



LUND UNIVERSITY
School of Economics and Management

Immigrant entrepreneurship

Utilizing entrepreneurs' cultural capital as marketing strategies in the
restaurant industry

by

David Marriaga

Edgar Leon

Master's Programme in Entrepreneurship, New Venture Creation

Supervisor: Craig Mitchell
Examiner: Caroline Wigren

Abstract

Immigrant entrepreneurs who get involved in the restaurant industry face different challenges to promote their restaurants and attract new customers. However, immigrant entrepreneurs' cultural capital is an important asset that can be exploited to overcome these challenges. This paper seeks to identify and explore what is the cultural capital that immigrant entrepreneurs use as marketing strategies in the restaurant industry. It also describes the marketing acculturation process that their marketing strategies have gone through along the start-up and development phases of their restaurants.

This study is based on four case studies of four restaurants located in Lund and Gotland (Sweden) using a qualitative approach through first-hand interviews and direct observation. The data analysis consists on case analysis and between-case analysis methods to gain an in-depth analysis of every restaurant and identify similar patterns in the cases, respectively.

The research's findings show that the main cultural capital used by immigrant entrepreneurs as marketing strategies is knowledge of the product, cultural values, and the entrepreneurs' network through word-of-mouth. Moreover, social media and service marketing were identified as essential marketing strategies since they can incorporate all cultural capital including knowledge of the product, network, family, cultural values, and employment of co-immigrants. Additionally, the entrepreneurs from the case studies went through an acculturation process that consisted on learning the market culture and adapting their marketing strategies.

The study suggests that the geographical context should be extended to gain a broader perspective of entrepreneurs from different immigrant backgrounds located in other cities. Moreover, the methodology of this research can be used as a process to explore additional cultural capital that immigrant entrepreneurs can count on. Likewise, immigrant entrepreneurs might use the research's findings to identify their own cultural capital and the acculturation process to maximize their marketing strategies.

Keywords: immigrant entrepreneurs, cultural capital, marketing strategies, marketing acculturation.

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1 Introduction

In today's business world, small new firms play an important role in the economy of a country. In recent years, scholars have documented and studied different aspects of these firms (Ram et al., 2001, Burns, 2014). An important sector of these firms are those involved in the restaurant industry, which has experienced a revolutionary process of free trade in the last decade (Olper et al., 2014). Thus free trade and globalization have made possible the incorporation of new culinary cuisines, different delivery methods, and an overall new experience in the way people around the world are dining today that was unheard of before, and it keeps changing.

Entrepreneurs of different backgrounds and practices have directly influenced the restaurant industry. Some may think of the "avant-garde" chefs experimenting new dishes with new ingredients substituting textures, fusion cuisine mixing traditional sushi with Caribbean dishes for example, or revolutionary concepts such as having a meal in complete darkness. However, an important group that might go unperceived, and are as equally important, are immigrant entrepreneurs¹. An immigrant entrepreneur is a person that comes from a different country, regardless of the minority background, and starts a business (Mitchell, 2015; Jamal, 2014). The immigrant entrepreneur may be influenced by different pull or push decisions to start his own business (Burns, 2014; Clark & Drinkwater, 2000): cultural background (Hammarstedt,

¹ Immigrant entrepreneurs will be the term mainly used in this thesis due to its ability to encompass a broader set of individuals that share an entrepreneurial endeavor and come from different countries. This term is interchangeable with ethnic minority entrepreneurs by some authors, but we will stick to immigrant entrepreneurs since it will not limit the scope of individuals pertaining to a particular culture or ethnic group. A further description of the definitions can be found in section 2.1.

2004; Rath & Kloosterman, 2000), pure economic situations to survive (Barret et al., 2002; Kloosterman et al., 1999), or a combination of both, the cultural and economic aspects (Kloosterman et al., 1999; Kloosterman, 2010).

Some of these immigrant entrepreneurs, in most cases due to a barrier of entry in the form of some sort of discrimination, e.g., language skills, social prejudice, or legal qualifications (Ram et al., 2001; Mitchell, 2015; Ram, 1992), turn to smaller operations in the restaurant business. Historically, and for some of the reasons mentioned above, these small scale restaurant operations have increased in quantity all over the world in different countries (Light, 2000). Albeit, there are other barriers of entry into starting a new restaurant in a different country that immigrant entrepreneurs face (Teixeira, 2001): permits, financing, environmental uncertainty, consumer behavior, and competition (Eravia et al., 2014). Moreover, intensification in competition is one of the most important factors affecting immigrant entrepreneurs who decide to stick to the restaurant industry (Ram et al., 2000).

Regardless of these obstacles, small restaurant business are one of the preferred industries that immigrants entrepreneurs turn to (Ram et al., 2001), as they have historically been a source of income for themselves and other members of their community in a new country (Ram & Holliday, 1993). These entrepreneurs, with their low scale operations, are key to the expansion of their traditional cuisines across borders, regardless if they just became localized in their cultural neighborhoods or if they became accepted by a larger market, outside of their standard cultural boundary of operations (Ram, 1997). This expansion is executed through a new service or product provided by the company, the pursuit to tailor itself to a different customer base, or a combination of the above (Masurel et al., 2004); it is a way for the businesses to differentiate themselves from their competition and evolve.

This is the setup for our thesis. Once immigrant entrepreneurs decide to make the decision to go into the restaurant business, they come to the dilemma of how to successfully attract

customers to buy and consume their products with the intent of establishing a profitable business. Immigrant entrepreneurs have been subject of different research studies that tried to understand their predisposition to market themselves and their businesses (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990). Hence the objective of this thesis is to explore the different cultural capital² that immigrant entrepreneurs use as marketing strategies in the restaurant industry. The insights from the research will help us identifying which cultural capital has been used in general, not just focusing on which are the resources that have led to the success of the company.

The purpose of the present work is to identify and explore what is the cultural capital that immigrant entrepreneurs use as marketing strategies in the restaurant industry by tracking different insights from immigrant entrepreneurs owning ethnic restaurants, their employees and customers, and compile this information into solid conclusions. The research will be helpful for different actors: firstly, we will contribute to the field of entrepreneurship by complementing the limited studies in this area; and secondly, the conclusions of the research will help other immigrant entrepreneurs to be aware of the various resources they could use as a marketing strategy for practical purposes in a similar kind of business.

This research specifically addresses the concept of immigrant entrepreneurs owning ethnic restaurants in Sweden; it does not include the insights that entrepreneurs from other countries have when starting a new business. Moreover, the country where the study is being directed is Sweden; other countries within Scandinavia or the rest of Europe are not being taken into consideration, although some solid conclusions could be drawn by our findings. In the future, new studies would give a different insight that could modify the conclusions proposed in this

² Within the context of this thesis, cultural capital is characterized by the cultural resources that immigrant entrepreneurs possess and share within a particular social group. In section 2.2 we provide a more comprehensive definition of this term.

thesis; however, this research can serve as a ground field to compare the possible differences that may arise when analyzing immigrants in other countries.

This thesis is divided into five main sections. Following the introduction, section two reviews previous literature within the topic of this thesis, including definitions and characteristics of immigrant entrepreneurship, cultural capital, and marketing strategies and acculturation. Section three describes the methodology used in the research process, which is based on immigrant entrepreneurs owning ethnic restaurants in Sweden. Section four consists on the analysis of the empirical study and a further discussion. Finally, section five presents the main insights derived from the research as a common conclusion among the different sources of information.

2 Literature Review

This chapter will explore literature that is relevant to understanding the current study. The main topics to be discussed are immigrant entrepreneurship, cultural capital, and the marketing acculturation and strategies within immigrant entrepreneurship. Different definitions of immigrant entrepreneurship from various authors and its characteristics will be explored. A variety of resources that immigrant entrepreneurs have as part of their cultural capital will also be described. Finally, the area of marketing will be discussed in order to describe the marketing acculturation process and some marketing strategies found in existing literature.

2.1 Immigrant entrepreneurship

Within the field of entrepreneurship, there are two main terms to identify an individual that originates from a different country and starts a business (Högberg et al., 2014). Primarily the UK, USA, the Netherlands, and the majority of the west use the term ethnic minority entrepreneur, while in Sweden and Scandinavia the term immigrant entrepreneur is preferred. This section will go over the proper definitions, the reasoning why immigrant entrepreneur is the selected term for this thesis, and the characteristics of an immigrant entrepreneur.

2.1.1 Definitions

Ethnic minority entrepreneur. This specific term refers to all foreigners who start their own business; it includes first, second and third generation immigrants (Mitchell, 2015) regardless of the actual ethnicity. The major requirement of this term is that the individuals must be descendants of foreigners and pursuing self-employment. Although it is widely used, the term can be misleading since its significance might associate an ethnic background as a necessity and minimize the scope of individuals that are represented in this group (Mitchell, 2015).

Immigrant entrepreneur. Particularly in Sweden and Scandinavia the term immigrant entrepreneur is used to include those first and second foreign-born individuals who pursue their own business (Mitchell, 2015). In Sweden, the term is used because the Swedes have local defined minority groups (Högber et al., 2014), hence the use of the term ethnic minority may be misinterpreted when used by others. Given that other countries in Scandinavia also have a preference for the term immigrant entrepreneurship, it is perceived that a similar context may occur. Other countries that use the term immigrant entrepreneur usually refer to the loose meaning of including foreign and foreign descendant business owners.

For the purpose of this thesis, the broad definition of the term immigrant entrepreneur will be used since it can easily incorporate a wider audience of individuals that go to a new country to make a new life for themselves, in which a job is needed for financial self-sustainability, regardless if they chose or are forced to turn into developing their own businesses (Clark & Drinkwater, 2000; Ram et al., 2001; Mitchell 2015; Burns, 2014). Moreover, in an effort not to sub-categorize, label and unconsciously discriminate against individuals (Högberg et al., 2014), we argue that by focusing on immigrant entrepreneurship a wider variety of cultural values, tendencies and practices are more inclusive of the work presented, and can be used as a foundation to bring forth a positive view of self-employment in a foreign land.

2.1.2 Why do immigrants turn into entrepreneurs?

In the field of ethnic entrepreneurship, there are three major perspectives that scholars have identified influence an immigrant to turn into entrepreneurship: the cultural perspective in which due to a person's cultural background determines whether the person is prone or not to an entrepreneurial endeavor (Rath & Kloosterman, 2000; Hammarstedt & Shukur, 2009; Mitchell, 2015); the structural perspective, where different authors argue that an immigrant's pre-disposition to become an entrepreneur really depends on an economic nature, the need to survive, and make a living (Reitz, 2005; Barret et al., 2002; Mitchell, 2015); finally, the mixed embeddedness perspective, which concludes that an immigrant entrepreneur is a product of culture and necessity (Kloosterman et al., 1999; Mitchell, 2015).

At its origin, Clark and Drinkwater (2000) identified that at the root of the motivation to pursue self-employment an entrepreneur is either pulled, pushed, or a combination of both. Based on this argument, those entrepreneurs that are pulled tend to be aligned more with the

cultural perspective: their inner-motivation is a result of their embedded cultural values that vary and are dependent of the origin of the entrepreneur (Hammarstedt & Shukur, 2009), i.e., Asian and Jewish communities. On the contrary, those immigrants that are pushed into entrepreneurship do it because they do not have other option, failing to find themselves employed and in need to find a means of income (Barret et al., 2002). The difficulty of finding employment is based on multiple barriers of entry, mostly due to some discrimination such as lack of language skills, work permits, or race (Reitz, 2005). Whereas the mixed embeddedness perspective acknowledges that the cultural and economic influences cannot be mutually exclusive from one another (Kloosterman et al, 1999), we argue that both cultural and structural aspects are present in an entrepreneur's motivation, although there can be an unbalance between the pull and push factors.

It is important to understand the different motivational perspectives and how the pull and push factors come into effect. These will provide an insight into the availability and use of different cultural capital that immigrant entrepreneurs can use. The compilation of these resources is considered as cultural capital, which is explained in detail in the next section.

2.2 Cultural capital

In this subsection, we discuss the existing literature regarding few studies that have been done about the cultural capital that immigrant entrepreneurs use for marketing purposes during their business development phase. According to Aldrich and Waldinger (1990), immigrant group members use only the resources that are available to them because of their surrounding environments and these are in constant change. These two authors support this argument with an example showing that immigrant businesses specialize in the same immigrant members' problems using the knowledge they have in the community's consumer tastes and preferences. Before going further, it is vital to define the concept of cultural capital to understand the focus of our research.

Pierre Bourdieu first introduced the term cultural capital defining it as the collection of symbolic elements such as skills, tastes, awareness, and knowledge that a person acquires through being part of a particular social class (Bourdieu, 1984); when people share similar forms of cultural capital, a sense of collective identity and group position is created. Bourdieu

also classifies cultural capital into three forms: embodied, objectified, and institutionalized. The context of this study considers only the embodied form, which is characterized by the conscious and passive acquisition of properties, skills, and knowledge over time through socialization, culture and traditions (Bourdieu, 1984). For the purpose of this thesis and in relation with immigrant entrepreneurship, we decided to focus our arguments on Bourdieu's ideas, as his definition of cultural capital matches what our study intends to explore, thus we argue that *cultural capital is characterized by the cultural resources (i.e., properties, skills, and knowledge) that immigrant entrepreneurs possess and share through culture, traditions, and socialization within a particular social group.*

Network

Having defined cultural capital, we will now focus on describing some of the resources that authors within this field have identified as being utilized by immigrant entrepreneurs. A primary resource that has been explored in different studies is the network that immigrant entrepreneurs possess. This network can be represented by the efficient distribution of resources along the vertical organization of a business, i.e., one firm feeds another within the immigrant community utilizing common arrangements such as extension of credit (Bonacich, 1973). Similarly, the cooperation between related immigrant companies to compete in a country's industry is part of the network availability. For instance, financial capital is one important resource that may result from this cooperation: due to immigrants' lack of credit history with a bank, they may use their network to take in personal loans as an extension of credit (Altinay & Altinay, 2006). In fact, immigrant networks can be strengthened by local economic exclusion leading the immigrants to increase the group cohesion and density or networks and in consequence, gaining access to more group resources (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1996).

