recruiting labor from their own group of relatives and friends of co-ethnics, paying in kind or in terms of strengthening relationships, and entering an agreement to assist each other with other families. In his research about the sociospatial reproduction of immigrant entrepreneurs, Lee (1992) also uncovered that Korean entrepreneurs in Los Angeles significantly relied on economic support from family and community for survival regardless of their high level of human capital resources. The same forms of support structures are also found among ethnic communities in *Rosengård*. The findings of this research show that many immigrant entrepreneurs in the neighborhood are highly dependent on community-provided values to expedite their daily business operations. They rely on different cultural resources and economic support mechanisms located within the family, ethnic community and in-group solidarity. The two main benefits of this embeddedness within ethnically specific networks are the formation of ethnically distinctive demand and market base for their products and services, and the attainment of start-up capital required in the process of instituting their business. All immigrant entrepreneurs participated in this research claim that their financial capital is primarily drawn from family and ethnic resources. The most common ways of financing include a combination of personal savings, financial assistance from family and friends, and money from rotating credit and saving associations.

While conferring with the tenants how they would finance their business in the newly designed commercial fronts at the “*Bokaler*”, Anna, the project manager from MKB, was able to ascertain these unconventional ways of business capitalization within the ethnic enterprise. She further mentioned that;

We discussed with the tenants at the beginning how they would finance this. They said that they would borrow money from their relatives or family, and going to the Swedish banks was not an option. It was very important for us to know these different ways of financing their business.

These competitive advantages offer them with further opportunities to involve in multiethnic tourism business. Ahmed Hassen, whose ethnic store is part of the multiethnic experience at the “*Bennets Bazaar*” and the culinary trip “*Spices of Rosengård*”, explained that he relied on money from a rotating credit association for financing his business that specializes in Oriental sweets and pastries. This cultural tradition seems to be conspicuous among the Arabic speaking communities from the Middle East, and could be among the reasons for their overrepresentation in business activities in Rosengård.

Further advantages for ethnic entrepreneurs in the neighborhood are linked to the cost of reproducing labor. The immigrant entrepreneurs in this research are found to adopt unconventional processes in the utilization and recruitment of labor sources needed for their businesses. Labor sources configured within the entrepreneurs’ family, including spouses, children and siblings, and other co-ethnic members are instrumental ways of running their businesses. The collectivism drawn from stronger reliance on these labor resources makes immigrant communities in *Rosengård* successful in their business operation with more flexible work schedules. For instance, the success behind “*Falafel No. 1*” emanates primarily from its business structure to exploit ethnic resources. Labor of family members from Lebanon makes the store open for long hours, even during nights, holidays and weekends. Rath (2007), Kloosterman et al (1999), and Lee (1992) also similarly observed that this social embeddedness helps immigrant business owners to curtail transaction costs through discarding formal contracts. They can use labor sources from unpaid family members and co-ethnic groups facing labor market disadvantages to keep their stores open for extended working hours. The location of the incipient tourist-based multiethnic ventures in this advantageous positionality allows them to command a broad range of cheaply

available ethnic sources and reduce their labor costs. As we have already discussed in the previous section, many of the immigrants in *"Spices of Rosengård"* and *"Yalla Trappan"* are either volunteers or low-paid workers recruited informally from the neighborhood via personalized channels.

Apart from the entrepreneurs' immediate social networks, the emerging ethnic tourist business also benefits from their transnational social fields involving huge flow of material objects, labor and skills between their country of origin and residence. The transfer of cultural products from their home country basically constitutes the major part of immigrants' entrepreneurial strategies in the neighborhood. Although these objects primarily function in the making and holding together their social relations and make sense of their present life in Sweden (Povrzanovic, 2008), they also provide array of possibilities for creating distinctive cultural tastes for native customers. When Ghenwa opened her first store in Rosengård, people were largely attracted due to the spices that were produced at home using local ingredients imported directly from Lebanon and other parts of the Middle East. Ghenwa claimed to have developed this cultural skill while she lived in Lebanon.

When I opened my first shop in Rosengård, people could easily obtain fresh vegetables close to their home without going around in Malmö. The shop sold vegetables and fruits, but also home-produced spices such as *"sumac"*, *"kabsa"*, *"kibbeh"*, and *"zaatar"*. I prepared most of the spices by myself. Even when I was in Lebanon, my mother-in-law and I used to pick herbs, dry and mix them for our day-to-day consumption.

