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From Productive to Destructive Entrepreneurship, and back?
A Malmo Drug Dealer Story

By

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Abstract

Purpose The purpose of this research paper is to investigate the phenomenon of destructive entrepreneurship from a contextual perspective, by conducting a narrative study in a cosmopolitan city of Sweden. A narrative story is constructed based on the life story of a drug dealer. This narrative is used as input in interviews with respondents representing different political and social organisations in our cosmopolitan city.

Design/Methodology/Approach Adopting a qualitative approach, specifically a narrative history, an examination of the key facts that led to the drug dealer's current position is provided. The personal circumstances and characteristics of the drug dealer are explored, discussed with experts on various related fields, and compared with existing research results.

Findings The paper provides a deeper understanding of the motives that lead an individual towards destructive entrepreneurship. It concludes by suggesting that policies do dictate the supply of entrepreneurs and institutional changes are the answer to shift the supply of entrepreneurs, from destructiveness to productiveness.

Originality/Value The paper develops a detailed understanding of the contextual circumstances that lead to a destructive career path, and innovative ways to combat it.

Keywords Unproductive entrepreneurship, destructive entrepreneurship, productive entrepreneurship, entrepreneurs, drug dealing

Paper Type Research Paper

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Entrepreneurship is the creation story of our time. Entrepreneurs are modern day Ulysses' and Columbus', setting sail to explore the opportunities this World has to offer. We all love the great success stories, the hard working college kids that built their empires from their parents' garage, like Steve Jobs, or Bill Gates. Young people from all over the World are inspired by such tales, and set their goals high, following on the footsteps of their role models. Mark Zuckerberg and Dustin Moskovitz are worth an awe inspiring combined \$45.6 billion (Forbes, 2016), having started the most successful business of the 21st century, Facebook, as a school project.

Entrepreneurship has, in the last decades, gained great momentum. In the 'developed' Western countries, the significance of entrepreneurs has been elevated, and they are now considered to constitute the main driving forces in global economy, replacing the big and slow monolithic organisations of the past (McElwee, 2007). It is now a well-accepted fact that entrepreneurship matters. 'It matters for individuals, organisations, and countries. Together with the other social and management sciences, economics helps us understand how individuals make decisions, why and how they create and grow organisations, and what the intended and unintended consequences of these actions are at both the micro and macroeconomic levels. [...] Overall, economic theories have guided us in understanding human behaviours and men's continuous quest toward improving their condition' (Minniti & Lévesque, 2008 pp. 603). Furthermore, one-third of the differences in national economic growth rates can be attributed to the level of entrepreneurship in each country (Reynolds et al., 1990), and entrepreneurial activity explains approximately one half of the GDP growth (Zacharakis et al., 2000). Entrepreneurs significantly impact economic activity at a more local level through fostering localised job creation, increasing wealth and local incomes, and connecting local economies to the larger global economy (Henderson, 2002). This is what we call productive entrepreneurship, the ensemble of activities that help economy and society grow (Sauka & Welter, 2007). Entrepreneurship - productive entrepreneurship that is - is a wonderful thing. It is what drives people, societies, and economies forward, it is the very nature of human beings since the beginning of time, using their particular skills and abilities to recognise and explore the opportunities that present themselves to improve their lives, and those of their peers.

So what is entrepreneurship and what are its different forms? One of the earliest economists to study entrepreneurship was Richard Cantillon (1755). He defined entrepreneurs as risk taking individuals, who take advantage and allocate resources in order to increase their financial return, people who are willing to take personal financial risk in order to maximise their monetary return.

In the 20th century, Joseph Schumpeter, who is credited with being the first academic that dwelled in entrepreneurship research, gave us a more elaborate definition of entrepreneurship, and the entrepreneur. In his 1934 paper, he suggested that there are five forms of entrepreneurship. These include: introduction of a new good, introduction of a new method of production, opening of a new market, conquest of a new source of supply of raw materials of half-manufactured goods, and new organisation of any industry (Desai & Acs, 2007).

But, there is something being left out from this definition. Entrepreneurship is a two sided coin. There is another face entrepreneurship wears. A more obscure, parasitic face that produces results that are harmful to both economy and society. That is what Baumol (1990, 1993) defined as unproductive, or even destructive entrepreneurship. He argues that what drives entrepreneurs is the will to increase their wealth, power, and prestige. This means that entrepreneurs do not act altruistically to help societies and drive economies forward. Rather, they are driven by far more egoistic factors. This of course does not apply to all entrepreneurs and all ventures. We have seen a great number of examples of individuals investing their own time and money to help others in need. However, we must not be fast to dismiss the possibility of prestige, fame, and personal acclaim being here too, even if subconsciously so, major driving forces.

According to Baumol (1990), unproductive and destructive entrepreneurship are the actions that have a negative, even destructive consequence on the output of the economy. Examples of unproductive and destructive entrepreneurship include “Rent seeking in the form of litigation, lobbying, takeovers, tax evasion and avoidance efforts as well as ‘use of the legal system’; illegal and shadow activities, including drug dealing, prostitution, racketeering, blackmailing; and various forms of corruption” (Sauka, 2008, p.2). Today, more than ever, with the disclosure from whistle blowers of documents such as the Panama papers, and those that can be found on WikiLeaks, the economic scandals involving colossal companies, like the Lehman Brothers, which lead to the 2008 global economic crisis that is still tormenting a great number of economies, and the involvement of ‘trusted’ organisations such as FIFA in wire fraud, racketeering, and money laundering processes, it becomes obvious that this darker side of entrepreneurship is ever present, and has made its way to the top of the pyramid, rather than staying at the bottom, in the dark back alleys, as some of us might like to think. It becomes apparent that it is of capital importance to find ways to shift people, companies, and organisations towards productive entrepreneurship.

People get involved with unproductive and destructive entrepreneurship for different reasons. Factors such as greed and constant pursuit of money and fame are present, and very hard to address and combat, as they are part of human nature (Baumol, 1990). But, we believe that there is another part of unproductive and destructive entrepreneurship that can be changed, that can be

driven back to producing a positive outcome for society and economy. These are the people that were pushed into destructive entrepreneurship due to poverty, difficulties in finding regular jobs, feeling outcasted or marginalised by society, or facing other personal or societal constraints. These individuals, although engaging in illegal, often criminal, lifestyles, are different to the people hiding behind the boards of multinational corporations that exploit child labour or destroy the environment to further increase their wealth. They are regular people that situational factors drove down the wrong path.

Baumol's universal academic acclaim brought a great deal of attention to the topic of unproductive and destructive entrepreneurship and its effect on economy, and made the distinction between productive, unproductive, and destructive entrepreneurship a constant in entrepreneurship research (Fairlie, 2002, Desai & Acs, 2007; Sauka & Welter 2007; Sauka, 2008; Minniti, 2008; Sobel, 2008; Henrekson & Stenkula, 2010). However, unproductive and destructive entrepreneurship have to be contextualised in order to be understood, as without acknowledging the context surrounding them, abstract terms such as this one have no real academic value.

Context, in management studies, 'refers to circumstances, conditions, situations, or environments that are external to the respective phenomenon and enable or constrain it' (Welter, 2011, p.167). 'A contextualised view of entrepreneurship' writes Welter, 'contributes to our understanding of the phenomenon'. The same is, without a doubt, applicable to unproductive and destructive entrepreneurship. To understand any economic behaviour, one needs a general understanding of a wide range of contexts, such as the historical, temporal, institutional, and social context, as these 'provide individuals with opportunities and set boundaries for their actions' (Welter, 2011, p.165). In short, in order to truly understand the motives and driving forces behind any entrepreneurial action, the researcher has to take into account the context of these actions. Different cultural, spatial, or institutional variables, will lead to a completely different entrepreneurial setting. Understanding and contextualising entrepreneurship in all its forms is imperative in order to understand the phenomenon, and how, and why it occurs in each particular place, age, or society.

1.2. Purpose

The purpose of this research paper is to investigate the phenomenon of destructive entrepreneurship from a contextual perspective. With contextual perspective we acknowledge a highly segregated region in a multicultural city (socio-spatial context) and its institutional system (institutional context). We want, through the personal story of a drug dealer in this setting we described, help understand the shortcomings of the system in place, and define the main reasons behind choosing an illegal path to destructive entrepreneurship in general.

We fulfil this aim by conducting a narrative study in a cosmopolitan city of Sweden. A narrative story is constructed based on the life story of a drug dealer. This narrative is used as input in interviews with respondents representing different political and social organisations in our cosmopolitan city. Namely, we include insights from politicians, social workers from different governmental organisation, a narcotics police officer, and a sociology professor, in order to get a more complete and broader image of the phenomenon and its impact on society. This will provide findings that could be applicable in understanding a wider range of such activities in similar contexts. It can, in turn, help authorities and policy makers better understand the problem of unproductive and destructive entrepreneurship, and design preventing and firefighting measures to cope with it.

The reason behind choosing drug dealing as the core activity of our research paper on destructive entrepreneurship, is the prevalence of this kind of illegal activity that is ever-present in urban centres around the World. Furthermore, although there has been much debate between scholars on what exactly constitutes destructive entrepreneurship, and whether or not it has negative or even positive results on economy and society, drug dealing is accepted by all researchers as a gravely destructive entrepreneurial behaviour, with solely negative outcomes, making it a perfect research subject for us (Sauka & Welter, 2007).

2. Literature Review

In this chapter, we will present an overlook of the studies that have been conducted in several subjects that will help us better understand, contextualise, and describe the phenomenon of destructive entrepreneurship. These include studies and research papers that cover the topic of unproductive and destructive entrepreneurship, the motivational factors that drive people towards it, and the importance of contextually examining the phenomenon. We will end this chapter with a short presentation of the main points from that review that will constitute our theoretical framework, and are going to be central aspects of our study of destructive entrepreneurship.

2.1 Unproductive and Destructive Entrepreneurship

Although Unproductive and Destructive entrepreneurship are relatively new additions to the entrepreneurship research field, they have already been the focus of many a study, a fact that demonstrates their importance, but also their appeal to researchers. Baumol (1990, 1993), having introduced both terms is, by definition, the ‘father’ of unproductive and destructive entrepreneurship.

Unproductive and destructive entrepreneurship are the opposite forms of productive entrepreneurship; entrepreneurial activities that do not have a positive impact on economy or

society, such as rent seeking and organised crime (Baumol, 1990). This is clearly an imperfect definition that does not help us distinguish between the two, simply implying that destructive is worse than unproductive. Desai and Acs (2007) try to fill this gap, by presenting their own definition of destructive entrepreneurship; an activity that has a negative effect on GDP, through effects on input of land, labour and capital, and is rent destroying.

More concrete definitions are proposed by other researchers. Activities that have a positive output on either the society or the economy are part of productive entrepreneurship. Activities that do not add value to the economy or the society are categorised as unproductive entrepreneurship. Lastly, activities that have negative repercussions for the economy or the society, and attract followers as well, are defined as destructive entrepreneurship (Sauka & Welter, 2007). The authors argue that there is a limited number of entrepreneurial activities that lead to solely negative outcomes, and should thus be considered destructive. One of them is drug dealing, which is going to be the central focus of this thesis. In general, scholars propose that the output of the activity, rather than the activity itself, should be the central focus of the researcher in order to properly identify the phenomenon (Sauka & Welter, 2007; Desai & Acs, 2007; Sauka, 2008).