Cultural values

Cultural and behavior values have also been identified as relevant resources for immigrant entrepreneurs. Among different studies, some authors argue that the common values in the immigrants' culture contribute to particular ways of thinking and behaving, influencing everyday actions and decision-making that lead to becoming entrepreneurs (Adendorff & Halkias, 2014). Similarly, Altinay and Altinay (2006) argue that some ethnicities perform better at entrepreneurship than others: by belonging to a specific ethnic group, entrepreneurs

can inherit certain characteristics that may lead to entrepreneurial tendencies. In contrast, Bonacich (1973) argues that these particular ways of thinking and adopted characteristics may also lead to become part middleman minorities (i.e., an intermediate status position between elite and masses). For instance, some members of middleman minorities groups just want to make enough money to return to their home countries and they prefer not to get involved in the host society (Bonacich, 1973; Altinay & Altinay, 2006). Moreover, immigrants want to keep alive the cultural ties and they stick to certain values such as regional, linguistic, political, and religious, which are resources that help to strengthen the business activities within the immigrant community (Bonacich, 1973; Clark & Drinkwater, 2000).

Family

Family is another important resource that forms part of the cultural capital and is claimed to be among literature a great advantage for many immigrant entrepreneurs (Ram et al., 2000). For instance, a recent study suggested that immigrant family businesses are more prone to detect emerging growing opportunities and to use existing resources into innovative strategies to take advantage of these opportunities (Adendorff & Halkias, 2014). In fact, entrepreneurs trained at an early age to run a business by their families acquire skills that will aid them in the future if they decide to pursue the entrepreneurial path (Altinay & Altinay, 2006). Similarly, Ram et al. (2000) state that not only family support can provide finance and cheap labor, but it also provides motivation and moral support to push entrepreneurs in the business activities. Among these advantages, family is also considered as being one of the main motives to preserve traditional culture practices within a firm (Ram et al., 2000).

Employment of co-immigrants

Another important feature or resource that has been widely reported in literature within the entrepreneurship field is the recruitment of co-immigrant employees, i.e., employees with the same immigrant background (Ward, 1991; Ram et al., 2000). Ward (1991) suggests that co-immigrant employees are considered to be more trustworthy, facilitating the managerial labor for the immigrant entrepreneur. This cultural resource has another important advantage: co-immigrant employees are more prone to accept a set of obligations within the business that are characteristic of a family firm (Bailey, 1985). However, not only these immigrant ties influence entrepreneurs to hire co-immigrant employees: immigrant entrepreneurs face a complex decision when they have to evaluate technical and behavioral skills that adapt to the

specific job (Kitching, 1994). Despite this complexity, the immigrant ties between employees and employer are considered as an important resource for immigrant entrepreneurs when running their businesses (Ram et al., 2000).

Knowledge of the product

Before proceeding to the next section, it is necessary to describe one more cultural resource: knowledge of the offered product or service. According to Kaufman and Hernandez (1991), immigrant entrepreneurs have an advantage in the marketplace because they own an intimate knowledge of consumers' customs and product preferences, at least among consumers within their immigrant community. In fact, this advantage can be the basis to transmit the aesthetic experiences of the products to a different set of consumers, i.e., consumers outside the immigrant community (Maffesoli, 1996). For instance, the study by Jamal (2003) showed that some restaurant owners knew the recipes for cooking traditional meals and their consumers were able to identify the originality of the food and to maintain their cultural identity by eating at these places. On the contrary, Penaloza and Gilly (1999) found that small companies such as restaurants had a disadvantage because the founders relied on the experience of few employees; however, the cooking skills of these few employees were enough to keep the originality of the offered product.

2.3 Marketing acculturation and strategies

Marketing is an important strategy that helps companies to link products and customers by evaluating customer needs and making efforts to fulfill those needs (Fejza, 2013). In existing literature, there is a continuous debate about the importance of a marketing department within a company. Some authors suggest that having a marketing department in an organization is a very good strategy for growth, which will help to plan long-term objectives and tide up the business with the market needs (Fifield, 2007; Moorman & Rust, 1999). However, other researchers suggest that the marketing department within a company has very limited decisions and it is not the main driver to business performance (O'Sullivan & Abela, 2007). For the purpose of this work, we agree that marketing is an important part of any firm's growth especially in the entrepreneurship context, where various authors have highlighted the importance of marketing activities as major performance drivers in the process of a new

venture's growth (Ramaswami et al., 2013). To support this posture, we use the definition proposed by Kerris Bright, Chief Marketing Officer at Ideal Standard, which defines a marketing strategy as the ability to effectively run and design processes that lead to a profitable growth within a firm (Marketing Week, 2012). In the two following subsections, we focus on the marketing strategies that immigrant entrepreneurs have utilized in their ventures and the acculturation process that marketing has gone through during different ventures' growth phases.

2.3.1 Marketing strategies

Marketing strategies have become fundamental pieces in the marketplace adaptation process as they experiment constant changes. Some authors agree that marketers need to respond to consumer differences with segmentation and marketing mix strategies along a continuous process (Bouchet, 1995; Sheth et al., 1999; Edwards, 1994); this process is maintained by consumers from different cultural backgrounds who join through different bonds such as tastes, habits, intellectual pursuits, and modern technology (Maffesoli, 1996). Jamal (2003) argues that the interaction and adaptation among these consumers are facilitated by the marketing practices of marketers. For instance, he found that some consumers maintained their original cultural identity by consuming their traditional meals and celebrating their cultural and religious festivals on a regular basis; the subsistence of these practices was facilitated by marketers through the display of signs in their outlets to guide consumers or the construction of religious institutions to celebrate their religious festivals (Jamal, 2003).

Jamal (2003) identified two different kinds of marketers: ethnic and mainstream. To continue in line with our concepts, we will consider the ethnic as immigrant marketers, who are also the immigrant entrepreneurs; the mainstream marketers, on the contrary, are the entrepreneurs who do not have an immigrant background. Jamal, in his study in 2003, compiled some marketing strategies used by immigrant marketers to attract the immigrant consumers: availability and promotion of a huge variety of traditional products in a different country; distribution of a variety of media including newspapers and magazines to make immigrants feel like at home. These strategies had a common goal: marketers aimed to provide emotional glue to their consumers' culture of origin (Jamal, 2003).

According to existing literature, the initial market (protected market) for immigrant entrepreneurs is within the immigrant community itself (Ram & Hillin, 1994), and is characterized by a cluster of immigrants that live in the same area and that are probably discriminated in other city areas, allowing the immigrant entrepreneurs to have an advantage because the needs and preferences are well known within the community (Light, 1972; Aldrich et al., 1985, Ram et al., 2003). In a study performed by Ram and Hillin (1994), it was found that immigrant entrepreneurs relied on their existing customer base within the immigrant community, and the marketing strategy for their services was through word-of-mouth only. Similarly, some entrepreneurs placed considerable emphasis on listening to the recommendations of their employees and regular customers (Ram & Hillin, 1994).

In the immigrant business development process, a different stage known as the “breakout” may be reached. This phase occurs when immigrant entrepreneurs expand their businesses outside saturated markets through diversification in the products or services (Ram et al., 2003; Allen & Busse, 2015). This new diversification needs to be transmitted to the customers, and immigrant marketers utilize other strategies in order to diversify (Ram & Hillin, 1994). Different marketing strategies have been identified in various studies to reach the breakout phase; for instance, an active promotion of mainstream and foreign products through their outlets at competitive prices and convenient locations; a transfer of cultural knowledge by guiding and informing mainstream consumers about the use of unfamiliar products, e.g. immigrant chefs in restaurants provided advice on how to cook certain recipes (Jamal, 2003; Hetzel, 1993). These strategies show that immigrant marketers aimed to loosen a potential opposition towards different modes of consumption among their consumers (Hetzel, 1993). During the process, immigrant marketers “facilitated the consumption of many aspects of consumer culture” (Jamal, 2003, pp. 1613). Some other immigrant entrepreneurs developed their marketing approaches by improving their shops outlook and introducing facilities for payments (e.g., credit cards); using more proactive selling techniques; relocating their shops to locations with growth potential, and joining local business associations (Ram & Hillin, 1994).

Given that the setting of this thesis is the restaurant industry, it is important to consider service marketing strategies in this section. Service marketing is defined as the marketer’s ability to influence the customer’s experiences (Echeverri & Skålen, 2011; Grönroos, 2008; Prahalad & Ramaswamy, 2004; Ramírez 1999). Recent studies have focused on four concepts

related to the use of service marketing in different ventures' practices that are essential for their performance and contribute to customer satisfaction and loyalty behavior; these concepts are: service quality, the servicescape, internal marketing, and augmented service (Räisänen & Grönroos, 2015; Boksberger & Melsen, 2011). Service quality refers to the customers' expectations and preconceptions on the venture's service; the servicescape is the physical setting of the place where the service is provided; internal marketing reflects the internal quality oriented towards the customer such as job quality, employees' salary and satisfaction, good communication through leadership-oriented management, and training; augmented service involves customer-oriented activities, practices, and offerings (Räisänen & Grönroos, 2015).

Before proceeding to a summary of the literature review, it is important to describe a previously mentioned marketing strategy: the selling techniques. Marketing strategies are useless if a firm is not able to sell the products or services it offers, thus it becomes very important to discuss the sales techniques used by immigrant entrepreneurs (Powers et al., 2014). A seminal study in this area is the work of Penaloza and Gilly (1999), where they identified different selling techniques that immigrant entrepreneurs used to sell not only to co-immigrant customers, but also to mainstream consumers. For instance, merchants at their shops spoke two languages (co-immigrant and local) and greeted the people passing by, creating a personalized approach that customers appreciated (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999). Similarly, Kaufman and Hernandez (1991) emphasize the importance of speaking the language of consumers in the selling phase. In an analysis of Mexican stores in the USA, Penaloza and Gilly (1999) found that some customers resisted to pay stated prices or accept credit terms; the immigrant entrepreneurs at the stores were forced to negotiate prices and accept different kinds of payments to those customers, adapting their selling techniques to keep their customer base (Ram & Hillin, 1994).

2.3.2 Marketing acculturation

In the last 20 years, existing literature acknowledges a constant evolution leading to multiculturalism in the contemporary marketplace. For instance, Jamal (2006) argues that consumers of one culture interact and adapt to marketers' offers from another culture. Penaloza and Gilly (1999) argue that intercultural contact among consumers is an important feature for the contemporary marketplace. Another important argument is found in Jamal's

study (2003), where he states that the diversity of individuals in the marketplace dictates the interactions taken by consumers and marketers (i.e., immigrant entrepreneurs) that come from different ethnic backgrounds; this means that businesses are owned by people of a certain ethnic background who aim to serve the needs of customers of different ethnic backgrounds (Jamal, 1996). Within the same context, the term acculturation is fundamental for this recent evolution because it describes the phenomena when individuals from different cultures are in constant first hand contact, and in consequence change their original culture patterns (Berry, 1997; Jamal & Chapman, 2000). Most researches have focused on how the acculturation process has affected consumers' behaviors (Jamal, 1997; Jamal & Chapman, 2000; Penaloza, 1994); however, a few have tried to explain the acculturation process in the marketing field by extrapolating some findings to marketers, who have the need to adapt culturally too. For instance, Penaloza and Gilly (1999) defined the marketer acculturation as “the general processes of movement and adaptation by marketers of one cultural market system to consumers of another cultural market system (pp. 84)”. In order to further explain this acculturation process, these two authors developed a model, shown in Figure 1, based on the learnings and adaptation strategies that different marketers utilized to work effectively with consumers. This model is of vital importance for our research because it will help us to draw some conclusions about common cultural capital utilized by immigrant entrepreneurs as marketing strategies.