The transfer of such culturally unique diasporic objects, labor and skills from their homeland constitutes the market base behind all entrepreneurial activities including the newly formed ethnic tourist business. As we have already discussed in the previous sections, the actors behind the newly fashioned ethnic ventures synthesized the daily material objects of the residents with their cultural skills for creating the emerging multiethnic experiences that attract outside customers. Ghenwa now uses her inborn skills and the spices from Lebanon for organizing the culinary trips *"Spices of Rosengård"* for visitors hunting ethno-cultural experiences. Mustafa also involves with similar project as *"food ambassador"*. His business ideas, immigration stories, falafel recipes are all featured in the production of both

the culinary episodes and the book "*Spices of Rosengård*", and his falafel cart also makes up one of the several spots visited during the culinary trip.

5.1.2 Economic Embeddedness

One of the crucial components in this mixed embeddedness analysis is to discern the exact shape of the opportunity structure with respect to market openings for businesses (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001). It is often argued that most immigrant businesses are heavily skewed towards certain specific economic activities located at the lower end of opportunity structure, where barriers for entry in terms of human capital and financial outlays are considered significantly low (Kloosterman et al., 1997, 1999; Rath 1988, 1999). Immigrant entrepreneurs in *Rosengård* lack higher educational qualifications and considerable financial resources, and as we shall discuss below, these factors are clearly replicated in the kind of small-scale business activities they operate. Kloosterman (1999) argues that the market openings at the lower end of opportunity structure across the multiethnic landscapes of highly regulated Welfare countries are created due to the effects of invasion and succession processes on native local businesses. The uninterrupted influx of immigrants to urban neighborhoods may force native shop owners to leave as the opportunity structure for their businesses are gradually restricted. New openings arise for immigrant entrepreneurs through the emergence of a demand for different types of 'ethnic' products (Kloosterman et al., 1999: 9).

The market openings for businesses run by immigrant entrepreneurs in *Rosengård* are created on account of the collective processes explained above. Most of the commercial activities in the neighborhood are concentrated in the middle at *Rosengård Centrum* or commonly known as "*RoCent*". The center was built at the beginning of 1970s to provide shopping alternatives for Malmö inhabitants. All of the businesses in the center, during the first few years of its operation, were typically Swedish. The ownership of commercial space then shifted to immigrants, who established their businesses through time following the outflow of the native ethnic 'Swede' inhabitants. Currently, immigrant entrepreneurs own all of the shopping units serving specific groups of clients that have strong affiliations with their countries of origin. Most of the businesses are heavily skewed towards specific economic activities that cater for an 'ethnic' demand such as food products, groceries, herbs, gift items, butcheries, cultural clothing, and other diasporic objects

imported directly from their home countries. The common characteristics of these stores are the fact that they appropriate ethnicity as an element to sell for their economic survival. Ethnic gastronomies, languages, symbols and shared customs provide a protected realm and competitive advantage for their small businesses.

In recent times, immigrant entrepreneurs are also immensely benefiting from a whole new array of market openings formed after the emerging post-Fordist economy (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001). The current massive transformation in Malmö, from industrial mass production towards more aestheticized consumer-oriented practices, has produced further market opportunities for ethnic businesses and the emerging ethnic tourist-based entrepreneurship through nurturing the rise of those urban elites that are gravitated towards the neighborhood for alternative cultural tastes. Some of the cultural entrepreneurs, behind the incipient multiethnic ventures, have discerned the impact of volatile global cultural flows in fostering aesthetic urban cosmopolitanism through directing people's preferences towards revalorized multiethnic spaces. Lena lucidly argued, in the forward section of the book *"Spices of Rosengård"*, how the diverse gastronomic practices in the neighborhood can support distinct cultural tastes and experiences for the growing urban elites with aesthetic concerns that co-inhabit the former industrial space of Malmö with spatially segregated ethnic residents;

...traveling provides opportunities to experience new food traditions. The flavors and aromas will always entice memories. But we do not need travel abroad to enjoy the world's food. In the district of Malmö, Rosengård, there exist more than hundred nationalities with different food culture.