2.2 Motivational Factors

There are three main factors that influence individuals to become self-employed, to dwell into what we call entrepreneurship. These include; tolerance for risk, self-efficacy, and preference for autonomy (Fairlie, 2002; Segal, 2005). The most important factor is self-efficacy, which develops through the following four steps; inactive mastery or repeated performance accomplishments, various experience or modelling, verbal persuasion, and autonomic or physiological arousal (Bandura, 1986). This applies to productive entrepreneurship.

There has been much debate among scholars as to what are the motivational factors behind choosing a career in unproductive or destructive entrepreneurship, and if, and how, they differ from the set of motivational factors that drive people towards productive entrepreneurship. Baumol (1990, 1993) suggests that previous entrepreneurship scholars, such as Schumpeter, are focusing solely on the positive aspects of entrepreneurship. In his opinion, the motivational factors behind choosing a career in entrepreneurship are far more egoistic. Entrepreneurs, according to him, are individuals who innovate in pursuit of fame, power, and money, the 'rules of the game' as he calls them, the reward structure of modern economy. That means that entrepreneurs are motivated by personal factors, and would choose to follow a career in unproductive, or even destructive entrepreneurship, if it is more lucrative.

Many more motivational factors have been proposed by researchers to explain people's attraction towards unproductive and destructive entrepreneurship. Some scholars try to act as a 'bridge' between Baumol (1990, 1993) and the more conventional entrepreneurship theories, proposing a triad of factors that incorporates elements from different theories, such as risk, the willingness to accept the fact that you might have to face the consequences of your actions, hassle, the willingness to accept the additional constraints you are going to face, and, lastly, morality, the willingness to face the moral repercussions of your actions (Fadahunsi & Rosa, 2002). They suggest that engaging in destructive entrepreneurial activities depends greatly on specialist knowledge on how to overcome the risks and hassle associated. These can be acquired through being familiar with 'the ways of the streets', or through improvisation, and trial and error methods.

Other scholars propose motivational factors that drive entrepreneurs towards productive entrepreneurship, rather than its unproductive and destructive counterparts. These include the ease of starting and expanding a business, the rewards in place for productive entrepreneurship, the disincentives for unproductive entrepreneurship, and the incentives to promote productive entrepreneurship (Henrekson & Stenkula, 2010).

2.3. Context in Entrepreneurship Research

'The heart of the entrepreneurial process will be found in the descriptive background. We will not get to the heart of the entrepreneurial process until we observe it in the field' (Bygrave, 1989, p. 25).

A great number of scholars propose that when conceptually addressing productive, unproductive, and destructive entrepreneurship, contextual influences should be closely examined, as they shape both the role of entrepreneurship, and their structure and performance (Karlsson & Dahlberg, 2003; Desai & Acs, 2007; Sauka, 2008).

Context is important for 'understanding when, how, and why entrepreneurship happens and who becomes involved' (Welter, 2011, p.165). There are two distinct types of context that should be taken into account. Firstly, there is the socio-spatial context that addresses issues of a social kind, the importance of network and family in an individual's future entrepreneurial activity, and how space dictates the path an entrepreneur will follow, highlighting the possibilities of the greatly overlooked negative influence it can have. Secondly, there is the institutional context, which looks into the 'rules of the game', and the various policies implemented by legal authorities that can have an impact on entrepreneurial behaviour (Welter, 2011).

There is a number of challenges that the researcher will face when trying to contextualise entrepreneurship. The main ones include, the integration of the so-called 'context lens' within the

‘discrete lenses’ commonly used in entrepreneurship research, the conceptual and methodological difficulties that come with trying to distinguish between the positive and negative effects, the bright and dark side of context, and, lastly, the fact that ‘shifting perspectives from the individual to context and its influence on actions questions theoretical assumptions underlying mainstream entrepreneurship research’ (Welter, 2011, p.174).

In order to achieve a contextualised view of entrepreneurship, researchers need an interdisciplinary perspective. This means that entrepreneurship researchers should work closely with disciplines like sociology, anthropology, criminology etc. in order to ‘explore the variety, depths, and richness of contexts’ (Welter, 2011, p.177), which is exactly what we intend to do in this research paper in order to accurately describe and understand destructive entrepreneurship.

2.3.1. Socio-spatial context in destructive entrepreneurship

The social context is understood as the individual’s network; their friends, their families, and the people they come in contact with. The most important aspects to be examined are the structure and density of these networks, the frequency of the relations, and the composition and role of the family. An individual’s network can provide a number of benefits, from financial aid to emotional support (Welter, 2011). Of special interest to our study are the facts that the social network can provide business opportunities to an individual (de Carolis & Saporito, 2006; de Koning, 2003; Fletcher, 2006), and that social ties are especially important for members of ethnic minorities in third countries (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990).

These findings suggest that an individual’s social surroundings are very important for the entrepreneurial path they will follow. In the case of destructive entrepreneurship, we could assume that the presence of social relationships already involved in illegal practices could be a factor driving an individual towards such activities as well, even more so if they are part of a minority group that feels secluded from the rest of society. Furthermore, the presence of positive, or negative role models in an individual’s life, could also be a decisive factor for the path they will follow.

The importance of the family should not be underestimated either. ‘The wider family can influence opportunity emergence and recognition, the decision to set up a new venture, and access to resources’ (Welter, 2011, p.169). This, in turn, suggests that in the case of destructive entrepreneurship, the familial situation of the entrepreneur should be closely examined as well, as the strength or weakness of the familial ties could be a major driving force in the individual’s later career. Furthermore, it has been suggested, that as an entrepreneur’s level of education increases, so does their productive output (Sauka & Welter, 2007). That, in turn, means that the educational

background of the individual should be carefully investigated, as school is a family-type bond as well, that has great repercussions in the individual's understanding of how organised society works.

The spatial context is the geographical aspect of context that could provide explanations as to why individuals make their entrepreneurial choices. Together, social and spatial context are commonly referred to as socio-spatial context, as they are heavily intertwined, and difficultly distinguished. This is due to the fact that spatial proximity is one of the main factors for the creation of a social network (Welter, 2011). The spatial context is especially interesting in unproductive, and destructive entrepreneurship as well, as there are activities that could be considered rent creating in some places, and rent destroying in other (Desai & Acs, 2007).

The dark side of socio-spatial contexts is 'over-embeddedness', a situation where social ties are used as control mechanisms, or make a certain social group so tight and closed that it alienates itself from the rest of society (Welter, 2011). In the subject of destructive entrepreneurship, one could argue that a very tight network majorly composed from people involved in illegal practices, will, possibly, drive the remaining individuals in similar practices.

2.3.2. Institutional context in destructive entrepreneurship

The institutional context is comprised by the formal and informal institutions, laws and regulations that govern entrepreneurial activity, resulting in creation or restriction of opportunities (Welter, 2011). The importance of the institutional context has been proved to be highly decisive in shifting the supply of entrepreneurs to either unproductive, or productive practices (Baumol, 1990; Desai & Acs, 2007; Sauka, 2008; Minniti, 2008; Sobel, 2008).

There is a number of government policies that have been proposed to encourage entrepreneurial activity. These include; reducing information asymmetries by mutual credit guarantees in order to reduce transaction costs and financial constraints in general, attracting new venture capital which in turn increases chances of success of new ventures, and, finally, manipulation of taxes at various jurisdictional levels in order to make the tax system more favourable to small enterprises. However, all the above mentioned policies have produced mixed results and have been proved unsuccessful in changing the overall image of entrepreneurship. The reasons behind the lack of success of such initiatives is that these policies are designed without taking into account the specific context of each individual case, or as Minniti (2008) puts it, 'one size does not fit all'.

Sobel (2008, p.642), in line with Baumol (1990) and Minniti (2008) on the importance of the institutional context in entrepreneurship, goes further by suggesting that "better institutional structures produce higher venture capital investments per capita, a higher rate of patents per capita,

a faster rate of sole proprietorship growth, and a higher establishment birth rate. The results also show that those states with the worst institutions have the worst records on total lobbying activity and legal quality/lawsuit abuse - the unproductive types of entrepreneurship”.

Institutional policies directed towards entrepreneurship are twofold. There are those aimed at SME entrepreneurship, and those aimed at entrepreneurship in general. The former are directed at already established businesses and aim to facilitate them by putting a support system in place. The latter on the other hand, refer to policies that encourage individuals in pursuing a socially productive entrepreneurial career (Henrekson & Stenkula, 2010). This distinction is crucial for our research, as entrepreneurial policies, rather than SME policies are the ones needed in order to deter individuals from pursuing an unproductive career, and push them towards productive entrepreneurship. It is those policies that stimulate job creation, innovation, social welfare, and economic growth. Furthermore, as this distinction in entrepreneurship policies is already established, one could argue that a similar distinction between policies aimed at productive entrepreneurship, and those aimed at its unproductive counterparts, should also exist.

Other studies have focused on whether or not the policies already in place have produced the desired outcomes. In Sweden, and the EU in general, the most commonly used policies to promote new business creation and the continuing operation of existing SMEs, have been lowering the entry barriers, and the use of public money for funding. However, these approaches have produced mixed results. This fact means that entry barriers have no great impact on young business formation, and comes to reinforce Baumol's (1990) thesis that the reward structure of modern economy is the major driving force behind business formation (Van Stel, 2007). In the U.S. on the other hand, financial and educational activities towards entrepreneurship, have been proved to have a positive effect on the allocation of entrepreneurs towards productive entrepreneurship (Brown and DeClerq, 2008). This is proof that a country's policies have the power to dictate the allocation of entrepreneurs.

Sanders and Weitzel (2010), acknowledge the the importance of having quality institutions to promote productive entrepreneurship, and go further by proposing a very interesting method to help in the transition of individuals from destructive to productive entrepreneurship. Microcredits, they argue, can help the transition by overcoming financial constraints without creating incentives for destructive entrepreneurship. This is very interesting for our research, as we will try to investigate if, and how the adoption of such methods in Sweden could produce positive results.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

Destructive entrepreneurship is an activity that produces negative results for society and economy, attracting followers in the process (Sauka & Welter, 2007). Drug dealing is one of its most characteristic forms, that greatly reduces GDP and damages society (Desai & Acs, 2007). This topic should be examined in a contextualised matter, taking into account how socio-spatial and institutional contexts affect it (Welter, 2011). The socio-spatial context is hereby defined as the individual's network and the place they live, the space they occupy (Welter, 2011). In our study, the socio-spatial contextual focus is the city of Malmo, a highly segregated multicultural city, with high unemployment and crime rates compared to the rest of Sweden, and the network ties of our main research subject, a medium scale drug dealer. The institutional context is comprised by the laws that already exist to combat the problem of drug dealing, the regulations in place to promote productive entrepreneurship, and, lastly, any future institutional changes with similar aims, investigating if they are designed especially for Malmo, as, as we have mentioned above, 'one size does not fit all' (Minniti, 2008). A critical investigation should as well be aimed at factors that are known to lead to destructive career choices, such as motivation, investigating Baumol's (1990) 'fame, power, and money', as well as Fadahunsi and Rosa's (2002) willingness to accept the additional risk and hassle it comes with. Additionally, the researcher of destructive entrepreneurship should investigate the parameter of education, which has been proved to increase the positive output of entrepreneurs (Sauka & Welter, 2007).