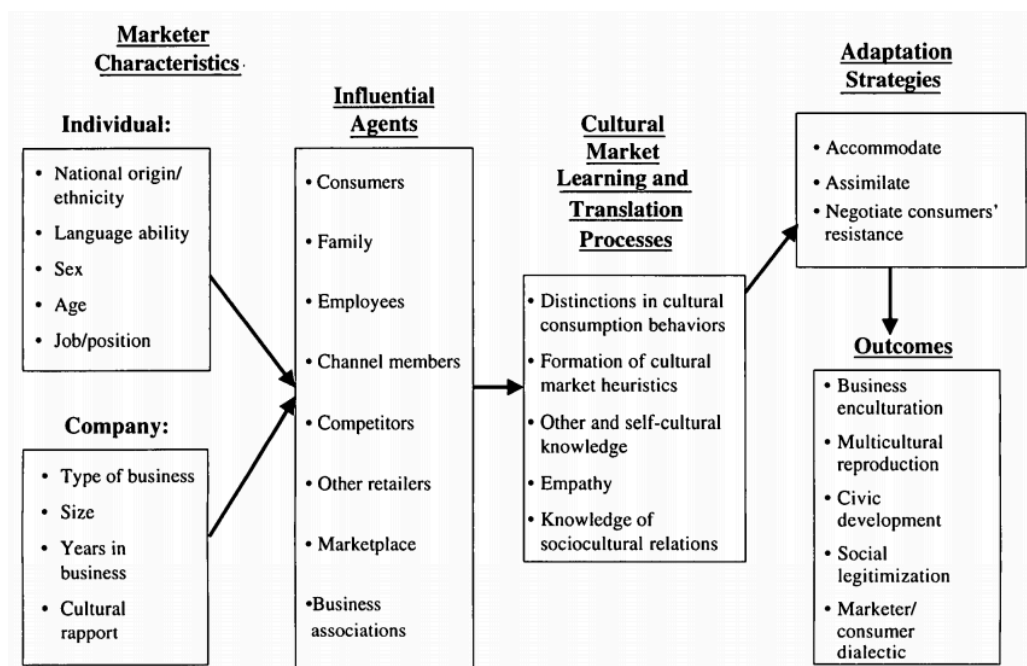


Figure 1. The Marketer Acculturation Process (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999)

The marketer acculturation process begins when a marketer targets a culturally different group of consumers. In this phase, the marketer's characteristics differ from each other's including individual characteristics (e.g. nationality/ethnicity, language, age) and company characteristics (e.g. type, size, years in business). In the second phase, the influential agents play a primordial role affecting directly the interaction process. These agents included understanding the consumers' requests; family members as source of information about consumers; employees as source of cultural market knowledge; formulation of assortments through channel members; emulation of other retailers' practices within the same marketplace; and involvement in business associations to compare strategies. The third phase is where the cultural market learning process takes place through distinction in consumption behaviors; formation of cultural market heuristics (guidelines for marketers' behavior based on consumers' behaviors); cultural translations based on reformulation of expectations; empathy (emotive understanding of customers); and awareness of larger sociocultural issues affecting consumers. The fourth phase refers to the marketers' adaptation strategies: accommodation or specialization of needs and wants through products assortments and sales support services, for example; assimilation efforts by trying to alter and direct the customers' behaviors towards the local market system; and negotiation of customers' resistance (e.g. negotiation of prices). The last phase is related to the outcomes of the acculturation process. These outcomes are: business enculturation (accommodation and negotiation in fourth phase); multicultural reproduction (i.e., appeal of the marketplace stores); civic development (rejuvenation of the marketplace atmosphere); social legitimization (i.e., names, availability of products and market customs); and marketer/consumer dialectic, which as a final outcome, creates a close cultural relationship between marketers and consumers (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999). This final outcome is closely related to Jamal's (2003) study conclusions, where he found that marketers interacted with customers from different ethnic backgrounds by facilitating products and commodities originated from their home countries.

2.4 Chapter Summary

Along section 2, the distinction of an ethnic and immigrant entrepreneur was described. For the purpose of this thesis, we stick with the term immigrant entrepreneur, which includes those first and second foreign-born individuals who pursue their own business (Mitchell,

2015). Immigrant entrepreneurs possess certain cultural capital depending on their cultural background. This cultural capital is characterized by the cultural resources that immigrant entrepreneurs possess and share within a particular social group (Bourdieu, 1984). Immigrant entrepreneurs' cultural capital can be represented in different forms, for instance: social network (cooperation and organization among immigrants), cultural and behavior values, family (moral support, financial support, inherited skills), recruitment of co-immigrant employees, and the knowledge of the firm's products or services (Bonacich, 1973; Altinay & Altinay, 2006; Aldrich & Waldinger, 1996; Adendorff & Halkias, 2014; Altinay & Altinay, 2014; Ward, 1991; Ram et al., 2000; Bailey, 1985; Kitching, 1994). By being aware of their cultural capital, immigrant entrepreneurs can use it as marketing strategies for the benefit of their own businesses. Some of these marketing strategies include: availability and promotion (signs, distribution of media) of traditional products in a different country; word-of-mouth; adoption of competitive prices and convenient locations; guides on how to use certain products; shop outlooks; introduction of facilities for payments; service marketing; and proactive selling techniques (Jamal, 2003; Ram & Hillin, 1994; Ram et al., 2003; Allen & Busse, 2015; Räsänen & Grönroos, 2015; Hetzel, 1993). In a continuous changing marketplace most of these marketing strategies have an acculturation process defined as the phenomena when individuals from different cultures are in constant first hand contact, and in consequence they change their original culture patterns (Berry, 1997; Jamal & Chapman, 2000). We showed a model of marketing acculturation for which final outcome shows that immigrant entrepreneurs interact with customers from different ethnic backgrounds by adapting their marketing strategies to increase their customer base.

3 Methodology

3.1 Research design

The research design of this paper focuses on compiling the cultural capital that the different immigrant entrepreneurs used as marketing strategies to promote their restaurants in Sweden; our findings provide further information that contribute to the field of immigrant entrepreneurial marketing. The objective of the research is not to do a detailed comparison between the actions taken by the entrepreneurs and the outcomes of their marketing strategies, but to record and categorize what they used and considered as valuable strategies in their respective restaurants.

The method to conduct our research consists on a qualitative approach using case studies of different restaurants owned by immigrant entrepreneurs located in Sweden. Choosing immigrant entrepreneurs as the focus of our research is due to two main reasons: firstly, restaurants are among the most common kind of companies that immigrant entrepreneurs are involved with (Ram et al., 2001; Mitchell, 2015; Ram, 1992); and secondly, immigrants may have used similar cultural capital to market their restaurants as they target similar customers in Sweden, facilitating the formulation of robust conclusions for our research.

3.2 Research Setting

The research setting is the Swedish ethnic cuisine restaurant industry owned and operated by immigrant entrepreneurs. The data collected is based on a qualitative approach made up of two important methods: participant observations and semi-structured in-depth interviews. The collection process took place between the 2nd of February of 2016 and the 28th of April of 2016. The timespan allowed us to identify potential research restaurant candidates, evaluate them against the selection criteria, conduct the necessary interviews and observations, analyze

the data, and record findings. An expected result of this methodology produced different and unique case studies that generated general findings; these in turn allowed a between-case analysis approach better suited for this methodology (Bryman & Bell, 2015; Eisenhardt, 1989).

To answer our research question, restaurants considered for the study had to meet two very important criteria: 1) at least one of the restaurant's founders had to be an immigrant; 2) the restaurant had to sell primarily ethnic food. Based on the sample selection discussed in section 3.3.1, the study focuses on restaurants located in Lund and Gotland. Although both are small-populated areas in Sweden, the two cities are quite different from each other. Lund is one of Sweden's oldest cities and it houses a population of approximately 85,000 inhabitants per year, where 42,000 are students (Facts and figures, 2015), and the city is empty during the summer; whereas Gotland is an island with close to 57,300 inhabitants year round (Welcome to the municipality of Gotland, 2015) and it is best known as a summer travel destination for Swedes and tourists. Aside from their differences, both cities include different types of restaurant concepts, ranging from the traditional casual style dining restaurants, to mobile food trucks, and takeaway establishments. Even though the business model for these venues varies from each type of concept, the restaurants all meet the criteria previously described.

3.3 Data Collection Method

The collection method is based on a qualitative approach, where the responses were compiled and structured to create objective conclusions to support the research purpose (Bryman & Bell, 2015). Interviews with the founders and direct observation of different restaurant features (e.g., name, menu, food, taste, decoration, ambiance, webpage, and social media platforms) were the primary data source used in our research; additional data included short interviews with influential agents included in the marketing acculturation process model (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999) such as customers and employees. The interviews followed the main steps when conducting qualitative research outlined by Bryman and Bell (2015), in particular the collection of relevant data and its interpretation.

3.3.1 Sample selection

There were two fundamental approaches to identifying potential immigrant restaurants for the study: the first was a web search via Google, and the second was a local discovery in Lund by mapping ethnic restaurants in the city. The web search focused on key words that included two or more search parameters such as “Sweden”, “restaurant”, and an ethnic cuisine related to a country such as “Mexican”, “Indian”, and “Japanese”. The search results produced a list of potential companies and their respective website. Information about the company’s owner found in the website was compiled and then compared to the selection criteria mentioned in section 3.2. A list of twenty-three companies was compiled and an introductory email was sent requesting an interview to each company. Of the twenty-three companies, only Gothems Cantina Y Casitas in Gotland replied and subsequently a Skype interview was conducted.

The local Lund discovery mapping was a consultation with six people that have lived in Lund for a period of four or more years. The locals were asked to name restaurants that they thought were owned by immigrant entrepreneurs. As a result, a total of nine restaurants were recommended including a Mexican food truck, a Greek restaurant, two Indian restaurants, two Japanese restaurants, an Italian restaurant, and two Chinese restaurants; the locals recommended these restaurants based on their estimate of these venues being owned by immigrants. A follow-up visit to each restaurant was conducted to confirm and compare the information with the selection criteria. Upon verification of the selection criteria, an introductory meeting to conduct an interview was attempted. Subsequently the owners of Tacostorget, Punjabi, and Sushi2go agreed to participate in the interview.

3.3.2 Interview guide

For the purpose of this thesis different interviews were conducted to gather different insights about the types of cultural capital used in the different restaurants. The combination of these different types of interviews for the different audiences were part of the research’s qualitative interviewing process (Bryman & Bell, 2015) and were key in gathering pragmatic data for the analysis (Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). The interviews consisted of two types: A specific semi-structured interview for the immigrant entrepreneurs, and semi-structured interviews conducted to the restaurants’ customers and employees.

Interview guide for immigrant entrepreneurs

The interviews to the immigrant entrepreneurs were conducted in a semi-structured format, allowing the respondents to elaborate on their own perspectives and to provide answers to open-ended questions process (Bryman & Bell, 2015). The interviews lasted between 90 and 180 minutes. Three of the interviews were done in person in Lund; the owners of Punjabi and Sushi 2 Go chose their respective work venues as the place to conduct the interview; while the owners of Tacostorget preferred their personal residence. As previously mentioned, the interview for Gothems Cantina Y Casitas occurred via Skype. Three of the four interviews (Punjabi, Gothems Cantina Y Casitas, and Sushi 2 Go) were conducted in English, while the interview for Tacostorget was conducted in Spanish since the owners were more comfortable speaking it.

All interviews were conducted by both team members: one person was in charge of asking the questions and keeping the flow of the conversation while the other recorded the conversation through a computer and a mobile phone. The interviews consisted of five sections with open-ended questions (see Appendix 1). Each section specifically covered the entrepreneur's background, information about the company, employee information, marketing strategies used, and different challenges encountered during the venture's lifespan. The interview began by a brief introduction of the purpose of the study and the first set of questions pertaining to the entrepreneur. As Bryman and Bell (2015) explains the characteristics of this type of interview, the entrepreneur's reply to the questions drove the conversation to future sections of the interview, leading to the omission of a section, or driving the interviewer to ask further questions in response to significant replies.

Interview guide for customers and employees

The interviews to the different restaurants' customers and employees were semi-structured interviews. This type of interview allowed the interviewers to ask probing questions regarding the perceived cultural capital used by the restaurant without specifically talking about the subject. Bryman and Bell (2015) suggests that this method is best used for informal questioning. Fieldwork proved this type of questioning fitting for people with a short time span for the interview, since customers were either ordering their meal or paying for their food, and employees were working. The time constraint made the interviews last between five and ten minutes and did not disrupt normal operations as requested by the entrepreneur.

Prior authorization to conduct the interviews in the establishments was acquired from the entrepreneur. The interviews were conducted by both team members, where one person asked open ended questions pertaining to the restaurant (i.e., food, location, taste, and marketing) and the other took notes. A total of ten interviews were conducted to twelve people throughout the different restaurants for the realization of the case studies. The owners of both, Tacostorget and Cantina Y Casitas, were interviewed at the same time per their request; the rest of interviews occurred on an individual basis. Table 1 below lists the interview details.

Name of restaurant	Country of origin	Restaurant	Relation to restaurant	Language of interview	Interview duration
Omar	Colombia	Tacostorget	Owner	Spanish	180 minutes
Maria	Colombia	Tacostorget	Owner	Spanish	180 minutes
Aldi	Pakistan	Punjabi	Owner	English	90 minutes
Erik	Sweden	Cantina Y Casitas	Owner	English	120 minutes
Vanessa	USA	Cantina Y Casitas	Owner	English	120 minutes
Nico	USA	Sushi2go	Owner	English	120 minutes
Tomas	Argentina	Tacostorget	Customer	Spanish	8 minutes
Oliver	Austria	Tacostorget	Customer	English	10 minutes
Stefanie	USA	Punjabi	Customer	English	10 minutes
Laura	Venezuela	Cantina Y Casitas	Employee	Spanish	10 minutes
Philippa	Sweden	Sushi2go	Customer	English	5 minutes
Anna	Sweden	Sushi2go	Employee	English	8 minutes

Table 1. Participants' interview details

3.3.3 Observations

According to Bryman and Bell (2015), participant information is an important element of the qualitative method used in case study analysis. Special precautions to not mix data analysis

with data collection suggested by Eisenhardt (1989) were implemented by capturing observations from a first impression reactive point of view. The data gathering process combined personal restaurant visits³ and online marketing material inspection.

The development of a list of cultural cues helped to identify the different cultural capital presented in the restaurants. The cultural cues focused on are: *decoration* of iconic ethnic objects present in the restaurant; *music* and its relation to the restaurant’s ethnicity; *ambiance* includes a combination of the restaurant’s theme, color scheme, lightning, interior design, and smell; *menu* focuses on the dishes’ names, description, and authenticity; *staff presentation* compares the staff’s perceived ethnicity with the restaurant; *staff service* reflects knowledge of the products served; *food presentation* visually evaluates the food’s authenticity; and *food tasting* evaluates the flavor and taste of the items. Additional cultural cues specific to the authenticity and promotion of the restaurants were sought in each of the restaurant’s online marketing material. Table 2 below summarizes the cultural cues identified in each restaurant.