Lifestyle trailers in the city must no longer travel vast distances for configuring consumption opportunities since the bourgeoning multicultural space for their sake now distillate distinct material objects, cultural practices, and lifestyles, or their reproductions, from different corners of the world. In postindustrial cities like Malmö, the traditional working social class structure dissolved giving rise to individuals, who want to be identified mainly with their cultural tastes and preferences than their occupational characteristics. This situation has created tremendous opportunity structure for immigrant entrepreneurship. Markus, one of my native informants, belongs to these emerging groups of citizens with tastes for others' culinary elements and sybaritic cultural experiences in exotic environments. He claims to frequently dine at *"Yalla Trappan"* and other ethnic-themed restaurants

located in the district. But his grandfather, who was among the first native working-class inhabitants of Rosengård, lacked similar predilections and forbearance for Others' gastronomic practices. Markus further explained that,

My grandfather had never eaten pasta or pizza; he only knew typical Swedish food like potatoes, chicken and sauces. He was not happy when the labor migrants from Italy, Greece and other parts moved into the district, and started to cook different food. It was totally new for him. He was saying that he could not eat pizza and pasta, because that was animals' food for him. But my generation is raised with pizza and pasta, and my kids love kebab, sushi and falafel.

It was the physical and emotional discomfort of experiencing new flavors and aromas from their multiethnic neighbors that drove out native inhabitants, like Markus's grandfather, from the neighborhood in the 1970's. However, cultural shock in itself has become an instrument for acquiring new life perspectives, and an opportunity structure for immigrant businesses and multiethnic touristic experiences. It is the scents and tastes of different ethnic gastronomic practices that entice Markus and other ethnic 'Swedes' towards Rosengård to participate in the culinary trips of "*Spices of Rosengård*" or to shop from the ethnic stores at "*Bennets Bazaar*".

5.1.3 Politico-institutional Embeddedness

Different national and regional policies, frameworks of rules and regulations and their enforcement, institutions, and housing policies and tenancy arrangements set in different times have significantly affected the opportunity structures available for the different forms of immigrant entrepreneurship in multiethnic urban neighborhoods (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001; Mitchel, 2015; Rath, 2007; Kloosterman et al., 1999). When it comes to the institutional framework, Sweden has since the middle of the 1970s incorporated multiple traits of ethnic or cultural pluralism into its Welfare State Policy (Carlbom, 2003) although such important cultural capital is not protracted to facilitate culture-based urban entrepreneurship and economic development in underprivileged multicultural neighborhoods. Experience from North America and the UK shows that a growing number of cities exploited the cultural resources and entrepreneurial skills of their multiethnic communities to invigorate disadvantaged immigrant precincts suffering from multifaceted

economic strains (Chan 2004; Bell & Jayne, 2004; Shaw, Bagwell & Karmowska, 2004; Shaw, 2011: 382). For instance, urban municipalities in the UK involved themselves in amplified competitions to secure grants from the central government for designing their own strategies of neighborhood development through the commercialization of diversity with the help of immigrant entrepreneurs (Shaw, 2011).

Nonetheless, city municipalities in Sweden, with their more hierarchical forms of administration, are not comfortable by the idea that authorities within cities exploit the cultural diversity within their districts without reference to the national or regional plan to direct inward economic flows. Although Malmö comprises ten semi-autonomous city districts, the central government presumes the leading role in designing urban regeneration strategies and infrastructural development projects. Magdalena Alevrá, an architect and urban planner at Malmö City Municipality, disclosed that the proliferation of a system of governance in which each city council competes with others for national funding to design its own development strategies through commodification of ethnic resources facilitates the process of identity formation that emphasizes “differences”. This contradicts with their adamant effort to create efficiently integrated homogenized urban spaces. The following extracts from an interview with Magnus Thomas, a development worker at the City District Office, lucidly explicates the above arguments;

. . . we want the whole city to get tighter. We do not want places with unique identity to form. We have no goal to have this China Town thing being established. I think Malmo is too small for that. . . [Now] some of the companies, business organizations and politicians want to establish the thing that we are working to get rid of.