3. Methods and Analysis

3.1. Qualitative research

This research used solely qualitative methods to obtain the data required. The reason behind choosing the qualitative approach is "its focus on words rather than numbers" (Bryman, 2015, p. 392). As we tried to understand human behaviour; what drives an individual towards destructive entrepreneurship, and what society thinks about it, the qualitative approach suits our topic better. In our research the stress is on understanding the social context through the interpretation of our participants' words rather than analysing it through numbers.

Bryman (2015, p. 393) mentions there are four traditions of qualitative research. The most commonly used one is naturalism; seeking to understand social reality in its own terms, as it really is. This tradition applies to our research and gave us a very good description of how people and organisations act, and interact in the destructive entrepreneurship environment. Furthermore, we decided that interviewing is the approach that suits our research best, which is also one of the most employed methods in qualitative research (Bryman, 2015, p. 479).

The main steps of our qualitative research method were as follows (Bryman, 2015, p. 395);

Selecting relevant subjects; in order to be as inclusive as possible, we decided to interview subjects with direct involvement and experience in the field of destructive entrepreneurship. *General and specific research questions*; we used a mix of general pre-determined questions and open ended questions with the interviewees. The most important part was obtaining the narrative life story of our destructive entrepreneur. Only after that we interviewed our other subjects. For the exact procedure we followed please refer to **section 3.3. Interviews and data management**

Collection of relevant data; data was collected from direct, face to face interviews performed with our interviewees. For complete data management techniques used please refer to section **3.3.**

Interviews and data management

Interpretation of data; data from the interviews were transcribed after each session and both researchers discussed their relevance, their meaning, and their relation to the topic. A narrative analysis framework was used for our destructive entrepreneur, while supplementing this narrative with facts and opinions obtained from our target groups mentioned in point 1

Conceptual and theoretical work; our aim is to understand what pushes an entrepreneur from productive to destructive entrepreneurship, and how we can shift the allocation of entrepreneurs from the destructive to its productive form.

Writing up findings/conclusions; we understand that in order for our research to be successful, we have to convince our audience about the credibility and significance of the interpretations offered (Bryman, 2015, p. 397). For this reason, we tried to present our findings in an unbiased manner, and made sure we related our findings to literature. Finally, we suggested future work that could further examine the topic.

3.2. Sampling Selection

For our qualitative sampling we used an a priori fixed purposive sampling method; our subjects were selected based on criteria which allowed our research questions to be answered (Bryman, 2015, p. 430). The term fixed here means that the sample was established at the beginning of the research and no addition of subjects took place in later stages (Bryman, 2015, p. 430). For our research, the characteristics we were examining were, the subject's knowledge and involvement in the field of destructive entrepreneurship in Malmo, Sweden. The reason why we focused on these two aspects is because we tried to understand a specific topic (destructive entrepreneurship) in the socio-spatial and institutional context of Malmo, Sweden.

Our main subject, the destructive entrepreneur, is a person directly involved in the buying and selling of illegal narcotics inside the city of Malmo, Sweden. In addition, another important criterion for selecting our destructive entrepreneur was his involvement in a productive venture earlier in his life. This is crucial for our research, as we tried to understand the reasons behind abandoning a productive career, to pursue a destructive one; this shift is at the core of our research.

Furthermore, by selecting a subject who has experience in both a legal and illegal venture we can capture what needs to be done in order to avoid the shift from productive to destructive entrepreneurship. The destructive entrepreneur is our primary subject. We met him through a friend. After multiple phone calls, and one canceled meeting, we finally got an interview with our primary subject at our friend's house, which lasted more than two hours. The table below summarises our interviewees, who they are, and why they were selected. In order to encourage our respondents to be honest and give us answers that are not socially acceptable, when needed, we have changed their name. This was done in order to avoid social desirability bias (Dodou & de Winter, 2014); for a complete explanation of this please refer to section **3.6. Limitations of methods used**. In addition, for a complete description of the organisations our interviewees work for, please refer to **Appendix IV: organisations selected for interviews**

Name	Job function	Reasons for selection
Ibbu	Unproductive entrepreneur – engaged in buying and selling illegal drugs	Primary subject – switched from productive to unproductive entrepreneurship
Samuel	Narcotics officer in Malmo	Secondary subject – interacts regularly with drug dealers
Patrick	Party representative for Sweden Democrats	Secondary subject – to understand his (and his party's) view on drug dealing, the motivations behind it and how it can be prevented
Niklas	Project leader at Publikt Entrepreneurship	Secondary subject – helped Ibbu with starting his legal venture and saw it fail. We interviewed him to understand what went wrong and how it can be prevented in the future
Thomas	Social innovation strategist at Region Skane	Secondary subject – to understand how are public policies designed to increase productive entrepreneurship and steer away from unproductive entrepreneurship
Albert	Party representative of Social Democrats	Secondary subject – to understand his (and his party's) view on drug dealing, the motivations behind it and how it can be prevented, as well as understand how the city of Malmo is working in order to prevent unproductive entrepreneurship

Mimi	Social worker at City of Malmo (Malmo Stad)	Secondary subject – Mimi was the first point of contact with Ibbu and helped him establish his legal venture so we need to understand her take on the topic as to why the venture failed, how this failure can be prevented, and Ibbu’s motivation behind establishing a legal venture
Christian	Social criminology academic at Lund University	Secondary subject – Christian has experience in drug dealing from a criminology sociology perspective so his views are important to have a multi-disciplinary perspective

Table 1. Interviewees, their job functions, and the reasons why they were selected

3.3. Interviews and Data Management

In order to be able to preserve as much as possible from our interviews, we adopted the following approach with the interviews:

An interview was scheduled with our primary subject, his name is Ibbu. During this interview we obtained his life story in a chronological fashion. This was our longest interview. After the interview was concluded, we listened to the interview together, and we wrote down all the points that were related to our subject’s life story; to read these points, please refer to **Appendix I: Ibbu life story**. We then summarised his life story, in a chronological fashion, in a document which we called “Ibbu Narrative”. To read this document, please refer to **Appendix II: Ibbu narrative**. To certify that we obtained the correct life events, the document was sent to Ibbu, who confirmed it. This document served as the basis of discussion with our secondary subjects. We wrote this document in a chronological order, while keeping out all of our personal opinions and feelings, in order for it to be unbiased.

Interviews were scheduled with our secondary subjects. We sent them the interview guide beforehand (life story narrative plus pre-determined questions) so they knew the discussion topics, and prepared for the interview. For the pre-determined questions sent to our interviewees, and the reasons they were chosen, please refer to **Appendix III: questions asked to our interviewees**. It is worth mentioning that the questions selected for our interviews were based on previous literature. We built our questions so that they don’t lead our interviewees to any answers. Instead the questions were open ended, and the subjects were allowed to discuss them freely without interruption. However, we understand that bias is part of qualitative research; for a discussion of questions bias please refer to section **3.6. Limitations of the methods used**.

At least one of the researchers was present at the interviews with the secondary subjects. All the interviews were recorded by an audio recorder.

During the interview, we made sure to emphasise that the main topic is the destructive entrepreneur narrative. After that was discussed, we moved on to discuss the open ended questions. The researchers made sure we have as little input as possible in the interview.

After the interviews with the secondary subjects were completed, we listened to the interviews and transcribed them word for word.

We then read the interviews, discussed our findings, and agreed on how they relate to our research, and to the literature at hand.

We kept all the voice recordings, as well as the transcribed soft copies in our data management archive folder for reference.

The length of the interviews, and the date they took place are all summarised in the table below;

Subject	Date	Length (minutes)
Destructive entrepreneur	1, March, 2016	124
Police officer	23, March, 2016	60
Sweden Democrats	4, April, 2016	40
Publikt Entrepreneurship	5, April, 2016	75
Skane Region	11, April, 2016	53
Social Democrats	12, April, 2016	55
Malmö Stad	18, April, 2016	60
Social criminology academic	19, April, 2016	50

Table 2. Interviews conducted, their date and length in minutes

3.4. Choice of context; Malmö - Rosengård

We chose the city of Malmö as our context, and more specifically the region of Rosengård. Malmö is the third largest Swedish City and, due mainly to its proximity to the Danish border and the rest of Europe, it is the centre of Sweden's multiculturalism. When it comes to its population, 31% of the inhabitants were born abroad, and as much as 41% have a foreign background (MalmöStad, 2016). Furthermore, because of relatively high unemployment, especially within the youth (8 – 9 % unemployment rate, with as high as 25% unemployment rate for the youth), the city has been struck by a series of violent acts which has led to major outcries to solve such problems (RT, 2015).

One of the areas where Malmö's problems are the highest is the infamous Rosengård area. Despite the only 4 km separating it from the city centre, it feels and looks like a completely different country. The almost completely immigrant area is often portrayed by the media as a crime-ridden ghetto and a lost cause. In Rosengård, around 86% of the population are of immigrant background (MalmöStad, 2016), while 60% of its population were born outside Sweden (DagensNyheter, 2008). Rosengård is also known for the riots of 2008, where youngsters confronted police officers and burnt cars, kiosks, recycling stations, and wagons. Furthermore, what is also interesting is the high unemployment rate in Rosengård; 62%, and the low completion rate of elementary school; 60% (DagensNyheter, 2008). All of these factors make Rosengård a fertile ground for destructive entrepreneurship in general, and drug dealing, specifically.

3.5. Analysis and empirical findings

In order to analyse our data, we used a narrative analysis approach which is defined as “an approach to the elicitation and analysis of language that is sensitive to the sense of the temporal sequence that people, as tellers of stories about their lives or events around them, detect in their lives and surrounding episodes and inject into their accounts” (Bryman, 2015, p.541). We believe this is important because you cannot explain the shift from productive to destructive entrepreneurship, without taking into account the life story of the individual doing so. By understanding Ibbu's life story, the events he went through, and the major turning points in his life, we believe that we can enhance our understanding of the reasons he chose destructive entrepreneurship, over its productive form. We used the interviews with our other subjects to complement the picture. After having conducted all interviews, we used our findings from the narrative of the destructive entrepreneur, plus our findings from our interviews with our other subjects, to build our knowledge in the destructive entrepreneurship field. We did so by comparing our findings, with contributions to the academic literature already available.

Lastly, we presented our findings in the form of storytelling. The reason for doing so is because we want to allow the reader to experience what we did while we were conducting our interviews. This is a crucial aspect of our research, and we believe it is impossible to understand this topic without understanding the personal aspect of it. We agree with Czarniawska (1997) that people act out their stories, not just narrate them. The stories provide legitimacy and accountability for the actions of people, in our case; our destructive entrepreneur. If we can understand his story, while supplementing it with the findings from other sources, we will have a good picture of destructive entrepreneurship in Malmö. Furthermore, a narrative approach makes it easier for the interviewers to visualise the stage onto which the events took place, something that is missed by looking at verbal reports or quantitative data (Czarniawska, 1998). Due to word count, we had to

limit our narratives to a shorter version, for the complete, original version please refer to **Appendix V: Original narratives**

3.6. Limitations of methods used

First and foremost, we acknowledge the sensitive nature of our research topic. For this reason we planned our interviews carefully with people who have knowledge on this topic and worked with it previously in order to stay as objective as possible. Our destructive entrepreneur was open to talking about his story so we did not have a problem obtaining information from him.