Name of restaurant	Times visited	Decoration	Music	Ambiance	Menu	Staff presentation	Staff service	Food presentation	Food tasting	Web pages	Social media Facebook, Instagram, TripAdvisor
Tacostorget	3	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Punjabi	2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Cantina Y Casitas	0	x		x	x	x				x	x
Sushi2go	2	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Table 2. First hand observations' cultural cues

³ It was not possible to visit the restaurant in Gotland, to compensate, the data was complemented with additional questions during the interview regarding the restaurant’s ambiance, menu and sales pitch, accompanied by a virtual tour of the restaurant via Skype.

For the observations, the researchers took on the roles of customers dining in the restaurant; hence a dish from the menu was ordered and consumed in the premises. Independently each researcher wrote notes focused on the predetermined cultural cues identified before, during and after the meal. Once finished, pictures of the restaurant were taken as supporting data. The researchers' notes and pictures were then combined and coded in the appropriate cultural cues and the data was analyzed.

3.4 Data Analysis

Since the purpose of our thesis is to identify and explore what is the cultural capital that immigrant entrepreneurs use as marketing strategies in the restaurant industry, two methods were used to analyze the data: a case-independent method through an in-depth analysis of each restaurant to understand its unique complexity (Bryman & Bell, 2015); and a between-case analysis method, identifying some patterns that were similar among the different case studies (Eisenhardt, 1989). As advocated by Bryman and Bell (2015), once the different types of data were gathered the next step was to manage them; voice recordings, interview pages, observation notes, and pictures were coded by cultural cues. An interpretative approach was used to match the data collected from the observations with the literature (Kvale, 1997) that resulted in theoretical codes. However the interviews and observations also provided us with empirical codes. The analysis of both types of codes resulted in rich findings that are meticulous, intriguing, and replicable (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007).

3.5 Methodology limitations

The conclusions drawn from our data analysis can be used as a generalization for immigrant entrepreneurs owning restaurants in Sweden; the entrepreneurs may face similar push and pull factors that drove them to this endeavor (Clark & Drinkwater, 2000), the target customer base, business model, restaurant concept, and cuisine may even be the same. However, it is still questionable if these conclusions can be applied to all immigrant entrepreneurs in general because there are specific motivations and circumstances for each restaurant that make each case unique (Bryman & Bell, 2015; Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007).

Additionally, drawing generalizations from case studies can be non-realistic as they focus on very specific topics that may differ from other companies (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Yin, 2013).

Lack of culture and product knowledge is a limitation for the study since both team members are more familiar with the Mexican cuisine compared to the others. This may partially incline a bias to recognize different cultural capital present and marketed in the restaurants that the entrepreneur failed to mention in the interview. The lack of knowledge may have also allowed the team members to miss an intrinsic type of cultural capital not discussed.

Another important limitation was the two cities the study was conducted in, Lund and Gothen; both cities are unique and not a generalization for the entire population of Sweden. Lund is known as a student city with approximately 5,000 international students and people commuting to work from other Swedish towns and Copenhagen. The mixture of people and market size allow the city to host different types of ethnic restaurants. On the contrary, Gothen is a summer holiday destination for Swedes and international tourists; the flow of people from different backgrounds creates a different market that the restaurants can target. Moreover, the size of the cities limits the amount of competition, for instance, there are only three Indian restaurants in Lund, while an equal number of similar restaurants can be found on one block in Malmö; thus the degree of the cultural capital used by each restaurant may vary to attract a certain customer segments.

Finally, the physical limitation of not visiting the restaurant in Gotland is also noted. Not visiting the restaurant meant that the data for this case study was not as good as in the other case studies; although there were interviews with the owners, the staff, a live virtual tour via Skype, and the online marketing material was visited, key cultural cues found within the staff service, food presentation, food tasting, and customer insights are missing. Although the content of this case study is not as complete as the other three, the interviews and observations improve the richness of this thesis.

4 Analysis and discussion

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the empirical results and discuss the findings that emerged from the case studies based on the different cultural cues identified in the interviews and observations. It is divided into four main sections: entrepreneurs' background, independent analysis of the case studies, analysis of cultural capital used as marketing strategies, and the marketing acculturation within the case studies.

We followed the same analytical process for every case. One team member worked on the overview of the companies, and the other compiled the personal background of every entrepreneur. With respect to the cultural capital section, we followed an approach where both team members independently analyzed the recordings and observation data to list the cultural capital used by the entrepreneurs by coding the different data acquired; we coded based on theoretical codes, and in addition, the data provided us with empirical codes. The resulting codes were used for the marketing strategies and marketing acculturation sections. The reasoning behind choosing a team-based approach was to have a more in-depth analysis of every case study because both of the team members have different cultural backgrounds and it would provide a broader interpretation of the data.

The analysis of the data relied heavily on Penaloza and Gilly's (1999) Marketer Acculturation Process. However, the model was modified to fit the thesis better by gathering additional information from the entrepreneurs and the company, and our findings limited the number of influential agents, cultural market learning and translation processes, and outcomes; the adaptation strategies were consistent in the between-case analysis. All of these changes are illustrated in Figure 2, the Modified Marketer Acculturation Process.

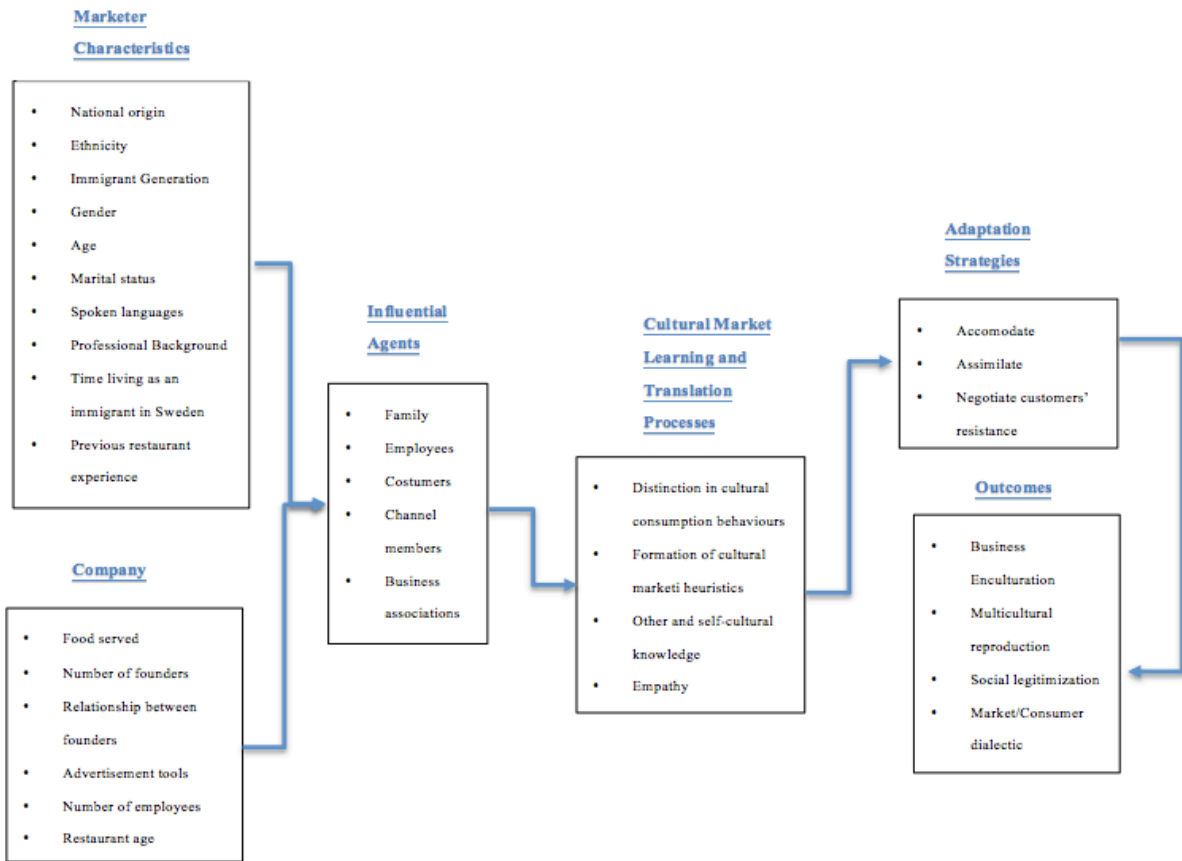


Figure 2. Modified Marketer Acculturation Process

4.1 Entrepreneurs' background

The purpose of this section is to summarize and present a short personal background of every interviewed entrepreneur. We present this information in Table 3, which contains the Marketer characteristics mentioned in the Modified Marketer Acculturation Process, Figure 2.

Information	Tacostorget		Punjabi	Gothems Cantina Y Casitas		Sushi2go
Name	Maria Dolores Narvaes	Omar Torres	Aldi	Vanessa Yolanda Desche	Erik Svensson	Veronico Pena "Nico"
Country of birth	Colombia	Colombia	Pakistan	USA	Sweden	USA
Immigrant background	Colombian	Colombian	Pakistan	Mexican-American	Swedish	Mexican-Guatemalan
Immigrant generation	1 st	1 st	1 st	2 nd Mexican	1 st	2 nd Mexican-Guatemalan
Gender	Female	Male	Male	Female	Male	Male
Age	41	46	38	41	42	36
Marital status	Married (Omar's wife)	Married (Maria's husband)	Single	Married (Erik's wife)	Married (Vanessa's husband)	Single
Spoken languages	Spanish (native), Swedish	Spanish (native), Swedish, English	Pakistani (native), English, Swedish	English (native), Spanish, Swedish	Swedish (native), English	English and Spanish (native), Swedish
Professional background	Housewife	Industrial engineer	Chemist	American Army Officer, Project manager	Business administration	Restaurant and bar experience
Time living as immigrant in Sweden	10 years	10 years	7 years	1.5 years	Non immigrant	10 years
Previous restaurant experience	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Table 3. Entrepreneurs' background

As seen in Table 3, all interviewed entrepreneurs are at least 2nd generation immigrants, which matches with our sample selection criteria described in section 3.3.1. However, there is a special case with Gothems Cantina Y Casitas' founders as Vanessa's husband, Erick is a 1st generation Swedish, but still matches our selection criteria which states that at least one founder has to be 2nd generation immigrant. Other observations drawn from the different entrepreneurs' background are that only three entrepreneurs have previous restaurant experience, all of them are in their 30's and 40's, most of them are 1st generation immigrants, they all speak at least two languages being Swedish common among all, two companies are owned by a married couple, and most of them have more than five years living in Sweden.

4.2 Independent analysis of the case studies

This section presents a brief introduction and background information of each business in our case studies. The information gathered is a compilation of first-hand observations and semi-structured interviews with the key members of the entrepreneurial endeavors, based on the influential agents of the Modified Marketer Acculturation Process model in Figure 2. For an in-depth view of the semi-structured interview guide conducted for each immigrant entrepreneur refer to Appendix 1.

Table 4 shows an overview of every restaurant with different aspects such as food served, number of founders, relationship with other founders, advertisement tools, number of employees, and restaurant's age based on the Modified Marketer Acculturation Process.

Characteristic	Tacostorget	Punjabi	Gothems Cantina Y Casitas	Sushi2go
Food served	Authentic Mexican tacos	Indian-Pakistani food	Authentic Mexican food (tacos, burritos, quesadillas)	Sushi
Number of founders	2	2	2	3
Relationship with other founders	Couple	Friends	Couple	Ex-couple and friend
Advertisement tools	Word-of-mouth, Webpage, Facebook, flyers	Word-of-mouth, Webpage, Facebook, TripAdvisor, Special events	Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Webpage, Web search protocols, Google analytics, Meta tags, Gotland's guide. Non-intentional news articles	Word-of-mouth, Facebook, Webpage
Number of employees	The founders themselves	1 (Sometimes part-time employees)	7	9
Restaurant's age	4 years	4 years	11 months	7 years

Table 4. Restaurants' overview

As seen in Table 4 the four restaurants from our case studies offer non-European food; all of them have at least two founders, whose relationships among them are couple relationship or friendship; the most used marketing tools are social media and word-of-mouth; only one company does not employ more people than the founders themselves; finally, only one restaurant is less than one year old. Below is a short description of every company's background, which will provide a broader perspective of the case studies. For a description of the four case studies refer to Appendix 2.

Tacostorget – Authentic Mexican tacos

Located close to the Max IV facilities in the north-eastern part of Lund, Tacostorget is a concept based on traditional taco carts found all over Mexico. The food is a mixture of Mexican street food modified to breakout to the Swedish consumer (i.e., a side of rice and salad are included). The food is served in takeaway containers, allowing its consumption to take place on the premises or elsewhere. The endeavor is owned by a Colombian couple that immigrated to Sweden ten years ago. The business is solemnly operated by the entrepreneurs during its three years of operation.

Punjabi – Indian and Pakistani food

Punjabi is situated in the southern part of downtown Lund. The restaurant markets itself as the best Indian restaurant, however the menu and store merchandizing recognizes the inclusion of Pakistani cuisine. The restaurant has operated for three years by a partnership of two Pakistani entrepreneurs; the workload is divided by both owners. The restaurant occasionally hires seasonal part-time labor with a Pakistani or Indian background, and kitchen experience. The ambience of the restaurant reflects an Indian-Pakistani culture from the decoration, the music, and the dishes' flavors. The restaurant originally focused on the Indian-Pakistani culture as its main target customer base, but due to the visa restrictions to both countries it is now trying to breakout to a wider audience; it relies heavily on word-of-mouth and social platform advertisement to accomplish this.