The proliferation of multiethnic spaces, having their own discrete identities, tends to disrupt their craving to create elite dominated homogenous urban fabrics. As a result, cosmopolitan neighborhoods like Rosengård have now become prime targets of “homogenization” processes through authoritarian administrative machinery demanding the inhabitants to embrace diverse elements of “Swedishness” into their everyday lives, and extensive urban planning policies that envisage reworking the prevalent demographic fabric through different infrastructural changes to intrigue elites to the districts. These processes rigorously constrained the opportunity structure for the formation of several ethnic tourist

oriented entrepreneurial activities within multiethnic neighborhood. Even if self-initiated commodification and tourist-based ventures are emerging, with the collaboration of cultural entrepreneurs, they are not widely acknowledged and supported by urban authorities, planners and developers. Different regulatory frameworks, such as housing policies and tenancy agreements, further restrict the appropriation and transformation of physical space by immigrant entrepreneurs for supporting the ethnic tourist industry. As a result, although the neighborhood consists of more than hundred multiethnic groups, their contribution towards shaping the built environment through imprinting compound features of their ethnic identity and presence onto the landscape has been trivial. There are no concrete symbolic and material manifestations of distinct cultural identity in the form of street furniture, exotic signage, commercial thoroughfares, festivals and other events in the public space that could be commodified instantly as exotic backdrops for supporting ethnic tourism-based businesses.

Above all, the way the entire neighborhood was planned from the beginning has significantly affected all forms of immigrant entrepreneurial activities. *Rosengård* was created as part of the much-debated 1960's national policy for providing affordable modern lodgings for the Swedish working class. The strong architectural influences from the functionalist ideals of the Swiss architect Le Corbusier resulted in massive high-rise buildings that are difficult to transform into any forms of commercial functions. It lacks small clustered neighborhood shops to support the sprouting business propensities among immigrant communities. A project manager at the largest municipal housing owner in the district —MKB — claimed that “. . . there is tremendous spirit of entrepreneurship, but few properties where business can flourish”. Anna further argues that;

Rosengård was planned according to modern ideals that people would live and work in different areas. The area was not built for small shops or any neighborhood business functions, because it only constituted apartments all the way down to the ground floor. . . .but there is a big entrepreneurial spirit; sometimes people bring their car and open out the back trunk to sell fish, or there come some small cars with fruits. There are a lot of people, who go there to do their groceries or to buy fish, even though it is not a proper place to do it. The entrepreneurial spirit, as I said, we can even notice it in the apartments. From the bike path, you can notice signs of some businesses, but it is difficult to know exactly where they are situated because they are confined somewhere

in the apartments. This makes it clear that the area was not built for any kind of business activities.

The urban authorities and planners behind this huge modernity project were far from envisaging the contemporary demographic and socioeconomic transformations in the district. This is clearly reflected in the absence of clusters of multiethnic neighborhood stores in stark contrast to similar multiethnic spaces in North America and UK that promote vibrant exotic life presented against a colorful backdrop of lights, exotic signage, banners, and other forms of street decorations (Chan 2004; Bell & Jayne, 2004; Shaw, Bagwell & Karmowska, 2004; Shaw, 2011). Rosengård lacks urban textures which enable outside visitors to interact with ethnic communities, and consume different forms of cultural products. However, a recent institutional policy change within MKB helped to revive openings for small-scale ethnic businesses and the immigrant tourist-based entrepreneurship. MKB built new innovative commercial outlets called “*Bokaler*” at “*Bennet Bazaar*” to provide immigrant entrepreneurs with unique opportunities to flourish their small businesses. In doing so, it has become the first major physical transformation in *Rosengård* with a massive step towards the re-development of the district through providing new business structures for ethnic entrepreneurs. “*Bennet Bazaar*” has revived the missing multiethnic shopping experiences in the neighborhood, and boosted its social exchange with the rest of the city. It fosters interactive public life through providing outside visitors with functional spaces to hang around and consume different ethnic cultural products. “*Bennets Bazaar*” is now part of the emerging tourist-based immigrant business with its multiethnic shops being among the spots visited by outsiders, and the architectural structure and innovative life style constituting the contrived narratives of the culinary trip “*Spices of Rosengård*.”

5.2 Discussion & Conclusion

This thesis investigated the structural dynamics of immigrants’ commercial manifestation of ethnicity, ethnic diversity and expressions of culture to create multiethnic ventures appealing to outside visitors. The mixed embeddedness perspective was implemented as a conceptual framework for guiding the research. The fact that the perspective was originally hypothesized within a research context of informal economic activities located at the lower end of market structure under a corporatist welfare state (Kloosterman et al., 1999; Mitchel, 2015) makes it relevant

to analyze entrepreneurial occurrences like the ethnic tourist business. In doing so, it helped to map out the myriad of social, economic, and politico-institutional structures shaping this emerging economic involvement of immigrants in *Rosengård*.