When writing his life narrative, care was taken to only state the facts, and stay away from personal opinions. This narrative was sent to our secondary subjects who read the narrative before we interviewed them. Here we propose an improvement to our methods; since our narrative is short, it would have been a better idea to make the secondary subjects read the narrative right before the interview. This way, we could have ensured that the subjects didn't read it alone and form their own personal opinions about Ibbu; something which might have affected our interviews. Had we made our secondary subjects read the narrative right before the interview, we would have eliminated the bias of forming an opinion about Ibbu beforehand.

Furthermore, giving background information such as Ibbu's ethnicity, might have resulted in judging him based on his background rather than his actions. We believe that having minimal background information would have resulted in focusing more on the destructive behaviour, and less on the personal aspect. In addition, three of our secondary interviewees already knew Ibbu so they already had an informed opinion about him. This probably resulted in pre-determined opinions rather than fresh ones. Picking a less famous case would have made for less opinion bias.

When it comes to our questions, we devised them in such a way that they would be open ended, based on previous literature, and avoid biases by talking about the big picture. However, bias is part of all qualitative research and something that cannot be avoided. One particular question about the effect of education on destructive vs. productive entrepreneurship might have led the interviewees to the obvious answer; the more the educated an individual is, the less likely they are to follow destructive careers. In order to remove any bias from this question, we allowed our interviewees to elaborate what they thought about the topic, and speak freely on it in order to gauge if they had backups for their answer. A few of our interviewees gave us examples to support their claim (and one interviewee even gave us numbers), so their answer sounded justified. Furthermore, considering that Mimi and Niklas knew our destructive entrepreneur personally, they already had an opinion about him and so we suspect that they developed personal bias towards our questions. We tried to overcome this by focusing on facts that they told us instead of personal opinions. Another important bias which we believe we faced was social desirability bias (Dodou & de Winter, 2014). This means that respondents gave us the answer that is socially accepted. This applied to questions

that had to do with the motivation of becoming a drug dealer. We overcame this bias by not revealing our subjects' identities (except Ibbu's who specifically wanted to be referred to by his real name) in our research, and so they felt more comfortable giving us socially unacceptable answers, when needed.

4. Empirical findings

In this section we present our main findings in the form of story-telling.

4.1 The destructive entrepreneur

Getting an interview with a drug dealer proved to be a very hard task. It is only logical. People in this line of business do not want to expose themselves to any unnecessary risks. They do not want to jeopardise their business, and, even more so, they do not want to end up in prison. After many hours of research, and being rejected by practically everyone we knew, our friend Z-dog - a small scale drug dealer herself - informed us that the person who was supplying her was intrigued by our academic research, and wanted to tell his story.

We met Ibbu at Z-dog's apartment in the centre of Malmo, just a few blocks south of Mollan square. Ibbu did not trust us yet and wanted the interview to take place on neutral ground, with the presence of our common connection. When we entered Z-dog's home, Ibbu had already made himself comfortable on the armchair, and was rolling the first of the many marijuana joints he would smoke during the course of the next two hours. At first, he was reluctant to open himself up to us. He sat there, taking big hits from his jay, looking at us with red, mistrusting eyes. Eventually, we would gain his trust and he would open himself up.

We started by explaining to him the purpose of our visit, and reassuring him about our discretion regarding his identity and personal details. We asked him how he wanted to be referenced at in our paper. 'I don't need to hide' he told us, 'I already have a name, Ibbu'. The first part of the interview was concentrated on his background and first years in Sweden. We learned that he was born in Gambia in 1986, Swedish citizen from birth through his mother. He spent the first 17 years of his life in Gambia with his father and four siblings. In 2004, seeing his life stagnating, he decides it is time for a change and buys a one way plane ticket to Sweden, to be reunited with his mother. Although he was excited about his new life, shortly after arriving he realised that things were not as ideal as he had thought. He tries to get immersed into the Swedish educational system, but drops out shortly thereafter due to learning difficulties that are not properly identified and addressed by the Swedish school system.

The first years in Malmo are tough. He has no guidance in his life, as his personal mentor up to this point, his father, is still in Gambia. Ibbu realises that he has to create his own path, make

his own decisions for the future, and tries to find ways to survive. He spends most of his time in the streets with his friends. That is when he has his first experience with drugs, smoking weed and dealing it in small quantities. His lifestyle remains as such for the year to come, until he meets the 'old man', who changes his life.

'The old man was sitting on his balcony and watching us smoking and selling weed in the basketball court', he tells us, and 'every day we saw him there'. One day, the old man comes down and joins the group of young delinquents, asking them to pass him the joint they were holding. Ibbu and his friends reluctantly do so, and the 'old man' takes a long hit and starts lecturing them on life, advising them they should change their criminal ways. He goes on to tell them about his own life story, how he came from Africa in the 60's, his unproductive lifestyle, and all the things in life he missed because of it. Ibbu and his friends like the wise elder, they see a mentor in him, and start hanging out with him at his house.

Ibbu's eyes light up when he talks about the 'old man'. It is clear for us that this man is one of the most important people in his life, someone he respects, a role model. 'He really wanted to help us', he says, 'and he was giving us all these ideas to work on'. The 'old man' proposes they should start a small locale and repair things people throw out, such as furniture, bicycles, and clothes, in order to ship them to Africa. By doing this, the kids will stay busy, away from drugs. They will also employ their peers and help them get out of the life on the streets, as well as making some money on the side. Ibbu loves the idea, and together with his friends, they start working on this venture in 2008.

'It was a great idea', Ibbu says with passion, 'and we were the best people to make it, 'cos we knew the ways of the streets'. Their social venture is very well accepted by the state at first, and the group gets help from the government, in the form of subsidies and a place to work from. In 2010, the venture is officially launched, and met with great success, as even the King of Sweden comes to Malmo to congratulate them. This 'honeymoon' period lasts for approximately a year, and then things start to break down, as greed gets in the way.

The governmental authorities that helped them get things started, paired them with another young adult organisation, that was officially working to provide opportunities for 'street kids', but was actually just a front for a group of young criminals growing and smoking weed. This organisation was in charge of distributing the government grants to Ibbu and his friends and supervising them. However, the people involved were keeping most of the money to themselves and were trying to make Ibbu's venture fail, in order to later copy the business model and materialise it on their own. In short, their goal was to take Ibbu and his friends out of the way, and appropriate their idea.

One day Ibbu goes to open up the place and finds the locks changed. It is 2011 and the promising social entrepreneurial project that started from the streets is officially dead. Ibbu is devastated. He is 24 now. He is angry and he feels cheated. His disappointment pushes him to illegal paths, which he joins with a ‘fuck everything’ (sic) attitude. He goes back to his old habits of dealing drugs on the streets. Only this time, it is bigger quantities. He is not doing it to get rich or to feel powerful. He is selling drugs in order to survive in a country where he knows he cannot get a regular job.

‘I sell weed, pills, and coke’ he tells us, and we cannot read any emotion on his face. ‘I can grow as big as I want. If I want, I can rule the whole neighbourhood’. But he does not need or want that. He just wants to make a living and meet interesting people along the way. He has been arrested many times, with the most recent one occurring just three weeks before our interview. In this incident, he was caught transporting a rather large amount of drugs. His biggest worry is not the court he is going to face though. That has happened many times before and he knows that he is going to be back in the streets in no time. What is troubling him is how he is going to find a way to reimburse the people that lost their money and drugs.

His future seems uncertain. He feels tired of the drug dealing lifestyle, and would rather go back and give the repair locale another try if the opportunity would present itself. He knows that the people that stole his idea cannot make it on their own, and hopes that in the future they can reconsolidate and work together to make it happen. But he does not want to stress about it. For the time being, he just wants to lay low, smoke weed, and spend time with his friends. He considers himself an entrepreneur - he has always been one - and his journey has taught him many things about life and human nature that will help him in his entrepreneurial future, be it legal or illegal.

4.2 The police officer

Samuel has been with the special surveillance division, Malmo police, for the past four years. His unit does short term surveillance before the arrest. “For instance we get complaints that there’s a gang dealing drugs on this corner and we’ll try to get eyes on this corner and watch what is going on for some time. Maybe get some evidence that one particular person is dealing several times and then go in and make an arrest, often the same day”. Drug activity has increased dramatically in Malmo since he started working for the police in 2008. Samuel believes that the biggest change is that drugs are now being sold in the open, something that was not happening some years ago. “Now you can just walk to a specific street and you will be approached and offered drugs”.

Noticing his passion for the subject, we continue by asking why the police is not efficiently combating the problem. “It is a combination of different factors. [...] There are just far too few policemen to do what the public expect us to do, and then another problem is the legal system

where you have very short, very mild sentencing. [...] The dealers out there are convicted multiple times for drug crimes but it just doesn't deter them from standing on the corner dealing". He estimates that more than 80% of his arrests are repeating offenders.

Samuel believes that Ibbu's is a "very typical story that probably applies to 80 – 90 % of the people in his situation". He adds that "the problem with the school is the key factor". However, there is one big things that Samuel disagrees with; it is the fact that Ibbu had to sell drugs to survive. "People here often identify themselves with American films [...] I think it is an unfair statement because there is a social security system in Sweden that works, nobody has to sell drugs to survive". Samuel says that Ibbu's introduction to dealing drugs could have been avoided as "those dealers that he met [on the basketball court] should have been in prison, not luring him into this trade." He also acknowledges that part of the problem is "the young kids see the older kids [drug dealers], they drive around in fancy cars, and have big watches, and gold chains. I mean it works, they can see that it works". He believes that once you become a drug dealer, it is hard to come out of it, and in Ibbu's case it is even tougher because "he was encouraged by this older man to start this business and it went pretty well, but as soon as it got tough he gave up and he went back to doing what he was doing before, and I think it is that kind of person that needs constant support and encouragement"

Before finishing the interview, Samuel proposes possible solutions. "I would increase our resources a bit or a lot and I would toughen up the legal system. Things that are illegal should come with heavy consequences'. He also speaks about prevention; education. 'I would pump in resources into the schools because I think that is the key to giving people the alternative to doing something else'. Finally, Samuel believes that "the main factor [for choosing an unproductive lifestyle] has to be the nature of the person, because it's not like there isn't opportunity. There are opportunities; you have a free education system here and you can, in theory at least, become what you want to be whatever your background is'.

4.3 The right wing politician – SvergieDeomkraterna

Patrick's love for his party is very obvious. 'After the gymnasium, I started political science in Lund and I never finished my studies because I got an opportunity to work here in Malmo for the Sweden's Democrats. [Now] I work alongside [name of party representative], who is our local [party member position] here in Malmo", he says proudly.