Gothems Cantina Y Casitas – “Authentic Mexican” food

This restaurant is owned by a Mexican-American woman and her Swedish husband as means for financial independence. The concept replicates a traditional Mexican cantina in Gothem. A venue for authentic food and drinks: the dishes contain the original recipe and flavors from Southern California (Tex-Mex concept); tequila, Mexican beers, and margaritas are the only alcoholic beverages. The entrepreneurs consider the restaurant an extension of their home since opening in May 2015; each guest is catered to a personalized customer service. The customer focus of the restaurant is locals from the island and tourists. The restaurant's atmosphere transports visitors to a countryside food venue in Mexico. The restaurant employs seven individuals from different parts of the world; the owners value the immigrant work mentality.

Sushi2go – Sushi

The restaurant is located north of Lund Central station and has operated for seven years; recently a second location opened in Loma in 2015. The restaurant prepares takeaway sushi dishes from the traditional nigiri, sashimi, and California roll, to complex rolls made with Latin cuisine ingredients such as coriander, guacamole, and chipotle. The owner is an American with Mexican and Guatemalan ancestry, and ability for working in the food industry. The restaurant is built as a normal sushi restaurant with a traditional Japanese kitchen and decorated with a minimalistic approach; there are some hidden homages to the Latin culture such as small decorations, names of sizes, and dish names. There are no specific targeted customers, except sushi enthusiasts. Seven individuals are employed by the venture; the owners value work mentality and kitchen experience.

4.2.1 Cultural capital

In this section the different cultural capital identified in our first-hand observations and semi-structured interviews are listed. The findings are grouped together in a table and placed in the correspondent categories. The between-case analysis was applied to categorize similar data into different categories of capital resources. The results are shown below in Table 5. The capital resources will be analyzed in-depth in section 4.3.

Cultural capital	Tacostorget	Punjabi	Gothems Cantina Y Casitas	Sushi2go
Network	<p>The Christian Community was the idea generator of the business, main financial investor in the venture, and provider of small source of customers.</p> <p>Latino customers find familiarity with concept and restaurant, provide highest turnover, and bring new customers.</p>	<p>Pakistani friends collaborated with seed funds at a no interest loan.</p> <p>Original customer base was Indian and Pakistani community studying in Lund.</p> <p>Ethnic supplier sells most products used by the restaurant, especially spices. No personal relationship with supplier, since the restaurant is "just another customer."</p> <p>Uses customers' word-of-mouth to attract new customers. Also relies on comments on Facebook and TripAdvisor.</p>	<p>Local support from members of the community where the restaurant is based.</p> <p>Support from Mexican embassy in Stockholm towards providing a list of business related suppliers.</p> <p>Latino and American customers close to Gotland, Stockholm, other parts of Europe and the USA are driven via good recommendations.</p>	<p>Worldwide restaurant network that spans from Texas, New York, Mexico, London and Sweden.</p> <p>Swedish network in the sushi industry. Trained in Malmö for recipes preparation and kitchen operations. Close network of friends that consulted on restaurant concept and menu selection.</p> <p>Previous restaurant network endorsed participation in event food catering (Monaco Grand Prix), increasing the restaurant marketing through participation.</p> <p>Acknowledgement of customer loyalty for event success, which increased the customer turnover.</p> <p>Uses customers' word-of-mouth as main means for advertisement.</p>
Family	<p>Married couple is the driving force of the business.</p> <p>No support from husband's family: business and job role go against education.</p> <p>Wife's family is fully morally supportive of initiative.</p>	<p>Source of seed funds to start operations.</p> <p>Provides moral support.</p>	<p>Family owned business that originated as a means to financial independence.</p> <p>Family of married couple is supportive of venture.</p> <p>Business is operated as an extension of the couple's home.</p>	<p>Originally started as a venture between owner, owner's ex, and friend.</p> <p>Parents support owner fully while brothers do not.</p>
Cultural values	<p>Christian Community's mentality is to help those less fortunate.</p> <p>Latin Community: Business seems familiar, the people, the dish, and the opportunity to speak Spanish.</p>	<p>Indian and Pakistani culture: Originality and authenticity of cuisine; uses Indian festivals and holidays to promote restaurant and increase sales via Facebook campaigns; markets itself as the "best Indian restaurant in Lund".</p>	<p>American-Mexican ancestry is the foundation of the business: recipes, cantina style, menu and hospitality reflect it.</p> <p>Owners try to make a connection with the customers by giving a personalized service.</p> <p>Takes advantage of Mexican holidays to promote restaurant.</p>	<p>Fusion restaurant between traditional Sushi and Mexican-Guatemalan ingredients. Mix of dishes names that include both cultures such as "Godzilla" deluxe combo, "Mexican Dynamite", and "Diablo" specialty rolls.</p> <p>Restaurant is set up in a simplistic Japanese setting: white walls, black counters, bamboo colored tables and chairs, chopsticks, soy sauces and soy plates. Each table also carries a mini cactus.</p> <p>Kitchen is set up as a regular Sushi kitchen.</p> <p>Lunch sizes have odes to Spanish ancestry: lunch box sizes named "La Pinta", "La Nina", and "La Santa Maria". Also dish sizes as "Pequeno", "Mediano", and "Grande."</p>
Knowledge of the product	<p>The Christian Community served as a consultant for the dishes' recipes and taste.</p> <p>The venue's name literally translates to "the Taco's Plaza." This transmits to customers what products are sold and the relation to Mexican food.</p> <p>The dishes served are a mixture of Mexican and Tex-Mex cuisine that people can relate to: taco, burrito, quesadilla, "arroz fiesta", and two different types of salsa.</p> <p>The venue's coating: Inside and external decorations, menu, and illustrations pay homage to the Mexican culture.</p>	<p>Firsthand restaurant knowledge by working in the industry in Pakistan and Sweden.</p> <p>Dishes are traditional from Pakistan with owner's own personal touch.</p> <p>Spices are authentic from Pakistan and India; Spiciness is toned down to meet Swedish taste.</p>	<p>Firsthand knowledge of Tex-Mex cuisine from wife's family: main menu is made of tacos, burritos, quesadillas, nachos, and taco salads; three types of Mexican beer; three types of salsa; seventeen types of Tequila; menu is uncompromisable and loyal to the Tex-Mex cuisine.</p> <p>Erik knows about the food and hospitality business: he takes the time to go over menu items with each customer and proactively gives recommendations for dish food and drink pairing.</p>	<p>Owner possesses firsthand knowledge of sushi cuisine based on previous work experience in different sushi restaurants; firsthand knowledge of Mexican-Guatemalan food from parents.</p> <p>Food menu is a combination of traditional Sushi base dishes such as California roll, rainbow roll, nigari, sashimi, miso soup, and Latin American ingredients like guacamole, colander and chipotle.</p> <p>The restaurant's name clearly defines the venture's business model: Sushi2Go.</p>

Employment of co-immigrants	They do not currently have any employees: Maria prepares and sells the food; Omar does the administrative tasks.	For part-time jobs, co-immigrants are preferred as they share the same language and culture background. Kitchen experience is necessary.	Currently hiring seven employees from different parts of the world (Venezuela, Croatia, Bosnia, Poland, Thailand, and Sweden). Hiring preference leans towards individuals not native to Sweden. Looking for immigrant work ethic and ideas for a new product or service that they are familiar with. High esteem for motivated workforce is preferred.	Currently operating with 9 employees. The nature of work (fast-food sushi model) requires a chef or cook with prior sushi preparation experience. Staff is educated and trained to know how to prepare everything in the menu, regardless if the owner is present or not.
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Table 5. Cultural capital from immigrant entrepreneurs

4.3 Cultural capital as marketing strategies

This section presents an analysis of how the cultural capital in the previous section was used by the entrepreneurs as marketing strategies in their respective restaurants. Based on first-hand observations and semi-structured interviews, the main cultural capital to be discussed is: network, family, cultural values, knowledge of the product, and employment of co-immigrants as part of the theoretical codes; however, we also discuss a marketing strategy labeled as an empirical code that entrepreneurs considered it essential for their restaurants: social media marketing.

Network

The entrepreneurs' network is part of the cultural capital that was common among the four case studies. This network was used in different forms in every restaurant, such as generation of business idea, financing, ingredients supplier, initial customer base, and most importantly, as a marketing strategy. For instance, Omar Torres from Tacosforget mentioned the following:

“The members of the Christian community gave us the first ideas for the business, but we have more Mexican friends that gave us more tips and opinions about the recipes and the business”. – Omar Torres (Tacosforget)

Belonging to that community allowed the Colombian entrepreneurs to meet Mexican immigrants who later became their friends and provided business advice. This finding goes along with a previous research stating that having contacts in a particular network opens up the possibility to get more resources within the same network (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1996). As a consequence, the entrepreneurs' network was determining for the financing phase, resembling the outcomes of Altinay and Altinay (2006), who found that immigrants use their network to take in personal loans:

“A brother from the community that we belong to told us that he felt that he needed to help us some way, and the way in which he did was by giving us a business idea and by financing a big part of the cart as a donation”. – Omar Torres (Tacostorget)

“We had no so much capital, we relied on our own money. I used money that I had saved but also got some loans from friends; friends who were living here too”. – Aldi (Punjabi)

The members of the entrepreneurs' network are mostly people living in the same city as them. For this reason, the network was used as a marketing strategy to promote the restaurants through word-of-mouth:

“We ask our current customers to tell their friends to come and try our food. It is not in a very good location but once they try it, they come back”. – Aldi (Punjabi)

This goes in line with previous research findings that immigrant entrepreneurs relied on their existing customer base to market their services (Ram & Hillin, 2004). In fact, Tacostorget's founders mentioned that their main marketing strategy is through word-of-mouth, where they use their current immigrant network (the Christian community) and their customer base to promote their restaurant to new potential customers. For instance, *an Argentinian customer* at Tacostorget mentioned that he invited his work colleagues on Fridays to eat tacos because the venue's name implied Mexican authenticity and the food-trailer concept seemed genuine enough; emphasizing the service marketing concepts of service quality and servicespace. Likewise, Sushi2go's main marketing strategy when it opened up was through word-of-mouth due to the lack of money to invest in a robust marketing campaign. Nico had been working a few years in different restaurants where he met many people involved in the sector and this network became a strong asset for his restaurant. The importance of the word-of-mouth as marketing strategy for Sushi2go was very high due to the non-centric location of the restaurant. Nico mentioned that people needed to tell their friends where the place was.

Another important finding was that Aldi used his network to find a co-immigrant supplier of spices for Punjabi. This finding is supported by Bonacich (1973) who argued that an immigrant network is represented by the efficient distribution of resources along the vertical organization of a business. However, Aldi does not have a close relationship with the suppliers of the spices, Punjabi is just a regular customer in its supplier's customer base. This finding is opposite to the outcomes of Aldrich and Waldinger (1996) who found that having an immigrant network increases the ties and cohesion within the groups of the same culture. More interesting is the finding from an interview with one of *Punjabi's costumers*, who mentioned that Aldi told her once that the spices he uses for cooking are imported directly from India and Pakistan, specifically from the Punjabi region. As a consequence, he was using the origin of the spices as a marketing strategy to promote the authenticity and quality of his food, highlighting service marketing's service quality and augmented service to fulfill product expectations. Likewise, Gothems Cantina Y Casitas' founders rely heavily on their supplier of Mexican ingredients; despite not being Mexican, the supplier makes sure all the ingredients are imported from Mexico to Sweden.

“Our supplier is not Mexican, he is Spanish. We were trying to find ‘maseca’ to make the tortillas but it was very difficult. Then we got contacted by a company called ProMexico that has representatives in the Mexican consulate in Stockholm. They provided us with a list of companies that could import what we needed, and then we found him”. – Vanessa (Gothems Cantina Y Casitas)

Using social media, Erik and Vanessa promote the origin of the ingredients they use in their recipes by emphasizing that they use products imported from Mexico, thus transmitting the authenticity to their customers through product expectations from service marketing. From our observation, we noticed that they exalt the origin of the ingredients in their website and regular Facebook posts. However, Vanessa also mentioned the network as being crucial to market their services because they have access to different social groups. Similarly, members of his local Swedish network invited Nico to a catering event in Monaco and he used this event as a strategy to advertise his restaurant through Facebook, as we verified by visiting his site. These findings are similar to those found by Aldrich and Waldinger (1996) who argued that having contacts in a particular network allows the entrepreneurs to get more resources, in this case, customers and marketing exposure.

Family

Family is a very important source of motivation and moral support to push entrepreneurs in the businesses activities (Ram et al., 2000). This is exemplified in two study cases, where the entrepreneurs said that family had been a motivational factor in the startup process:

“My family was very happy despite not knowing anything about Mexican tacos, I didn’t know how to prepare them, what to put in them, but it had always been in my heart to have a restaurant”. – Maria Narvaes (Tacostorget)

“My family lives in India. I didn’t receive any financial support from them but they always gave me moral support”. – Aldi (Punjabi)

In contrast, one of the Colombian entrepreneurs mentioned that he did not get any motivation from his family, as it was a business that had nothing to do with his studies:

“When I communicated this idea to my family in Colombia, they told me ‘You are crazy, you have never cooked!’” – Omar Torres (Tacostorget)

This response does not resemble the explored literature, and even though it is a negative factor, it did not stop the Colombian couple from starting up the business because they had a religious motive behind. From our observation, we noticed a very special tie between them; this factor is very important because they are a family themselves and they provide moral support to each other. Similarly, Nico mentioned that his brothers were not a motivational factor to start-up Sushi2go, he was mainly pushed by the need of providing food for his son. Aldi mentioned that his family did support him with some funds to startup the restaurant. As reviewed in previous literature, Ram et al. (2000) argues that family is one of the most important resources to get cheap finance in the startup process, which matches with Aldi’s experience.

Only in one case study family was used as a marketing strategy. Gothems Cantina Y Casitas founders mentioned that they want their consumers to feel as if they were at home, giving them a very warm welcome. From the online pictures in their webpage, we observed that Erick and Vanessa procure to show themselves as a caring family, hugging each other and welcoming the customer to their own house, which is the place where they have the restaurant. Additionally, pictures from Vanessa’s family are on the webpage, showing her mother and grandmother cooking, which proves that the origin of the recipes date from her own family adding an authenticity value of augmented services.