Ethnic communities assume two forms of involvement in the emerging ethnic tourism business; they provide the entrepreneurial drive and the cheap labor source required to institute the business. One of the advantages of the approach was its ability to broadly examine how the systematic embeddedness of immigrants in local social and economic networks, diasporic relationships and transnational networks forms the opportunity structure for all forms of entrepreneurial activities, including the ethnic tourism business, in the neighborhood. However, the lack of individual level analysis of each entrepreneur or firm involved in it makes the perspective inefficient to document the intricate relationships between the acting agents and/or their firms and the external contingent factors. Few scholars have voiced these concerns to the academic world. Mitchel (2015: 53) labeled the perspective too structuralist in nature focusing too much on opportunities and market openings while disregarding how the entrepreneur and/ his or her firm systematically respond and react to them. Similarly, Pütz (2003) also argued that the increasing emphasis on economic opportunity structures made it difficult to understand the origin and development of the contexts that led for the entrepreneur's decision to exploit them. For instance, the findings of this research show that the immigrant entrepreneurs in *Rosengård* primarily establish their business ventures for becoming self-sufficient, and their main drives are blocked mobility and systematic discrimination in the labor market. While these broad factors could be investigated through the framework, it remained difficult to analyze how each of these factors could eventually lead to involve in entrepreneurial processes.

The other major critique forwarded towards the mixed embeddedness is regarding its blurred picture of immigrant entrepreneurs and their firms through downplaying the core role of ethnicity and culture (Mitchel, 2015). Rezaei (2007) contends that cultural-ethnic elements constitute the core elements of immigrant businesses affecting their every operations, products, strategies and relationships with other businesses. The findings of this study also show that through establishing and operating tourist-oriented commercial ventures, immigrants in *Rosengård* are providing what Rath (2007) terms a *diversity dividend* or an *ethnic*

advantage. With their small and innovative ethnic businesses, immigrant entrepreneurs are now carving their own niches in the market for cultural diversity. An inherent aspect of this entrepreneurial occurrence is the commodification of culture, ethnicity and locales of everyday life, and their transformation of into economic value. In other words, different forms of ethnic elements and their contrived manipulation constitute the business model of the emerging ethnic tourist business in *Rosengård*. Scholars (Rath 2007; Lee, 1992; Hall & Rath, 2007) argue that these kinds of localized processes are inherent parts of the global shift in immigrant entrepreneurial processes in the retail and service sectors from the selling of labor towards the selling of ethnicity. Ethnicity and its multiple manifestations are now transformed into objectified commodities that are organized, packaged, sold, and marketed among retail and service based firms to be ultimately consumed in the local and global market. In doing so, they have become an integral part of the entrepreneurial strategies of immigrant entrepreneurs and ethnic enterprises. However, as also claimed by Mitchel (2015), the nuanced view of how the three core features of immigrant businesses, namely ethnicity, culture and *Otherness*, are entangled, infused and enacted with each other to create entrepreneurial opportunities and strategies is inherently lacking in the mixed embeddedness approach.

Ethnic communities in *Rosengård* lack the skills, knowledge and wide outside network base required to exploit the opportunity structure or market openings for the ethnic tourist business. In classic countries of settler immigration, government bodies, such as urban municipalities, city planners and authorities, commonly assume the leading role in facilitating the opportunities for immigrant entrepreneurs to engage in the ethnic tourism business through providing trainings and other required support mechanisms (Chan 2004; Bell & Jayne, 2004; Shaw, Bagwell & Karmowska, 2004; Shaw, 2011). Besides, the role of growth coalitions (also called *civic boosterism*) and critical infrastructure of individuals is instrumental in connecting immigrant entrepreneurs with the *symbolic economy*. These actors impact the opportunity structures for ethnic-tourist based ventures through influencing the demands for and consumption of commodified cultural products (Rath, 2007). However, none of them play any role in the case of *Rosengård*. Both the local growth coalitions and critical infrastructure in Malmö are primarily occupied with the production, promotion, commodification and marketing of urban fabrics for elite housing and consumption than taking part in the emerging

commodification process. As a result, the embryonic ethnic tourism business is not part of the larger tourism industry within the city. The tourist-based multiethnic ventures are formed with the involvement of enthusiastic native cultural entrepreneurs, who aspired to reorient the local economy. They have the mental structure to understand the market openings within the *symbolic economy* for ethnic tourist related businesses, and the wide range of network structures required for instituting businesses.