When we ask him what he think of the drug dealer narrative, Patrick sits up and gives a compassionate answer, "It is quite [a] sad story that someone tries to live [...] without breaking the law but falls back into the bad habits again. I don't know much about Ibbu but I think to fall back into that kind of behaviour is quite common for someone who maybe had a rough background; he doesn't have a lot of help from back home"

We move on to our predetermined questions. Patrick believes that four things need to be done in order to reduce drug dealing. Firstly, Sweden needs to establish tighter border controls. “I think the most important thing to do [...] is to have border control because right now it is extremely simple to take the train from Copenhagen into Malmo with a bag of cocaine”. The second solution he proposes is harder punishments for people who deal drugs. As a third method, Patrick proposes a better education system, and a closer look at the Malmo schools. “To prevent people from joining these kinds of activities of course we need to help better the education”. Lastly, he believes society needs role models, people who have lead tough lives but have become successful in productive fields. Students need to be given examples of people who went through the school system and their education helped them succeed in life.

Patrick believes that drug dealing is more of a social phenomenon rather than a cultural one. It is usually ‘the people at the bottom’ of society that deal drugs, the ones that have lost faith in society. He states that ‘they don’t think that the Swedish society can help them to fix their problems’ and that is why they turn to dealing drugs.

4.4. The social entrepreneurship supporting worker – Publikt Entrepreneurship

We met Niklas Phillips at his office near Mollan, just a few hundred meters from the apartment we had met Ibbu some weeks before. We asked him if he had read Ibbu’s story we had sent him some days before. He answered that he did not have the time, so we passed him the laptop with the word document. He sat there silently reading through the story. When he finished, he looked quite emotional and said something that took us by surprise, ‘I have to tell you that I actually know Ibbu. I was the one who dealt with him when they first started; I was the one filling up his applications and trying to set him up’.

He started by stating his sadness and disappointment about Ibbu’s relapse to his old drug dealing habits. He then went on presenting himself and his work. He works for the centre for social entrepreneurship, which is active all around Skane, and has been dealing with all kinds of social issues for the last 10 years. This initiative was started from grassroots organisations and non-formal adult educational platforms, with a strong sense of learning in the methodology they follow. They welcome all initiatives that aim to produce social benefits. They have very low thresholds. They accept anything, from a barely formulated idea, to an already established business. They help with various parts of the process, such as financing, organisation, communication etc.

Niklas proceeded by presenting his side of Ibbu’s story, stressing however that he does not consider what Ibbu told us untrue. It is just the way he felt and experienced things from his perspective. ‘They were young people from socially deprived neighbourhoods in Malmo’ he said, places ‘where there are hand grenades and burning parts, and people on the streets shooting people’.

‘So, I met the guys’, Niklas told us, ‘and these guys had very low capacities in language and knowledge of how things run and work in finance [...] but they had really high capacity in knowing the ways of the streets’. In short, they were highly skilled in areas no other social worker was. Niklas also added they were very engaged in helping their peers and doing something good both for themselves and society.

Niklas redirected them back to the municipality because his organisation lacked the finances to materialise their idea, but used all of his time over a long period to help them get things running. ‘So we started a capacity building program to hire a coach for them to guide them through how to organise’ he tells us. But the guys did not have the patience needed and did not seem to understand how things work on this level. ‘Why don't you just give us 1 million?’ they would ask. ‘We want this place, we want it equipped, and we want 1 million’. However, Niklas says, that is not how things work. ‘If this is publicly funded, you have to follow some rules [...] there's no way you can get one million to give to ex drug dealers. [...] So, we hired a person to help them build their capacities with the ambition to get funding in 2-3 steps.’ In this process, Ibbu and his friends were fully supported, ‘cuddled to death’, as Niklas puts it, because ‘the story here is dynamite! People from the streets stop selling drugs, organise other kids... but the guys showed a great level of distrust, turning down many offers for a venue, out of fear that someone might hijack their idea’.

So the first signs of friction start to appear on the matter of the venue that would house Ibbu's initiative. Other problems arise with the addition of the state appointed coach to the team, who tries to organise the kids. At first, everybody was very tolerant. They tried to make the boys understand that they have to show discipline and play by the rules to get their idea going. Later, two even more serious incidents drive the initiative to its early death. First, ‘some of the guys were caught smoking and selling drugs in one of the places they were trying to build up their business.’ Then, ‘one of them [...] collapsed in a drug frenzy, so they had to drive him to the hospital. He did not overdose, but something happened. When this happened, after some time, the schools and the municipally got out and said ‘we're not funding this basement where people sell drugs, this is not where tax money should go’. So everyone got really afraid. From being cuddled to death to a total no-no of working with these guys. [...] and they went back to the streets, leaving them with a big distrust for the system and leaving the system very afraid of supporting similar initiatives in the future’.

Niklas believes that there are three issues that have to be solved in the future in order to work with untraditional initiatives like this one, that do not fit in the regular processes. ‘One issue is length’ he says, ‘if we want to solve the problems on the streets, in the Malmo context, we have to find a quick way to support these initiatives. We have to have some easy access for urgent money to support people that do things in a non-traditional way [...] this would certainly pay off in

a 20 years perspective'. Secondly, trust is needed 'so that they can collaborate with each other. To me it's crazy that they didn't collaborate with other NGOs. [...] There was a big distrust that they were getting high jacked'. The third step that has to be taken, is 'the addition of people that could help them with their social problems, drug use or family problems etc...'. People that can support these individuals psychologically, and guide them smoothly through the process. What is needed, Niklas concludes, 'is some kind of interface between different sectors for supporting this kind of entrepreneurship'.

The procedure for the establishment of these social ventures, Niklas says, 'is not especially designed for Malmo, it's especially designed for Sweden. [...] The design and the system works, but not for all initiatives. There are some cutting edge [...] challenges that are so difficult that they cannot be solved within the system. There, you need to have some other flexibility. [...] When it's an untraditional initiative, you can't have traditional ways of solving it. You have to have innovative solutions for difficult social problems. We don't have this today'.

4.5. The Social Innovation Strategist – Region Skane

We were given Thomas' contact information by Caroline, our thesis supervisor. We met him at his office in Malmo. "[We are in] Region Skane at the department for regional development, [...] we are working with business development, [...] our main task is to create a system for innovation and entrepreneurship. We try to develop the system, we try to bring in new aspects to the system, and we try to be the actor that is in between all other actors'.

Understanding our confusion over the exact responsibilities and actions his office is in charge of, Thomas provided us with a concrete example. 'The Somali group is the most excluded group in Sweden. [...] If you investigate how many percent of the group do businesses in Sweden it is 0.02%, [...] so it is about 25 or 30 Somali enterprises in Sweden, and that is kind of a shocking result if you do an international comparison. If you go to the UK or the States, the Somalis are famous for being entrepreneurial. [...] So, since a couple of years ago, [...] we financially support a centre called the "Somali information of business centre" [...] to become a bridge between the group and the whole support system for entrepreneurship and innovation.' The problem is that minority ethnic groups, like the Somalis, feel excluded from this support structure. 'They think the whole Swedish system is so confusing, and they don't believe there is a system for support'. To make the group gain trust towards the system, Region Skane supported this initiative within the community. 'It is run by and owned by Somalis. [...] Well-educated Somalis, and the whole idea is to of course be a bridge. [...] I think that's a very interesting and attractive model of how we could create new bonds, so to speak, between the existing norm, the system, and the groups that we can't find.'

4.6. The Left Wing Politician – Social Democrats

We had to go through many people in the currently ruling party of the Social Democrats before getting a hold of Albert, who holds a high position in the party. Being a busy man, he cut straight to the chase. ‘We have some group of kids who were in this situation in Malmo so I think I recognise it. I have seen it before, and the story about young men who are not occupied by anything always leads [...] to some kind of problems. If it is drug abuse or drug selling, or [...] violent extremism and so on. The problem is always unoccupied young men’. Albert clearly believes that the main reason behind choosing an unproductive career, is the lack of employment, which leads to individuals not feeling included in society.

To combat this huge social problem, the Social Democrats aim to address it as early as possible, at a very young age. ‘We are talking about [...] how to create a social sustainable city. That is the idea of making huge investments early on in life to get young children through school [...]. Each year we have 13% of the 6 year olds who are starting preschool that will not make it. They will not manage, they will not finish school. [...] It is a huge economic loss for society.’

But how about people like Ibbu, people that are already ‘lost’? Albert admits that things are very hard in these situations. The main problem, he suggests, in line with many of our other interviewees, is Ibbu’s mistrust towards society and the ‘system’, and his lack of self-belief, his low Emotional Quotient. ‘You don't only need work to go to, you also need to have the right mentality, the right self-esteem to be a part of the society and I think that is very important’.

The main problem that drives individuals towards unproductive entrepreneurship, according to Albert, is the high unemployment rate that has skyrocketed since 1990, going from a mere 1.2% to 7.5%. The prime issue here, is the lack of what he calls middle jobs. ‘If you look at the labor market in Malmo, [...] we are really short of what we call middle qualifying jobs. [...] So the middle who have a good education are pushed down to the low qualified jobs, and those people who lack education and skills are left out’. To tackle that, the government is trying to ‘change our educational system to get people [...] a better education. Albert believes that the policies and programs in place are solid, and that many of them have been designed specifically for Malmo.

As for the reasons people choose the drug dealing lifestyle, Albert thinks that ‘for many young men, it is a way of feeling respected. Respected in the society who they feel [...] hasn't respected them [...]. Perhaps not included in society at large, but included in the area where they live’. Lastly, Albert surprised us by stating that these tries from the Swedish government to help unqualified individuals start their own businesses are ‘naive’, and lead, more often than not, to failure. ‘We are trying to support people but sometimes, we don't want to realise that we are supporting something that will never be a sustainable company [...] I always say that the last one to look onto business ideas should be a civil servant. [...] Business men should look at business ideas and make a good evaluation if that business idea is good or not’.

4.7. The Sociology Professor – Lund University

Christian was one of the first people we met during our thesis journey. He is a teacher of sociology at Lund University, with a particular interest in crime networks. He agreed to help us by providing us with his sociological perspective on Ibbu's narrative. For a second time, we met him in the beautiful sociology building in Paradisgatan, and sat at the round table in his office.

As we had already met Christian, there was no need for further introductions, and we cut straight to the chase. From a sociological perspective, three things stood out to him in the drug dealer narrative. 'The first and obvious one is how much tiny details matter in life. So this guy, for instance, what would have happened if his mother was more engaged when he came to Sweden? What would have happened if he had come here with his father who was apparently a very important figure? So these tiny little circumstances that really shift your narrative often one way or another. [...] Another thing which interests me in network analysis is the position you're in social life, the relationships you have to other people and to other organisations, the kind of resources you have are really what defines the constraints and opportunities, and I think this is what this story is really about. You pursue the opportunities that you have. [...] Once there is a decent opportunity, he is willing to pursue that. [...] He is not going down the criminal path because of the high, or a good payback. It's basically the only thing available to him. And that is, I think, the standard [sociological] explanation [...] for why people end up here or there. [...] And then the other thing, which is also obvious [...], is the drive for belonging. Being a meaningful part of something which is bigger than yourself. I think very few people are motivated by personal gain, in a more utilitarian or monetary sense. I think we thrive on the relationships that we have with others, [...] our identities are mirrored in our surroundings, so we need to have that meaningful social environment around us. [...] That's why he ends up just smoking weed with his friends. It's a way of life, you are someone in a group. You get a sort of value just by hanging out with the other guys. And if there's nothing else on offer, then that's better than nothing'.