Cultural values

According to previous literature, cultural values contribute to particular ways of thinking that will influence the decision-making that may lead to becoming entrepreneurs (Adendorff & Halkias, 2014). Findings from Tacostorget show that religion, as a cultural value, influenced the decision of the founders to startup the firm:

“We felt that this was a gift given to us through the act of God and we wanted to do something that came from God, so we did it and created the business” – Omar Torres (Tacostorget)

However, religion is not part of the marketing strategies Maria and Omar use. On the contrary, language is a cultural value that was very important for the founders of all the businesses in the case studies:

“Spanish is very important because the fact that the product we sell has the name taco tells you that it is something related with the Spanish language”. – Omar Torres (Tacostorget)

“Whenever customers from Pakistan come to Punjabi, I talk to them in our common language and they feel comfortable with it”. – Aldi (Punjabi)

These founders coincided that language was vital to keep the cultural value of their restaurants. This finding resembles the outcomes of Bonacich (1973), who argued that immigrant entrepreneurs stick to certain values such as language to strengthen the business activities within the immigrant community. On the contrary, Sushi2go and Gothems Cantina Y Casitas’ founders do not think that speaking Spanish will add extra value to the restaurant; however, they believe that the name of the menu items need to show the authenticity with the original names. Looking at the online menu, we noticed that Erick and Vanessa use Spanish and original names for every menu item. Even in the description, they try to add a short sentence in Spanish describing the dish. For instance, “¿te gusta el queso?”, which means “do you like cheese?”, used for a particular dish that has cheese. Likewise, the Sushi2go’s menu has some names in Spanish such as “Diablo” to show the influence of the Mexican ingredients in its sushi offer, as well as a reference to Japanese pop culture by naming their largest combo “Godzilla”; these are marketing strategies that reflect service quality and augmented service practices.

The entrepreneurs from the four case studies mentioned that language was very important to use as a marketing strategy because it helped showing the originality of the product. The following quote exemplifies this finding:

“Any person that knows anything about tacos, in special a Swede, knows that tacos come from Mexico and that Spanish is spoken in Mexico; the language and the taco are totally related. We try to use the language in the marketing or with the customers, for example, ‘Arroz Fiesta’, elements that are from the Spanish language”. – Omar Torres (Tacostorget)

As found by Jamal (2003), marketers displayed signs in their shops as a marketing strategy to invite the customers to consume their products. This finding resembles the Spanish names assigned to the dishes in the restaurant Tacostorget, Gothems Cantina Y Casitas, and Sushi2go. Additionally, marketers tried to provide emotional glue to their consumers’ culture of origin (Jamal, 2003). This is exemplified in the following quotes:

“I come here because the food is very good and I can talk Spanish with Maria, so I feel like I am at home”. – Tomas (Customer of Tacostorget)

“As you can see, the restaurant has a very traditional Japanese style, we try to keep that from the traditionalist sushi restaurants”. – Nico (Sushi2go)

This form of servicescape marketing is noticed in the restaurant’s traditional Japanese style with the white walls, black counters, and bamboo colored tables and chairs in the restaurant.

For Tacostorget, speaking Spanish has helped to improve the selling techniques as it is the native language of the entrepreneur and certain customers. Within this strategy, Penaloza and Gilly (1999) argued that speaking the same language as the customers helped the merchants to create a personalized approach that customers appreciated. In fact, from our visit to the restaurant, we felt a more personalized attention that was facilitated by speaking Spanish to us and to Tomas and his coworkers.

As part of his cultural values, Aldi mentioned that one of his marketing strategies is to promote Punjabi in specific Indian festivals and holidays, allowing him to market to a wider audience and in consequence, increase the customer base. From our observations, the name Punjabi in itself pays homage to a region shared both by India and Pakistan; the restaurant possesses a lingering aroma of spices and there was Indian music playing in the background; locals and people with knowledge of the area supporting a form of service quality marketing easily identify it. In this case, the marketer also provides the opportunity to consumers to stick to their culture of origin by attending to traditional festivals and then having a traditional meal at Punjabi (Jamal, 2003). As a contrast, the other entrepreneurs did not mention promoting their restaurants in traditional festivals from their countries of origin as a marketing strategy; however, Gothems Cantina Y Casitas’ founders take advantage of Mexican holidays to have

special offers or discounts for their customers, such as “5 de Mayo”. Both Punjabi and Gothems Cantina Y Casitas employ an augmented service form of marketing to drive business to the restaurants.

Knowledge of the product

According to some authors, immigrant entrepreneurs have an advantage in the marketplace because they know the customers’ products preferences, at least within their immigrant community (Kaufman & Hernandez, 1991). Tacostorget’s founders realized about this even before opening the restaurant:

“We knew that the Swedes like to add tomato and cheese to their tacos, that is why we include them in the menu”. – Maria Narvaes (Tacostorget)

Likewise, entrepreneurs have another advantage because they have the knowledge of the products they offer, becoming an important factor to transmit the aesthetic experience of their products to the customers (Maffesoli, 1996). As previously stated, Tacostorget’s founders learned the recipes of their tacos before starting the business through their Mexican friend member of the religious community, solidifying a form of service quality marketing. Additionally, they got different tips for the name of the restaurant, decorations, menu items, painting of the venue, which they used as a marketing strategy to show the authenticity of the restaurant. From our observation, the venue seemed very authentic with the painting (multi-color) and different items such as the Mexican flag and a “zarape” (Mexican clothing); this is a form of servicescape referred to earlier in this section. Furthermore, our observations supported that the authentic names of the dishes immediately revealed that the owners of the restaurant knew what they were selling. This observation satisfies the intended marketing strategy that the founders wanted to transmit: the service quality of Mexican dish. Similarly, one of the customers felt that he was eating at an authentic place from the moment he arrived:

“I saw the paint of the cart with people eating tacos and the machine to make tortillas, and when the cook took out the colorful blanket, I knew that I was going to eat authentic tacos”. – Oliver (Consumer at Tacostorget)

Within Punjabi’s study case, the founder acquired the knowledge of the products through experience:

“I needed to find a job to pay for my living expenses and I worked in part-time jobs in different Indian restaurants. I learned the recipes from these places and from my own knowledge from home”. – Aldi (Punjabi)

This knowledge allowed Aldi to promote Punjabi as an authentic restaurant based on its internal marketing. From our visit to the restaurant, we identified that the food presentation and smell were very authentic to the Indian cuisine. Similarly, Stefanie, a Punjabi's customer, mentioned that the quality and preparation of the food proved that the cook had experience preparing that particular kind of food, supporting the internal marketing of Punjabi. Another important finding is that Aldi mentioned that the look and feel of Punjabi was very important for the customers:

“I chose the orange paint for the restaurant because it is a traditional color in India, even our flag has that color. The menu and the signs that are outside are also orange”. – Aldi (Punjabi)

In fact, Stefanie mentioned that Punjabi's atmosphere generated by the orange color walls, decorations, and the music made her feel that she was in Indian theme restaurant. From our visit, we identified the orange color as a typical color related to India; this perception met the original servicescape marketing strategy that Aldi intended. Similarly, Gothems Cantina Y Casitas' restaurant resembles a traditional cantina from Mexico, and although we could not visit this restaurant in person, during the live virtual tour we could observe the similarity to a Mexican cantina as intended from the servicescape strategy.

Another marketing strategy that was emphasized by one of the founders was that it is very important to transmit the value proposition of their restaurant:

“We offer food that is different, healthy and with good taste. Swedes really care about what they eat, and we need to offer that to them for a good price. We are also located in a place that is very convenient for the people that work”. – Omar Torres (Tacostorget)

Tacostorget tries to transmit its value proposition in the Facebook page and webpage. This finding resembles the outcomes found by Jamal (2003), who showed that immigrant entrepreneurs do an active promotion of their products with competitive prices and in good locations. Likewise, Nico considers that the value proposition has to be transmitted through the service provided by the employees:

“We offer good sushi that our customers can order through telephone or online, and they can pick it up in an agreed time”. – Nico (Sushi2go)

This value proposition can be seen in Sushi2go's webpage, where the customer can read the slogan *“Better ingredients make better sushi!”*; below that slogan the customer can place the

order online. One customer mentioned that it is very convenient the way Sushi2go operates, as they offer a similar time-service as a fast-food restaurant but with good quality sushi. The value proposition is an integral part of the restaurant's augmented service strategy.

All restaurants' founders coincided that it was very important to know the recipes very well because originality and very good taste were their most important competitive advantages, a strategy achieved by internal marketing practices. In fact, Gothems Cantina Y Casitas goes beyond the recipes and import many original Mexican products, having a huge variety of beers, "salsas", and tequilas. This resembles the outcomes of Jamal (2003), who found that immigrant entrepreneurs procured to have a variety of traditional products and in consequence, consumers maintained their original cultural identity by eating at these places.

Employment of co-immigrants

Employment of co-immigrants is another important cultural resource that immigrant entrepreneurs have when running their businesses (Ward, 1991; Ram et al., 2000). Within our case studies, only one restaurant does not have employees beside the founders themselves, one employs non-Swedish people, and two of them do not care about the origin of their employees. According to Ward (1991), co-immigrant employees are considered to be more trustworthy, facilitating the managerial work for the founder. However, this was not the main driver for any of the restaurants' founders:

"I only hire employees when the demand is very high, some months in particular or even some weekends. I prefer to hire Pakistani or Indian students because we can speak the same language and it is easier to communicate. They also have some knowledge about the recipes". – Aldi (Punjabi)

"We currently have employees from Venezuela, Croatia, Bosnia, Poland, Thailand, and Sweden. We prefer people who are not from Sweden because we look for immigrant work ethic and ideas for our products". – Vanessa (Gothems Cantina Y Casitas)

"I have 9 employees. The nature of the work requires having a chef or cooking with prior sushi preparation experience. I train my staff to know how to prepare everything, the owner does not need to be present". – Nico (Sushi2go)

In the case of Punjabi, Aldi's main reason to hire co-immigrant employees is not because they can be trustworthy, but because it is easier to communicate with them, it simplifies the job. We deduced that by doing this, Aldi unintentionally promotes the service quality of the restaurant since an Indian-Pakistani employee adds authenticity to the venue. Additionally,

Aldi evaluates that the employee has some knowledge about the recipes of the food he makes. Similarly, Nico looks for certain employees with previous sushi preparation experience; both of these restaurants employ internal quality strategies by doing so. These findings resemble the outcomes of Kitching (1994), who found that immigrant entrepreneurs face a complex decision because they need to evaluate certain technical skills that adapt to the specific job. However, Aldi, Nico, and Vanessa think that the communication with employees and workforce motivation are very important, which confirms that the immigrant ties between employer and employee become a vital resource for immigrant entrepreneurs when running their businesses (Ram et al., 2000).

Despite the importance of employment of co-immigrants in his restaurant, only one of the entrepreneurs from our case studies used this resource directly as a marketing strategy. Indirectly, two interviewed employees of Sushi2go and Gothems Cantina Y Casitas, respectively, mentioned that they invited their friends to visit the restaurants where they worked at. On the contrary, when asked about selling techniques as a marketing strategy, the entrepreneurs mentioned that they train their employees to suggest different dishes to customers, again focusing on internal marketing. In fact, Anna, an employee of Sushi2go, mentioned that she tries to greet happily to the customers that go to the restaurant, creating a more comfortable atmosphere for the customer. This finding resembles the outcome found by Penaloza and Gilly (1999), who argued that customers appreciate a more personalized approach when buying or consuming products.

Social media marketing

Our findings show that the immigrant entrepreneurs from our study cases rely on one additional marketing strategy than those explored in section 2.3.2 to promote their restaurants: social media marketing. We decided to include this strategy in this section since it can incorporate the different cultural capital previously described. Additionally, social media was very important for the entrepreneurs, employees, and customers for marketing purposes.

For three of the restaurants (Tacostorget, Punjabi, and Suhis2go) word-of-mouth was the most used marketing strategy; however, based on our observation and interviews with employees and customers, all four restaurants keep a very active social media marketing campaign to attract new customers. The preferred platforms for most entrepreneurs were Facebook and TripAdvisor, due to the number of users and reach level they have. For instance, Gothems

Cantina Y Casitas' founders mentioned that before arriving to Gothem, they started marketing their restaurant through Facebook and that helped them to create awareness among their potential customers posting pictures of food and news about their upcoming opening date. On the contrary, Nico, from Sushi2go, did not utilize Facebook until later in the growth phase of Sushi2go:

"I didn't use Facebook in the beginning to attract customers because we had no money for marketing, we used word-of-mouth instead. Now I use it, but our customers already know where we are". – Nico (Sushi2go)

Likewise, Punjabi did not start using Facebook at the beginning of the venture, he preferred to save that money and ask his few customers to invite their friends to the restaurants. As of today, he tries to post pictures but not very often. In fact, one of the customers of Punjabi mentioned that she "liked" Punjabi's Facebook page but she does not see regular posts; she knows of the quality of the food and that is the main reason of why she eats there regularly. From our observation, we did not see a very active campaign in Punjabi's Facebook profile; however, Aldi uses TripAdvisor as the main advertising tool for Punjabi:

"TripAdvisor is very important because people who are looking for reviews of a restaurant usually go to TripAdvisor. I try to take care of the comments and improve". – Aldi (Punjabi)

This finding resembles the outcomes of Jamal (2003), who argues that the interaction with consumers is maintained by the practices of the marketers. Similarly, Erik and Vanessa are very active in Facebook, TripAdvisor and Instagram, where they where they practice an augmented service by reading every comment and review they receive, and if they identify a problem or a complaint, they try to positively engage with the customer to improve their services. We could confirm this interaction with the customers by visiting the different profiles they have. From this observation, we also noticed the different posts of traditional Mexican dishes and festivities where the founders try to offer special discounts for their customers. Likewise, Tacostorget posts about special opening days and special dishes, such as "taco de alambre" and "guacamole", where they exalt the authenticity and freshness of the dishes, combining the practices of service quality and augmented services. Finally, Sushi2go's social media activity today consists on sushi pictures and different beverages that customers can find in the restaurant.