The findings also show that regulatory structures and institutions do not provide support for the ethnic tourist business. Although the political landscape and policy settings favor and support multiculturalism, the urban local state in Malmö is not interested in the commodification of ethnicity. Still local policies and development efforts are often geared towards integrating and homogenizing multiethnic spaces into the mainstream system. The proliferation of distinct neighborhood level commodification processes are perceived to promote identity formation; and thus different regulatory frameworks forbid the appropriation, objectification, modification and transformation of spaces by ethnic communities. The ethnic tourist business in particular and other immigrant entrepreneurship activities in general have not benefitted from favorable politico-institutional frameworks and support structures. This is part of the reason why the neighborhood still lacks neighborhood shops, commercial thoroughfares and street blocks that manifest ethnic flavor to support the ongoing immigrant entrepreneurship.

5.3 Policy Implications of the Research

Over the past few decades, numerous postindustrial Western cities acknowledged the tourist potential of ethnic diversity, and the entrepreneurial skills of their immigrant communities as vital resources for prosperity and socioeconomic developments. In doing so, they encouraged the transformation of regular ethnic precincts into business arenas through the commodification and marketing of ethnic diversity. Most countries of settler immigration have witnessed the emergence of the ethnic tourist industry in their cities some time ago, and have benefitted from the resultant inflow of business and employment opportunities. This research shows that similar tourist-based entrepreneurial activities and transformation processes are also on the rise in Sweden. Multiethnic spaces are

blessed with tremendous entrepreneurial spirit and talent, low-cost labor, diverse cultural fabrics and practices, and broad social and economic support structures to be configured among ethnic communities for supporting tourist based business ventures and activities. The findings also show that ethnic entrepreneurs have collaborated with different actors in the formation of tourist-oriented multiethnic businesses that are becoming panacea in refining some of their socioeconomic problems.

Immigrants constitute significant percentages of the demographic fabric in large cities such as Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö, and they occupy most of the disadvantaged neighborhoods that could benefit from similar commodification processes and entrepreneurial occurrences. The findings show that these developments usually require the active participation and partnership with central government, city municipalities, land owners and developers, stakeholders in the tourism industry, and not-for-profit organizations. A considerable investment needs to be undertaken to make them more accessible for visitors and upgrade the public realm. Nevertheless, the role of the public sector needs to be more of facilitation of favorable conditions than direct involvement. In Sweden, the huge potentials of ethnic culture and diversity for providing new frontiers of socioeconomic growth has been fundamentally overlooked among urban growth entrepreneurs. This research provides policy makers and planners with insights into self-initiated commodification processes, and helps them to accommodate such developments while designing their urban development policies. As I already mentioned, authorities in Sweden constantly refer to Anglo-American researches while designing policies related immigrant entrepreneurship and ethnic neighborhood development processes due to dearth of available researches. This research provides them with a glimpse of the Swedish context.

5.4 Research Implications & Future Research

This research opens up new frontiers for further studies within the field of immigrant entrepreneurship. A close scrutiny of the researches in the discipline shows that most of them deal with issues such as the proclivity of certain groups towards entrepreneurship (Light, 1972; Hammarsedt, 2004; Metcalf, Mood & Virdee, 1996), the entrepreneurial paths of immigrants and their reasons for engaging in business (Barrett, Jones & McEvoy, 1996; Collins et al., 1995; Ram, 1993;

Saxenian, 1999). However, the growing involvement of ethnic communities in tourist-oriented commercial ventures, and the range of factors that affect this entrepreneurial occurrence have been largely overlooked. This study provides initial insights for further researches on the issue. By any means, this study should not be taken as a complete piece for understanding the inherent nature of this complicated phenomenon. Further comprehensive researches need to be undertaken to examine the nature and characteristics of the ethnic tourism business. Future studies in this regard can closely examine how its contribution for socioeconomic growth, the relationship between immigrant entrepreneurs engaged in ethnic tourism business and the critical infrastructure and growth coalitions, and the connection between the ethnic tourism business and the broader *symbolic economy* within the city.

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