Christian, surprisingly, is not very concerned about the crime levels in Malmo. 'Crime isn't a major challenge to the society as it is. Although I suspect that if the segregation continues as [...] we've seen in the past 15-20 years, one of these days there might be a tipping point where it really turns bad. We think that Malmo is a horrible and dangerous place, but it really isn't, in the scale of things. So I'm not sure if crime is a threat or a challenge in that respect. [...] Every society has its own crime, I guess it's also part of what human society is about, right? Everybody won't fit in, that's the thing'.

But what caused this segregation? 'I guess [Sweden] was for a very long time a very homogenous society, culturally and religiously speaking, and I think immigration was fine as long as there were demands from the labour market. But I don't think this was ever a very open society.

[...] That's one of the things, it's not very inviting, and the other, it's nicer to stay with people that resemble yourself, speak the same language. It's the natural choice. And if you allow these different parts of the country to remain homogenous, that's how you end up with these very segregated neighbourhoods. So you find the middle class in one, and the working class in the other, the Swedes in one, and the immigrants in another. So it's partly due to preferences and I think this is where you need some sort of regulation. You can't just let people do it the way they like, it's not optimal for everybody. So if you want to change it, you could build differently, a mixture of different kinds of buildings. I think one of the big mistakes was one of these big housing programs we had in the 60's and 70's, where you had places like Rosengard, you know very unattractive places to live in for the affluent middle class, they never even considered it'. The effects of this segregation are, of course, catastrophic for society. 'You get this hierarchy, resource hierarchy, or income hierarchy, and the neighbourhoods that are in the left hand of this distribution, which are resource poor, is where people will have no opportunities, and will have to struggle much harder to make their way. So it creates inequality in opportunities, [which is] a huge problem for society'.

4.8. The Social Worker – City of Malmo

Mimi has been working as a strategic planner for the city of Helsingborg for a year now. Her areas of responsibility are public health, social sustainability, and anti-discrimination. Between 2006 and 2014, she was in charge of the youth programs in the city office in Malmo. That is how she met Ibbu. 'I got a phone call from Ibbu [and his friends], and I could barely understand what they were saying. Their Swedish [...] wasn't very good, so they handed the phone to this older man and I was talking to him. I said it is better to come down to City hall and we can meet and talk in person. [...] They came with handwritten notes, and I could see by the look on their face that they were, maybe not high, but they were... you learn to see the signs, and I was like OK, they are not the usual group of kids that go to the city office. [...] We sat together there and I listened to their idea about the project; it was a bit unorganised, they didn't really know what they wanted.[...] They had an idea about these old bikes or furniture that people just throw away here in Sweden, and they said this furniture could be used in Western Africa, where we come from. They said we wanted to do a project where we renovate all these things [...] and then ship them down in containers by boat to Africa [...] I was really touched by their idea, [...] it is exactly these kids that need our help'. So Mimi tries to organise the youngsters. She tries to point them in the right direction to materialise their idea. But the extensive paperwork and general slow rhythms of the state mechanism, do not agree with the kids' temperament. After some waiting time and frustration, Mimi puts them in contact with a community based program, and the guys finally get approved and receive a subsidy to start working on their project.

However, shortly after things get set up, the problems start. ‘They were accused [...] of smoking weed and doing drugs in the space. I have no idea what is true or not, I wasn't part of it, but I kept telling them that you are not supposed to mix work and pleasure.’ Then, a meeting between Mimi and the ‘Feed Us’¹ representatives goes terribly wrong. Gessim² and Ibbu were talking to the researchers, and David² was there but he was acting really, really weird. He would say the weirdest things. [...] He was acting really crazy, I was freaked. [...] Some of the researchers [...] said, you have to take him to the emergency psychiatric, so I just went in a cab with him, the other kids came with me. Then in the waiting room he was just [...] tripping out, throwing stuff... It was pretty crazy. He met with the doctors and he would stay there for, I think, 2 weeks’.

That is when the state authorities that had been trying to help the youngsters get fed up, and dissociate themselves from the social venture, a fact that leads to its demise. Mimi, on the other hand, believes that they should have continued supporting them, and was trying to use her influence to back the kids. ‘I was saying OK are we going to let these kids down again? They are going to fail one or two or three times but we can't really give up that easily, we can't stick to our rules, [...] but I wasn't their boss. I couldn't tell them you have to continue with this’. Mimi believes the city ought to pay special attention to these kids. ‘I think that's how the city should work. [...] If you get one youth [...] to become [a] productive member of society, the city is going to make money on that, [...] but it takes a lot of work’.

Mimi believes the system is very rigid, and has to change in order to be able to make a change for antisocial youngsters. ‘[The procedures] are very democratic, everyone has the same criteria but for people that are not familiar with the system, [...] the language, [...] the organisations in the Swedish context, [...] they are not going to be on equal terms applying for the grants’. She suggests that those kids need more support from the authorities. ‘Number one is when they have their own idea, to really support it. When they come to us and say we want to do this, then we should go out of our way to make sure it is going to happen’.

Mimi’s story is in great part in line with Niklas’, but she also feels, that although the guys were difficult to work with, and did not meet their part of the agreement, the system should have done more, as it was a rare chance to really make a difference for unprivileged youngsters that have been down the ‘wrong’ path, and wanted to change their lives around. This is highlighted by her last words during our discussion. ‘Of course, the responsibility is on the city’.

¹ Feed Us was the name of the legal social venture that Ibbu and his friends started

² Gessim and David were Ibbu’s partners; the three of them started Feed Us

5. Discussion

After interviewing a number of people from different backgrounds, we amassed greatly diversified and rich results, which helped us have a better, holistic understanding of our subject of research. There is a richness of conclusions that can be drawn from the data gathered, and we will discuss them in depth in the following paragraphs.

Beginning with the motivational factors that drive individuals towards destructive entrepreneurship, our findings do not agree that fame, power, and money, as suggested by Baumol (1990, 1993) play an important role. Ibbu mentioned that, if he wanted, he could rule the whole neighbourhood, but he is not interested in expanding. Furthermore, the social venture he was trying to materialise was a non-profit organisation, a fact that further demonstrates that money was not his main motif. The triad of factors proposed by Fadahunsi and Rosa (2002), risk, hassle, and morality, is closer to the truth, as the lenient Swedish institutional context means that risks are not grave for destructive entrepreneurs, and, as drugs are readily available, acquisition and transportation do not involve much hassle. Although morality is a parameter of personal nature, in our specific case, the destructive entrepreneur did not seem overly concerned, or even aware, of the moral questions his behaviour raises.

Even so, our findings suggest that the most important factor that drives individuals towards destructive practices, is the will of belonging, being a part of the society that has turned its back to them. What motivates Ibbu is meeting people, getting 'integrated', in a sense, to the Swedish society. Our findings from the rest of our discussions agree. It seems that most drug dealers are proud of their businesses, and it is a way for them to show society their worth. Drug dealers are often individuals that feel they do not fit in the 'system', they lack the sense of belonging, of being a part of society. That is what drives them towards destructive entrepreneurial practices. Practically all of our interviewees agreed on this point, with the sociology professor further stressing the importance of the sense of belonging, by suggesting that very few people in general are driven by personal gain. According to him, human beings thrive on relationships they have with others, giving and taking. As Aristotle wrote some thousands of years ago, 'humans are political beings by nature', political here meaning part of the polis, part of the society. We need that meaningful social environment around us to feel whole, to thrive as humans.

Researchers have suggested that the factors that lead individuals towards productive entrepreneurship, rather than destructive, include, the ease of starting and expanding a business, the rewards in place for productive entrepreneurship, the disincentives for unproductive entrepreneurship, and the incentives to promote productive entrepreneurship (Henrekson & Stenkula, 2010). According to our research though, the most important factors that would promote the shift towards productive entrepreneurship are trust - trust in one's self, in the society, and

towards the 'system' - education, and supporting organisation to act as intermediaries between the destructive individuals and the system.

Moving to the socio-spatial aspect of our research, our findings agree with previous research that suggests that the structure of an individual's networks, and the role of the family play a role of great importance (Welter, 2011). Ibbu's family was mostly absent from his life. His father, his role model, stayed in Gambia when he moved to Sweden, and his mother was not, for reasons unknown to us, heavily involved. Furthermore, his network was comprised of small scale criminals and young delinquents. These factors clearly played an important role in his career choices, as Ibbu's detachment from his 'biological' family, and constant participation in a network of delinquent youngsters, led to a situation of over-embeddedness, that left him with few other choices other than mimicking his peers' antisocial, destructive behaviour (Welter, 2011). Furthermore, as social networks often provide business opportunities (de Carolis & Saporito, 2006; de Koning, 2003; Fletcher, 2006), and unemployment rates are on the rise in the city of Malmo, leaving no jobs for the unqualified working class (vice mayor of Malmo), and leading to great opportunity inequality, it is understandable that Ibbu did not have a great range of opportunities to choose from. Further straightening this point is the fact that when positively influenced by a mentor - the 'old man' - Ibbu had no reservations about becoming involved in productive entrepreneurship.

Another way socio-spatial context dictates the career path of an entrepreneur, is education. It has been suggested, that as an entrepreneur's educational level increases, so does their productive output (Sauka and Welter, 2007). Ibbu did not finish school, and stated that it was impossible for him to find a 'regular' job. A number of our secondary subjects suggested that his failure in school was one of the major reasons he pursued a destructive career. Furthermore, our findings clearly demonstrate that education is the best preventive measure in order to combat drug dealing and other unproductive practices. School is a place where people acquire both academic, but also social skills. These two are both very important, and the social aspect of school must not be overlooked. School is a microcosm that represents the real world, with all its complex human interactions. It is the first and main place people learn to behave in a social way, a very important skill that will greatly help them later in their lives. Unfortunately, 13% of the children that begin school every year, will never finish it, and many of them are going to end up being a 'systemic' problem, both socially and economically (Social Democrats party representative).

As it becomes clear, it is rather circumstances than anything else, as Van Stel (2007) argued, that have the greatest impact on the path the individual entrepreneurs will follow. The place one grows up, the school they go to, the friends they make, their familial situation, the skills and abilities they acquire along the way. All these things and many more guide every person towards their unique path in life. The lack of employment and segregation that are present in Malmo, the

great variance between the qualities of its schools, means that two people that grow up in the same city will go into life armed with very different sets of skills and opportunities.

It has been suggested by a great number of scholars that the institutional context is a highly decisive factor in shifting the supply of entrepreneurs to either productive, or unproductive practices (Baumol, 1990; Desai & Acs, 2007; Sauka, 2008; Minniti, 2008; Sobel, 2008). Our findings are in complete agreement with that statement. Policies do dictate the supply of entrepreneurs. They shape the economic system in place and form a distinct environment that will pull people towards productiveness or push them towards unproductiveness. A great example provided by our research is the fact that punishments for drug dealers are too lenient, and the lack of border controls makes it very easy and safe to smuggle drugs into Sweden, both resulting in an institutional context that does not drastically combat the phenomenon of drug dealing.