4.4 Marketing acculturation

This section moves on to describe how and why the immigrant entrepreneurs changed their marketing strategies in their restaurants. We discuss our findings using the Marketer Acculturation Process presented in section 2.3.2. In fact, we focus on the last three blocks (cultural market learning and translation process, adaptation strategies, and outcomes) using the Modified Marketer Acculturation Process (Figure 2) presented in section 4. We decided to focus on these blocks because they form the core of the Marketing Acculturation Process and our findings match the acculturation process of the model (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999).

Cultural market learning and translation process

In the four case studies, the cultural market learning took place through different forms. For instance, the community friends of Tacostorget's founders had been living in Sweden for some years and they knew the Swedish style for eating tacos, which they transmitted to Maria and Omar; thus they identified certain consumption preferences, for example, Swedes like to put specific vegetables in their tacos. Additionally, they knew that many Swedes are vegetarian, so they added a vegetarian taco in their menu. Consequently, they created cultural market heuristics as they had very clear guidelines on how to approach Swedes' particular tastes (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999).

Regarding Punjabi, a very important milestone occurred when free education was removed for Pakistanis and Indians in Sweden. Aldi noticed how his co-immigrant customers suddenly disappeared, forcing him to take some important decisions to reduce costs and reach a broader customer base. For instance, he had to reduce the number of items in the menu, as they were not being sold anymore. This finding resembles two features of the market learning phase: first, Aldi noted a different behavior in the consumption of the food, some dishes were never bought; second, he had to accommodate his offer in order to continue selling and having a profitable business, specializing only in what the rest of the customers liked (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999).

In the case of Gothems Cantina Y Casitas, Erik and Vanessa decided to start with their marketing campaign even before moving to Gothem, using Facebook as their principal marketing tool. They also used Google analytics to understand who were the people liking

their restaurant's Facebook profile. By using these tools, they started showing empathy for their customers, which is a feature of the cultural market learning process in the Marketer Acculturation Process (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999). The entrepreneurs knew from the beginning that if they made something extremely authentic, customers were going to be scared, as they did not know what to expect from the ingredients. This learning resembles the distinction in cultural consumption behaviors (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999) because Erik and Vanessa knew from experience that most consumers are resistant to try new food when they do not know what is in it.

Finally, Sushi2go's founder also noticed a difference between the cultural consumption behaviors in Sweden and the US. For instance, he thought that giving samples to potential customers was going to engage them into buying his sushi; however, he noted very early that Swedes did not like being offered free samples: they buy the product or they do not. Additionally, he created cultural market heuristics when he decided to implement a word-of-mouth marketing strategy to sell his product (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999; Ram & Hillin, 1994), not by giving free samples anymore. He also identified that many Swedes like to order their lunch and take it away to their offices to eat it together with their colleagues, resembling the knowledge of sociocultural relations within the same phase. This learning matched perfectly with the name of his restaurant, as it explicitly states, "to go"; however, he did not think about this when he named it.

Adaptation strategies

Our findings show that the three features in the Adaptation strategies phase of the Marketer Acculturation Process (i.e., accommodation, assimilation, and negotiation of customers' resistance) occurred in the four case studies. For instance, despite having certain knowledge of the local market, Tacostorget's founders still needed to adapt some aspects of their venture: they prepared a sauce that was not very spicy, but the spiciness level that Swedes can take surprised them; they had to make a spicier sauce. In this case, the marketers accommodated certain products to match their customers' needs (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999). However, Tacostorget's founders thought that not everything had to be adapted, as they wanted to stick to the authenticity of their food. In consequence, they decided to continue with some very authentic recipes and tried to educate their customers to eat those dishes in an authentic way. This finding is closely related to the assimilation feature of the adaptation phase, where the marketers try to alter their customers' behaviors and preferences towards a particular product

(Penaloza & Gilly, 1999). As a result, the entrepreneurs were successful with some dishes; for instance, “quesadilla”, which is a product that is constantly consumed by their customers.

Regarding Gothems Cantina Y Casitas , Erick and Vanessa periodically scout the web and look for social media posts and terms that are related to their restaurant. A few months after having opened the restaurant, they noted that they were getting reviews on TripAdvisor, Google Plus, and Instagram. Thus they started looking at what was being used by customers; if there were bad comments, they tried to address those problems. They realized that social media could be further enhanced in terms of the visibility and marketability by directly connecting with the users. Anytime they got a review or comment on social media, Erik would respond. Vanessa mentioned that this engagement increased the number of clicks and interactions by being showed first in Google and Facebook’s searches. This finding is closely related to the accommodation feature of the adaptation phase, as the founders utilized a post-sales approach by engaging with their consumers through social media to address different problems or simply thank their consumers for a good review or comment (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999; Ram & Hillin, 1994).

Another action that helped Gothems Cantina Y Casitas’ founders in the adaptation phase is when they started using iZettle as a statistics driver to track the consumers’ menu choices. With this tool they know every month what are the most consumed products and they can change the menu accordingly; in fact, they had to remove some menu items that were not being sold at all. In this case, the founders are adapting some of their offers based on the consumers’ choices (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999). On the contrary, they wanted to stick to the authenticity value and educate their consumers to appreciate their food, thus they decided to focus on a more personal experience where they could explain to the consumers what the food was made of and the taste of it. This last finding resembles to the assimilation feature of the adaptation phase, where the marketers try to alter their customers’ behaviors towards their particular product offer (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999).

Finally, along Sushi2go’s growth phase Nico noticed two very important aspects: firstly, Swedes find it very difficult to try new things in restaurants, they want to see traditional menu items that they know or have heard of. Contrary to previous literature, where different authors found that marketers adapted their offers to the customers’ preferences (Ram et al., 2003; Allen & Busse, 2015; Penaloza & Gilly, 1999), Nico decided not to adapt his menu and explain them that “Sushi2go’s concept is what it is, if you do not like it, there are more

restaurants in Lund where you can find traditional rolls” (Nico – Sushi2go). Additionally, Nico avoided negotiating with his consumers’ resistance by not changing the menu and not getting involved in long conversations (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999). The second aspect was regarding a surprising customer segment that he acquired, kids. Nico noticed that many kids became regular consumers at Sushi2go, so he decided to sell certain products that in United States are very common for kids, for instance, Arizona drinks. This finding does resemble the accommodation feature of the adaptation phase, where the marketer specializes certain products to match with the consumers’ needs (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999).

Outcomes

The final phase of the Marketer Acculturation Process corresponds to the Outcomes. In the four case studies, we found that various outcomes occurred for the companies, being the business enculturation a similar outcome among the four, which is the direct result of the adaptation phase (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999). For instance, Tacostorget successfully changed the spiciness of their sauce to accommodate to the taste of Swedes. As a consequence, Tacostorget’s consumers feel happy that they can eat authentic Mexican tacos and they can speak Spanish and share experiences with Maria. This finding resembles the marketer-consumer dialectic, which can be considered as the final outcome of the acculturation process because marketers and consumers create a close cultural relationship in the marketplace (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999). Additionally, this finding is in line with the outcomes of Jamal (2006), who argued that consumers of one culture interact with marketers from another culture in the marketplace.

Similarly, Punjabi went through a business enculturation process, where the founders accommodated their offer to the customers’ needs (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999). Additionally, they also propitiated a multicultural reproduction because they used orange color paint for the restaurant that resembled traditional colors from India and Pakistan.

Regarding Gothems Cantina Y Casitas, Erik and Vanessa consider their restaurant as a service oriented restaurant: they joke with their customers making them feel as if they are at home; this is translated into the marketer-customer dialectic, creating a direct cultural relationship (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999). Similarly, Gothems Cantina Y Casitas offers a customized but still authentic menu, where the consumers can choose what to eat by mixing different menu items, for instance, a specific kind of meat with different types of tortillas and sauces. Another

outcome is derived from this customization: the business enculturation, which is the direct result of adapting a product offer to different consumers (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999). Additionally, a multicultural reproduction is generated at Gothems Cantina Y Casitas because its employees and consumers come from different parts of the world (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999), building up a space where marketers from different cultural backgrounds interact with customers from different cultural backgrounds (Jamal, 2003).

Finally, Sushi2go's business enculturation is not totally developed despite the success of the restaurant. Sushi2go has a very important customer base and the restaurant has not fully adapted to the Swedish cultural behaviors. However, Nico does not think of this as a determining factor for the growth of Sushi2go (a second location opened recently). Additionally, Nico had to learn Swedish due to the constant interaction with the customers. This last finding resembles the outcomes found by Penaloza and Gilly (1999) in the Marketer Acculturation Process, who argued that the marketer might go through a social legitimization by learning a native language in a different country.

5 Conclusion

This study explored the different cultural capital that immigrant entrepreneurs use as marketing strategies in the restaurant industry. The research consisted of four case studies, which focused on insights from entrepreneurs, customers, employees, and direct observation through visits to the restaurants. Our findings show that the main cultural capital used by immigrant entrepreneurs as marketing strategies is knowledge of the product, cultural values, and their network through word-of-mouth. Moreover, social media and service marketing were identified as essential marketing strategies since they can incorporate all cultural capital including knowledge of the product, network, family, cultural values, and employment of co-immigrants.

Additionally, this study described the acculturation process that the entrepreneurs' marketing strategies have gone through since they began with operations. Our findings were compared to the Marketer Acculturation Process (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999) showing that all entrepreneurs first identified and learned different aspects from the consumers' preferences. All entrepreneurs went through an adaptation phase; however, some of them accommodated to the consumers' preferences and others looked for an assimilation of their food. Finally, the entrepreneurs propitiated a business enculturation and multicultural reproduction where they developed a close relationship with their consumers.

5.1 Implications

The implications of our study suggest researchers to broaden the scope of the research setting and include more immigrant entrepreneurs from different backgrounds, as the timespan limited our effort to find more restaurants. Likewise, the setting of the study provides the opportunity to extend the geographical location in which the study was conducted to compare different insights from other entrepreneurs that may lead to a more diverse use of culture capital as marketing strategies, which could target different customer segments.

Future research should consider the methodology presented in this paper, as it may be used to plan and execute the process to approach immigrant entrepreneurs. Moreover, the methodology used to collect and analyze data may help researchers to identify different cultural capital that has not been explored in this paper or previous literature.

Finally, the implications for immigrant entrepreneurs that are planning to start a restaurant in Sweden suggest that they should be aware of the different cultural capital they can count on to exploit their marketing strategies. Furthermore, they should consider the findings drawn from the comparison with the Marketer Acculturation Process to identify customers' preferences and adapt their marketing strategies to succeed in the restaurant industry.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Interview guide for immigrant entrepreneurs

The interview guide is built on 5 main sections. Some of them apply for a certain kind of interviewee. We tried to adapt the different questions to every individual, taking questions from different sections in an unstructured way. We always started with the same section: Tell us about yourself.

Tell us about yourself

- Where are you from?
- What's your background?
- What made you move to Sweden?
- What influenced you to partake in this role?
- At what point did you choose this career?
- What specific goals have you established for your career?
- How do you feel about running a company which concept is from another country?

About the company

1. When did it start?
2. How many employees when it started and now?
3. What's your Value Proposition?
4. What made you come to Lund?
5. What is your menu?
6. How did you get the recipes?
7. How authentic are your dishes?

About the employees

1. What do you consider is the most important that an employee must have?

- a. Qualifications?
 - b. Skills?
2. How did you determine the salary?

Challenges

1. What are some of the common challenges for opening this location?
2. What did you learn from other restaurant launches that helped you get ready for this one?
3. What were some of the unexpected challenges you faced with this restaurant?
4. If you could have done something different, what could you have done?
5. How has the company evolved?

Marketing

1. What is your main market segment?
2. What do you think Swedes look for when buying food or eating at a restaurant?
3. What do you think has made that Swedes like Mexican food?
4. What do you think Mexican restaurants must do to fit Swedes likes?
5. What kind of marketing did you use?
6. What aspects of ethnicity did you use?
7. How aggressive are your marketing strategies?
8. How aggressive the cultural aspect?
9. What was the most difficult when trying to attract customers?
 - a. Challenges?
10. Have your marketing strategies changed? How? Based on what?
11. Does your marketing strategy change based on your customers?

Others

1. What is your relationship with the founder(s)?
2. What is your general opinion of them?
3. What is your opinion of the company?
4. Why do you come to eat to this restaurant?

5. What are your impressions of the place?
6. What do you think of the employees?
7. What are your general thoughts of this restaurant?
8. What is the aspect that you like the most of working in this company?
9. Do you see yourself working in the company for long?
10. What aspects of the restaurant's ethnicity do you try to transmit to the customers?

Appendix 2 – Case studies

Tacostorget

Omar Torres and Maria Dolores Narvaes are Colombian immigrants that want to open a restaurant in Sweden based on Mexican street food. Currently, the couple started their entrepreneurial endeavor by the means of a food trailer, which they call Tacostorget. The trailer is parked near the vicinity of Mark IV, one of the future prominent technological hubs surrounding Lund University. Tacostorget offers a unique business proposition in the Skåne region: they serve Mexican food in the southern Scandinavian market.

Background

Tacostorget started operations three years ago in Lund, Sweden. The idea for the restaurant came from a Mexican pastor of a Christian congregation in Lund that the couple attends to. Since the Colombians came to Sweden, Omar experienced difficulties securing a stable job, cycling through part-time jobs and unemployment. It was during an unemployment period that the pastor came to the couple with the idea and the company started. There was no market research, no clearly defined value proposition, and no business plan; the restaurant was created solemnly because of faith, as the couple believes that the restaurant is the path God wants them to follow and hence they believe that this is why they will be successful in the future. A considerate risky decision since the couple has two young sons, no previous restaurant experience, and the risk of dealing with a product that they knew very little about.

Observations

The concept is simple, Mexican tacos for Lund. Operations are currently done via a food cart in the form of a trailer. Business operations are divided between the two owners: Maria is in charge of the menu and day to day trailer operations; Omar handles the accounting, marketing

and other business logistics. It has been a steep learning curve for both entrepreneurs in the last three years, and they are still learning. The cart, up to today, is not profitable, and Omar has been forced back into part-time employment to sustain the family. However, the hope of an expansion of Max IV, a steady clientele and faith in God's plan keep the couple investing in the business in hopes to grow the company into a brick and mortar restaurant.

Tacostorget promotes Mexican street food. When customers walk to the food trailer they will notice the façade of the venue is covered with handmade drawings of people cooking and eating Mexican food, with the company's logo font in yellow and red. Maria is in the kitchen facing the customers with a big smile through the counter window, and to the right of it there is the menu highlighting the main Mexican dishes of tacos, burritos, quesadillas and fiesta rice (each can be made with ground meat, shredded chicken, white chorizo, or mushrooms). On the corner of the right side of the trailer there is a Mexican flag, and on the opposite corner on the left, there is a Swedish flag. Inside the kitchen there is all sorts of Mexican decorations randomly placed including maracas, little mariachi hats, and a "papel picado" multicolored banner. Immediately facing the counter, there is a newspaper clipping of Maria serving food. When placing an order Maria will ask the type of salsa to be used, brava (hot) or suave (mild), and start cooking. Once finished, the order is placed in a takeaway container with sides of rice and salad. Customers pay and then either take the meal away or enjoy it in the nearby picnic tables.

Upon opening the container, the food looked delicious and fresh. However, it seemed the dish was not 100% authentic and it was made to appeal to the Swedish consumer, i.e., the additional sides, tacos had an addition of refried beans and "pico de gallo". Nonetheless, the homemade soft shell corn tortilla and the quality of the salsa were saving graces. The food was delicious and gave the sensation of enjoying a healthy version of a "taco bell meal combination."

Different customers came and went. Some of them were Swedish, and others were Latin-American; regardless, if they knew Spanish, they would practice placing an order with Maria and have a small conversation with her while she prepared the food or they paid. Some regular customers even brought a person or two with them and guided them through the process while it was their turn to order. Coming to the taco trailer was an experience in itself.

Notes

The sources for this case were: first hand observations on two different visits to the restaurant; a 180 minute semi-structured interview with Omar and Maria on March 30, 2016 at their home residence that included dinner over tacos; and two unstructured interviews with a regular customer from Argentina, Tomas, who frequents the place because he likes the food and a chance to talk in Spanish with Maria for a bit, and a new customer from Austria, Oliver, who wasn't expecting such a Mexican style of tacos and he was amazed with the taste and the decorations of the venue.

Punjabi

Aldi and his friend took advantage of the influx of Indians and Pakistanis receiving free education in Sweden by opening an Indian-Pakistani restaurant in Lund. Aldi had previous restaurant experience, and the idea to start a restaurant was better than to find a job in his field of study. Three years have passed since operations started, the combined population of Indian and Pakistani students have diminished in Lund, and the owners are trying different things to win over a new market.

Background

Aldi came to Lund to pursue a Master of Science in Chemistry in Lund University. Back in Pakistan, Aldi had saved up money to sustain himself during the period of his studies by working in several restaurants in Pakistan. Also, as a way to maintain himself while in Sweden, Aldi worked in several Indian restaurants in Malmö. Seeing the difficulty in finding a job in his field of study, Aldi decided to open up his own restaurant since Lund had a stable community of Indian and Pakistani students coming into the city. Business was somewhat stable at first: Aldi handled the kitchen and the day-to-day restaurant operations, while his partner handled the restaurant's logistics. The main customer segment was the Indian and Pakistani community; the secondary targeted customer base was everybody else. The restaurant mainly was operated by Aldi alone: cooking, serving, receiving payment and even providing free delivery service to customers; however, part-time employees from India and Pakistan were hired in an on-off basis to help Aldi run the restaurant. All changed when Sweden stopped granting free education to Indian and Pakistani students: an important customer base was suddenly cut off and Punjabi had to focus on appealing to the general public.

Observations

Punjabi is located in the southern part of Lund, the restaurant is in the first floor in one of the buildings close to Stadsparken. A sign that hangs from the building perpendicular to the street and a full window sticker advertise to passersby that Punjabi is a restaurant that offers Indian and Pakistani dishes, and it is the best place to get Indian food in Lund. Walking through the door, the restaurant's ambiance transports you to an Indian restaurant: the illumination is somewhat dimmed creating an intimate setting; that complements the "Indian orange" color painted walls. Throughout the restaurant on raised shelves are different Indian artifacts that serve as decorations such as metal water pipes, cushions and paintings; there is also Indian music playing softly in the background. The first thing that customers will notice is either the wooden podium where the cash-register and breath mints are located, or the minimal but efficient buffet station in the right that hosts a salad bar, rice, bread and different curry-based dishes. Aside from the buffet, customers can enjoy a la carte dishes from India or Pakistan from a menu that has the names of the dishes in English, but are described in Swedish. Aldi is available to answer any questions, provide suggestions, take the order, prepare it and serve it.

The restaurant caters both to people who want to eat in the restaurant or pick it up and eat it at home. Those who take the food home will only have the choice to pick up something from the a la carte menu; depending on the dish, a side of white rice and a large piece of fried bread is included. The items from the buffet menu have a range of pork, chicken and vegetarian options based in a brown or red curry sauce. The food is barely spicy, which suggests that it is tailored to appeal to a non-Indian or Pakistani crowd. Otherwise, the food looks and tastes with different spices that appear to be from India or Pakistan. Not being an expert, we cannot say for sure how traditional or not the dishes are prepared. The overall conclusion is that the food tasted great and the service was good. Commenting this to Aldi, he asked to put the review online through TripAdvisor since that was his main advertising channel.

Notes

The sources for this case were: first hand observations on two different visits to the restaurant (1st occasion was a takeout order, 2nd was dining in the restaurant); a 90 minute semi-structured interview with Aldi on April 13, 2016 at Punjabi after having the lunch buffet; and an unstructured interview with a regular customer from the USA, Stefanie, who referred us to the restaurant.

Gothems Cantina Y Casitas

Erik and Vanessa moved from the USA to Sweden in search of financial independence. To do so, they opened a Mexican Cantina in Gotland. Erik is from Norrköping and Vanessa is from California, a 2nd Generation Mexican. The restaurant started almost a year ago with relative success. Quality food, an uncompromising menu, and great customer service seem to be a good mixture. The couple has opened a second restaurant with a Southern BBQ concept and is considering opening a 3rd venue.

Background

Erik is not the typical Swede, he says so himself: according to him, he has been Americanized for the better. Vanessa considers herself a typical California girl proud of her Mexican heritage. Erik has extensive experience in the restaurant and hospitality business in the USA; Vanessa has experience in the USA's navy and project management from working at Lockheed Martin. Tired of depending on a job, and looking for a fresh start, the couple did extensive research into opening a restaurant in Sweden; Erik determined through his findings that Gotland was ideal for a Mexican restaurant based on Vanessa's cooking. The couple moved in August 2014 to Sweden and in May 2015 started operations of Gothems Cantina Y Casitas.

Observations

The layout of the restaurant looks like a countryside well taken care of Mexican Cantina with white walls, wooden visible beams, wooden window panes, aluminum tops and covers; no tacky or over the top decorations with "dia de los muertos" or the "Virgin Mary." The restaurant seems small. It has a few tables that hold about sixty people, has a well stoked bar that holds seventeen types of Tequila, three types of Mexican beer, and a frozen margarita machine. Although advertised as Mexican food, the couple admits that the dishes are authentic Tex-Mex cuisine that anybody from the USA and Northern Mexico will recognize: tacos, burritos, quesadillas, nachos and taco salads are part of the main menu. Dishes are served as they are; the customer only picks the type of meat they want. The couple realize that the food and drink selection is not for everyone and they are ok with this; "if they do not like it, they can go somewhere else." Aside from this, the couple figured out that the success of the menu is that although authentic, it is still considered mainstream.

To order, the first thing customers have to do is secure a table since the space is limited. Erik or the staff will pass out a menu, greet the table and then explain how things work in the restaurant. Once customers pick out what they want to eat, they will order themselves from the counter and go back to the table. Erik and Vanessa consider the restaurant as an extension of their home and will treat every customer as their guest. The restaurant is heavily promoted online via Search Engine Optimization (SEO), Facebook and TripAdvisor. Their restaurant has been a hit for locals, Swedes, and people from all over the world as reflected by the feedback received in the different platforms. The venue currently employs seven immigrant employees, as Erik and Vanessa value the immigrant work ethic. The couple looks forward to the upcoming high season this summer.

Notes

We could not visit the restaurant in person but a Skype semi-structured interview of 120 minutes took place on April 19, 2016 with the couple. During the interview, a virtual tour of the restaurant was done in our behalf to get a feeling for the layout of the place. Also, we asked Erik and Vanessa to walk us through the process of experiencing visiting the restaurant as new customers. An additional unstructured Skype interview with Laura, the restaurant cook, was later conducted. Laura is from Venezuela.

Sushi2go

Born in the USA, Nico is the son of a Guatemalan mother and a Mexican father. Seven years ago by chance, he opened a Sushi place in Lund close to the Central Station alongside his then-girlfriend and a friend of hers. Today, he is the single owner of the venture and in 2015 opened a secondary location in Lomma beach. Sushi2go is a traditional sushi restaurant with a Mexican-Guatemalan twist.

Background

Nico moved to Sweden ten years ago because his girlfriend got a job with Ikea and needed to transfer to Sweden. After moving, Nico started to work under the table as a dishwasher. For the first couple of years Nico cycled through dishwasher and cook positions in different restaurants, one of these places was a sushi restaurant where Nico got trained to be one of the main cooks. By chance Nico moved to New York for a year to work on a restaurant and then came back to Sweden. His girlfriend and a friend of hers decided to open a sushi restaurant in

Lund and by de facto Nico was the chef. Making use of his social network, Nico reached out to a friend and sushi teacher to come up with the menu. According to Nico, the menu was thought over fish tacos and his friend told him "you are a Mexican-American opening a sushi restaurant in Sweden! You can do whatever you want!" which Nico did. The menu was made out of traditional sushi dishes including sashimis, nigiris, and basic rolls, but then some of the specialty rolls borrow elements from the Latin-American cuisine like coriander, chipotle and guacamole to create some interesting combinations. Seven years later Sushi2go has a secondary location in Lomma and employs nine individuals. The kitchen setup is made per Japanese standards: ingredients and utensils are set up for right-handed people (there are even right-handed knives used).

Observations

Although close to Lund Central Station, Sushi2go is a hidden gem from busy bike-paths and pedestrian pathways. Similarly to Punjabi, the restaurant has a sign hanging perpendicular to the street with the name; the restaurant's name is also in a sticker that covers most of the front window. There is no music playing in the restaurant. On the left are two bamboo-colored high tables with their matching stools. There is a frozen counter display that hosts pre-made seaweed salads, an assortment of canned soda drinks, jugged water, aloe drinks, Arizona drinks, and candy bars. On top there are packaged wasabi flavored candy. Immediately to the right, there is the cash register on top of a black top counter that extends to the wall. In front of it there is a miso soup station. Where the station ends, a black counter extends all the way to the end of the wall, covers the corner and reaches the door. The black counter matches perfectly with the white walls and the highly illuminated venue. On each seating spot, there is a combination of chopsticks and napkins; soy sauce, soy dishes, and paper water cups are within reach; on the tables the centerpiece is a small potted cactus. The menu is located in three illuminated panes on top of the right-sided wall; the closest pane to the register displays the lunch special menu, closer inspection reveals that the sizes of the lunch boxes are in spanish (pequeno, mediano, and grande); the middle pane shows the specialty rolls that highlight names like Mexican dynamite and Diablo, these are made with unusual ingredients like chipotle and coriander.

Customers may phone in their orders, place them over the internet, or walk in and order. From kids, to executives, to construction workers, Sushi2go caters to everyone. Service is fast and people are asked if they want the meal for takeaway or for dining inside. The presentation of

the dishes is almost the same as what illustrations show in the menu panes (no over selling like they do in fast food chains). The rolls and sashimi are presented with great care (although Nico admits that he gives freedom of creativity to his staff as long as the base of the dish stays the same). The food tastes fantastic, both for the traditional specialty rolls. Those who take the meal to go can appreciate the presentation of the dishes since the container has a see-through cover (before the person starts walking and getting sushi everywhere in the box). Nico values his employees (the longest has worked six years with him) and they were a motivating factor to open the second location since it was easier to give them more working hours than a pay raise.

Notes

The sources for this case were: first hand observations on three different visits to the restaurant (1st occasion was a sit-in dinner; 2nd was for the interview to Nico, a staff member, and a customer; 3rd was a to go order for lunch). A 120-minute semi-structured interview with Nico took place on April 28, 2016 at Sushi2go; an unstructured interview with an employee from Sweden, Anna, who works in the kitchen; and an unstructured interview with Philippa who works in the area and is a frequent customer.