Institutions and policies have to be carefully designed and materialised taking the specific socio-spatial context of each place and society into consideration, in order to be successful, as there is no 'best practice' that could be applied successfully universally (Minniti, 2008). Our findings suggest that the laws and policies in place in our spatial context (Malmo) have not been designed specifically, in most cases, to deal with destructive entrepreneurship, and we argue that this is the main reason that they have not been proved highly successful as of yet, in dealing with destructive entrepreneurship, and driving people towards productive activities. The destructive entrepreneurs that have the will to turn to productive activities, are 'special' cases. They do not have the same level of knowledge concerning the systematic procedures and organisations, as other people, more embedded in society, possess. Ibbu had no prior knowledge of the modus operandi of Swedish public organisations. He stated that he did not get the support he needed in order to materialise his business idea. It is important that the states' organisations aimed at promoting productive entrepreneurship put more effort in supporting these 'special' individuals that do not fit the regular profile of the people they work with every day. There is a need for flexible policies and programs for people like Ibbu, in order to help them escape the drug dealing lifestyle.

There is a clear need for 'better' institutional structures, as research has shown that states with low quality institutions have high levels of unproductive entrepreneurship, and, vice versa, states with high quality institutions, produce productive ventures in large numbers (Sobel, 2008). According to our finding, it seems that the most pressing problems with the institutional context to date, is its incompatibility with destructive entrepreneurs that want to shift to productive activities, as well as the lack of trust that exists in both parties. An improvement we propose, based on our research that will help greatly towards the aim of productivity is the establishment of 'bridge' organisations, connecting the public authorities with the unproductive and destructive entrepreneurs that want to change careers. These organisations can help greatly, by increasing trust

levels between the two parties, and reducing the information asymmetry, which is known to discourage productive entrepreneurial activity (Minniti, 2008). In Sweden, with the multitude of organisations and laws supporting entrepreneurship, and the daedalic bureaucracy, it is very easy for a systemic individual that has been dealing with the state their whole lives to get lost. Of course, it is even more frustrating for marginalised individuals that do not know how public authorities operate. In Ibbu's case, his mistrust towards the project leader, which is partly why the project collapsed, was mainly due to the lack of transparency, and the communicational gap between them. Reducing information asymmetry is therefore crucial for having a successful relationship between the system and the unproductive entrepreneur. In addition, these 'bridge' organisations would be made up of trusted people from within the community, people known and respected in the marginalised areas of the city where the problem of destructive entrepreneurship prevails. A perfect example already in place, is the Somali Centre for entrepreneurship in Malmo, which is formed by trusted and respected members of the Somali community, to act as a bridge between the community and the state, in order to promote and help Somali entrepreneurs.

Furthermore, for the institutions to be successful, there has to be a clear distinction between policies aimed at productive entrepreneurs, and those aimed at destructive entrepreneurs that want to become productive members of the society and the economy. Similar institutional distinctions have already been proposed by scholars for different economical activities (Henrekson & Stenkula, 2010), and are already in place in a number of countries. Destructive entrepreneurs have different needs, and face different challenges than their productive counterparts, so it only makes sense that the policies aimed at them should also be different, tailored to their specific needs. To achieve that, policy makers and researchers need an interdisciplinary perspective (Welter, 2011). Specialists from different backgrounds have to be consulted in order to design a good and just institutional system that takes into account the whole range of contexts that makes up every particular case. Just as we did in our research, consulting people from different backgrounds is proven to be really helpful to the policy maker as well, helping them by providing a clear, holistic picture of the subject. Working with ideas such as Ibbu's is no task for a social worker alone. Business specialists, psychologists, and sociologists, among others, should be included in the process for it to be successful.

Education has to be taken into account when considering the institutional context as well. Financial and educational activities aimed at promoting productive entrepreneurship have been proved highly successful (Brown & DeClerq, 2008). Ibbu did not know about the system in place to help him. He did not even know where the municipality building was. This clearly demonstrates the importance of educational programs aimed at the unprivileged and marginalised sections of the city. The young people there need to know that there is a system in place that can help them, that

wants to help them. This will further help diminish the gap that exists today, alienating unproductive and destructive entrepreneurs, from the organised economy.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, destructive entrepreneurship is a very complex phenomenon, and it should be identified, analysed, and combated in the specific context it manifests itself. In our particular case, taking the highly segregated urban centre of Malmo as our socio-spatial context, and its institutions, organisations, and regulations as our institutional context, we identify three parameters that should be given the outmost importance. The first, and most important we believe, is to find a way to connect the authorities - the system- with the destructive entrepreneur, through bridge organisations - be it NGOs, public organisations, or community based programs. At the moment there is a huge gap. On the one hand, the organisations in charge of promoting productive entrepreneurship are skeptical and reserved when dealing with unorthodox projects, business ideas that come from the margins of society, from the streets, from individuals involved in criminality. On the other hand, the unproductive entrepreneurs that want to become productive do not trust the system, and do not feel comfortable asking for its help. There is clearly a missing link there, intermediaries - people or organisations - that are respected and trusted in both circles. Secondly, the formal processes that are set by the authorities to help new businesses get started, must become more flexible, and dealing with each particular case on a different level, according to its specific context, its specific needs. Uncommon projects call for uncommon measures, and the authorities must be open to new operational practices, if they want to truly help people shift from destructiveness to productive entrepreneurship. Lastly, education is crucial for the evolution of every individual. School provides a very unique and much needed social environment that nourishes the youth both academically, but also socially, preparing them to become active and useful members of society. To prevent people from starting destructive, illegal businesses, schools must provide all children with the same opportunities, and do their outmost to ensure that kids go as far as possible with their education. Schools should pay special attention to individuals with learning or other disabilities, to ensure that they are not left behind, or being discouraged from continuing their education. Shifting individuals from destructive practices, such as drug dealing, is very important, as it will not only save an individual, it will also produce benefits for both the economy, and the society. It is worth mentioning, that ex drug dealers have been proven to be highly successful when involved in productive ventures (Fairlie, 2002), a fact that further strengthens our thesis that they are worth the extra attention from the system's part.

7. Limitations

We have to acknowledge that our research does not come without limitations. In addition to the methods' limitations discussed in section **3.6. Limitations of the methods used**, the fact that only one case of destructive entrepreneur was examined, means that the findings presented here might not be applicable to a large extent. The narrowly defined context of this study also means that its results might not have practical implications in different contexts, in any other country with different culture and regulations than Sweden, or even in any other city of Sweden. Gathering interdisciplinary data comes with its limitations as well. Having interviewed a small number of representatives from each of our areas of interest, means that we have not reached data saturation, and a larger scale study on the subject might provide different results. Finally, the fact that our main subject was interviewed under the influence of psychotropic substances could possibly make his account less trustworthy.

8. Future Research

The limitations of our own research can be proved to be a fertile ground for future research on the topic of destructive entrepreneurship. Due to time, and resource restriction, we have, in our paper, investigated a limited number of representatives of each one of the interdisciplinary parts that can help us holistically understand the complex world of destructive entrepreneurship. This means that we have not reached data saturation, and a study on a larger scale could provide somewhat different results. Furthermore, although our findings suggest otherwise, Ibbu might not be a typical example of destructive entrepreneur that wants to turn towards productiveness in the spatial context of Malmo. Having access to the personal stories of a greater number of destructive entrepreneurs could help get a more concrete and clear nature on the factors that constitute their main characteristics. We would be very interested to see some further research in this direction.

Another interesting research topic that arises from our study, and that we believe has not received the attention it needs in literature, is the link between immigration and unproductive/destructive entrepreneurship. With global immigration being at the highest levels of the last decades due to the war in Syria, Sweden's open doors policy that traditionally welcomes immigrants and refugees, and Malmo's proximity to the rest of Europe and Copenhagen in particular, there is a very special context being formed. The anti-immigration rhetoric is gaining ground even here, and foreigners are being accused of many wrong doings, as well as for the dissolve of society.

Beckley (2015) believes that in Sweden, there is an ‘immigrant criminality controversy’, which means that the taboo nature of the topic, especially in the context of Swedish society, has led to researchers avoiding this sensitive topic. In his work, he presents a number of studies that demonstrate that there is a clear overrepresentation of immigrants in Sweden’s crime statistics, and tries to identify the reasons behind it, acknowledging three main factors that contribute to that fact, inherent differences between immigrants and the native population, differences in living conditions between immigrants and the local population, and discriminatory practices in the justice system that are harmful to immigrants, with the second factor being, according to him, the one with the greatest explanatory power.

Other studies in the field have focused mainly on how to prevent and combat the problem rather than understanding its roots, like Kassman (2015), that tried to provide a framework for early prevention of chronic offenders in Sweden, or Woodiwiss’ (2015) paper that viewed crime from a witness perspective in an effort to combat it. Others, like Kendler (2014), looked at the impact of the social environment in the making of a violent criminal, but without, we believe, going in depth on what exactly these socioeconomic reasons are.

Our research, partly in line with Beckley’s (2015) findings, suggests that destructive entrepreneurship depends more on social class than ethnic background, and that social integration plays a decisive role in choosing productive entrepreneurship over its destructive form. We feel there is a gap in literature and would be very interested to see a future comparative study that investigates the topic of destructive entrepreneurship from a socio-spatial point of view, to discover if the differences, or similarities in involvement with destructive entrepreneurship between native Swedes, and foreigners, that share similar living conditions.

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Appendix I: Ibbu life story

Attendants; IBBU, Z-dog*, Jason, and Mahmoud

- Name: IBBU
- He is from Gambia
- 30 years old
- He is a Swedish national before stepping foot in Sweden because of his mother (so he was already a Swede national from his days in Gambia)
- Came to Malmo, Sweden in 2004 when he was 17 with his 1 sister, 1 brother then the next year in 2005, his other 2 sisters came to Sweden, as well (the whole family is here minus the dad)
- Since 2004 he has been going through different things; up and down in Malmo
- Back in 2004, he lived with his dad in Gambia and his mother lived in Sweden. He left Gambia to come live with his mum in Sweden
- He came by plane from Gambia to Sweden, it was his first time travelling outside of Gambia
- He was excited about coming to Sweden
- He went back twice to Gambia since he came to Sweden; one time was in 2007 because his father passed away
- He went to high school and he joined SFI to learn Swedish. However, he couldn't keep up because of his low attention span (he says he couldn't focus); mostly he was outside on the streets. Since Gambia he couldn't sit in class because of his lack of focus so, again, he had to drop out of high school
- He says that the Swedish education system didn't pay attention to his lack of focus problem. However, he also stresses that here it is a lot easier to go to school than it is back in Gambia because here it was not too rough, and no one stressed out about it. In comparison to Gambia where teachers are allowed to hit students
- He says that he would have liked to finish high school but he couldn't keep up
- Even though he dropped out, now he speaks Swedish very well (because he has been here for 12 years); he says that he speaks good Swedish because of talking to people on the streets
- Because he couldn't stay in school, he stayed out on the streets meeting people
- He says that some people he met liked him while others didn't
- He didn't have any guidance when he came to Sweden compared to Gambia. In Gambia, his dad was the person guiding him and giving him advice on what to do. Here he had to decide for himself what his next move should be
- After he dropped out of high school, he didn't know what to do; he was out on the streets with his friends trying to survive and coming up with new ideas
- Came to Sweden → high school doesn't work out → no guidance → doesn't know what to do → deciding for himself what to do as teenager → new to society and country → ends up being on the street with his friends; that is when he starts smoking weed

- In Gambia he never did drugs, or more specifically as he says “he never smoked weed” because he never thought about drugs there. Everyone smokes weed in Gambia, but because of his father he never smoked it and never thought of drugs. He also never saw any other drugs other than weed back in Gambia
- He never did other drugs other than weed until 3 years ago in 2013 so between 2004 and 2013 he only smoked weed
- So now he is with his friends hanging out on a basketball court and this is when they meet “the old man”; a man who watches them, from his apartment window, smoke and sell weed by the basketball court. One day, this “old-man” comes downstairs to them and asks them to pass the joint. Ibbu and his friends get paranoid and worried but they pass him the joint, so the old man smokes it with them and starts lecturing them about life, and how they shouldn’t waste it selling drugs and just hanging by a basketball court all day. They learn that the old man has been in Sweden since the 1960s
- The old man tells them that he has been checking them out from his window, seeing everything they do. He tells them that there’s many of them and they should do something instead of selling drugs and just hanging out
- Ibbu and his friends start going to the old man’s house; they start hanging out with him. He tells them that he was an old criminal and that they shouldn’t go down the same path because he missed out on a lot of things and he doesn’t want them to do the same. He was their mentor!
- The old man start giving them ideas to work on; one of the ideas is starting a football team (because there is many of them) but it doesn’t end up working out. The other idea, which Ibbu calls a great idea, is to find a small locale and fix things that people throw out (such as bicycles, furniture, clothes). So Ibbu and his friends would collect the broken things which people throw out and then they’d employ the teenagers/young people to fix them, and then sell them for a profit. By doing this, Ibbu and his friends, would help out create jobs for kids on the streets (just like themselves). The idea behind this venture started in 2008 and then it was officially initiated in 2010
- This was a social entrepreneurship venture; it went very good at the beginning. Some of his friends were very into it while others weren’t
- Ibbu and his friends went down to the “state” as he calls it and filled in the paper work; he says that the social workers liked this idea and wanted to help them achieve it
- The idea of having a locale turns out to be a good one; Ibbu and his friends start working on it and they get a place of their own to do it. The place they get is funded through the government, and in collaboration with some local organization (the local organization is the one who is getting the money from the government, and then renting the locale for Ibbu and his friends)
- The state also noticed that the venture was going well
- Even the king came from Stockholm to meet them because this story gained popularity
- Some of Ibbu’s friends became very greedy, and because of inexperience and lack of guidance the business started breaking down
- After the king’s visit, the team started breaking down. Ibbu and his friends were a total of 4 and they had 20 – 30 kids helping them out. In 2011 the venture started breaking down, some of his friends got a job, others didn’t think it would work out but Ibbu continued by getting other people. He also managed to get some money from the government

- So in 2011 and even though some of Ibbu's partners left, Ibbu keeps going strong and he manages to get some government money, a locale, and buy some tools to fix bicycles, and furniture. The government also noticed that they are very serious
- Some other people wanted to steal their idea (copy their business model) so one time these people came into their locale and smelled weed. Ibbu and his friends also smelled the weed but it was not them smoking the weed at the locale so one day they knocked on the door beside their locale and asked the guy if he was the one smoking weed. The guy who opened the door said yes that it was him and took them inside the place and showed them where he smokes. Ibbu asked him to smoke somewhere else because there are people who will use this as an excuse to shut down their locale. Then one day Ibbu and his friends go to the local to open it up and do their work but they find out that the locks were changed
- Who changed the locks? The people that were working with Ibbu to make Ibbu's idea a success. Ibbu says that these people are still around, and today they have a business running based on the same idea as Ibbu's business. They are not Swedish (the bosses on top are, but the ones who worked with Ibbu weren't Swedish).
- Also, these people were the one who were given the 260k SEK from the Swedish government to implement the idea. However, Ibbu says that he didn't see all the money. What happened is that these people pocketed some money and only gave Ibbu and his friends a fraction of the 260k SEK
- Ibbu claims that these people are government workers and they tried to fool them by taking the money granted to them, as well as make their business fail so they can build a similar business
- Ibbu says that these people are still fooling the government. He says that these people have schools but inside these schools all that happens is that people smoke weed inside; even teachers draw up weed pictures
- These people are the middle man between the government, and the community. They have their own organizations and the government encourages the youth to join such organizations. The government thought they were helping Ibbu and their friends, but instead they were helping this organization which had power and control over Ibbu and his friends
- Some people suggested that Ibbu should sue this organization; but since all the team split then it is just Ibbu in this
- Ibbu felt very strong about this venture (he really wanted it to work)
- Ibbu didn't have proper guidance in order for this to work out. At the end, Ibbu is suspecting everyone because he felt that everyone wanted a piece of the cake
- Ibbu blames the middle people he was with, as well as his crew. The middle people were the ones who were dealing the government
- After this venture failed at the age of 23 – 24, Ibbu has been very disappointed and doesn't seem to care anymore. Due to this bad experience he turned to smoking weed and has a "fuck everything" attitude
- After the venture failed, Ibbu went back to the streets again and started dealing drugs because he lost the thing he wanted to do. He felt cheated; he was in this legal venture 100% and wanted it to work but because he was cheated out of it, he felt very disappointed
- The idea behind the venture started in 2008, and in 2010 it became public and famous. Then it ended in 2011

- Before trying the legal venture, Ibbu was dealing small scale on the basketball court, after the venture failed, he started dealing bigger scale
- After venture ended, Ibbu had to find a way to survive; dealing drugs since 2011. He didn't want to do this but because the thing he wanted to do (fixing locale venture) failed, then he turned to dealing drugs
- He says his heart is with the legal venture and that is what he wants to do but because of what happened, he had to go back to dealing drugs. It is very hard for him to get a job and so he had to go back to dealing drugs to provide for himself
- Size of operation depends on him; he says he can make it as big as he wants (depending on people he chooses to deal with). For now, he is using drug dealing as a way to survive and earn a living
- He sells pills, cocaine, and marijuana
- He was arrested many times; the last time he was arrested was 3 weeks from the day of the interview (the interview was held on Tuesday, March 1st). He was caught using transporting drugs. He says that because the police have arrested him, they took all the drugs and so the police made his life harder because now he has to go get more drugs and pay the money from his own pocket
- He was transporting weed, and pills and they police caught him while he was on the train because they were wiretapping his friends phone
- One time he was at his friends who has a big amount of drugs, and the police knew about it, so they came, broke down the door, arrested his friend, and arrested him too because he was in the house where the drugs were found
- He got caught on the street with weed and cocaine in his pockets. He never got sent to prison, they government would send him letter about showing up to his court hearing and Ibbu would not show up
- He says he just wants not to get stressed, smoke weed, and survive by selling drugs
- He says he wants to do something he likes, and what he likes was that venture (the legal fixing locale venture)
- He says that even though the people he worked with stole his idea, they don't have the right kids to make the venture a success but he does. If he was offered a job in the old venture, or a place to return to it, he says he would return right away but for that to happen those people must correct the wrongs they did
- Future plans? Lay low and see what happens with the fixing locale venture because he thinks he can still win his venture back
- Ibbu considers himself an entrepreneur from his early days and sees drug dealing as a business
- He learns by talking to people and by having all these different social experiences. He can't learn by sitting in a class and writing down notes
- He says that he came up to be what he is today because of the rules and the people surrounding him. He believes that he had a fair chance at the beginning but he also faced some discrimination and lies later on when the venture failed
- When asked about whether he sees this society as a fair one and whether he believes he is treated the same as a typical Swede, he says he feels he is treated different than the regular Swede. He believes there is big, hidden corruption that is not talked about. He says that he saw this when he

was part of the fixing locale venture, and got to see what people were doing with the money they got from the government

- Ibbu believes that the government is blind, and that some people in the government don't know what is happening with the money they give out. That money is taken by different organizations which claim that they do social entrepreneurship with the money but they don't
- Ibbu keeps stressing that there are two sides to the government; the good ones who want things done and the bad ones who keep stalling things
- He says he still has the bank account to his venture and still receives letters about it
- Ibbu says that Swedish police system is not strict which makes him want to do more "shit"; when they caught him with 50 grams hashish, ecstasy, and tramadol pills. After 30 minutes at the police station and confiscating his drugs, they let him go. He says that they did so because they have bigger fish to catch and that because since he is on the streets then he can guide them to the bigger drug dealers, if police follows him
- Ibbu says that he is standing in the middle and doesn't know whether he should expand his operation or to stay low. He says he can make his operation VERY big. He says that is what is stopping from expanding his drug dealing operation is the hope of getting back to his old legal venture
- For him entrepreneurship is not about power, or money because he can have that by expanding his illegal, drug dealing venture. For him, it is about what he is most passionate about and where his heart lies; in his legal venture (the fixing locale shop). If he had the chance to switch from drug dealing to his old venture, he would do it in a heart beat
- He is tired of the drug dealing life style

***Z-dog is there as an assistant; she is there to just help out**

- She grew up in Malmo, Sweden
- She is originally from Afghanistan
- She did her undergraduate studies at Malmo university
- She did her graduate studies at Lund university but hasn't finished her degree yet; she still has to hand in her master's thesis
- She says that there are many organizations that support doing social entrepreneurship by giving out funds, and encourage initiatives that have to do with engaging kids (she was thinking about doing one herself because she works with minor asylum seekers)
- She says there is so much bureaucracy with these organizations so sure they want to do good but all the paper work and all the time needed to get funds to get your venture going isn't worth it to her. Also they have very strict specifications (the place needs to be of a certain size, shape, etc...)
- What she suggests is to just do the thing! Open up a place that teaches music without having all the paper work and all the legalities in place because then it would take such a lot time and everyone would have to get their background checked
- She says that this process is so long and painful because they don't want anything to come back to them (the social, government workers); so they want to cover their backs (make sure everything is 100% so that no one can trace anything wrong back to them)

- Dealing drugs for her is a hobby thing; so that her friends can have it instead of making a call every single time for someone
- She says she hasn't made money doing it (so it's basically to have a constant supply for her and her friends)
- She says that there's a fear in the Swedish society of drugs; she says that it is OK to do it as long as you don't speak of it. Also you can't do it out in public

Appendix II: Ibbu narrative

Ibbu is born in Gambia in 1986 to a Gambian father and a Gambian-Swedish mother, who goes back to Sweden shortly after giving birth to him. He spends the first 17 years of his life in Gambia with his father and four siblings. In 2004, Ibbu decides it's time for a change in his life and buys a plane ticket to Sweden, to be reunited with his mother in Malmo. He is excited about his new life, but shortly after arriving, he realises that things aren't as ideal as he had imagined. He goes to high school and joins SFI in order to learn the new language, but drops out of both pretty soon, due to trouble concentrating in the classroom and keeping up, a problem that he also experienced back home, in the much rougher Gambian educational system. As for his first impression of Swedes, he finds them similar to people back in Gambia; some good, some bad, accepting ones, and racist ones.

The first years in Malmo are tough. He has no guidance in his life, as his personal mentor up to this point, his dad, is still in Gambia. Ibbu realises that he has to create his own path, make his own decisions for the future, and tries to find ways to survive. He spends most of his time in the streets with his friends, and that's when he has his first experience with drugs, smoking weed and dealing it in small quantities. His lifestyle remains as such for the year to come, until he meets the 'old man', who changes his life.

The 'old man' sits and watches Ibbu and his friends smoking and selling weed from his balcony for quite some time. One day, he comes down and joins the group of young delinquents, asking them to pass him the joint they were holding. Ibbu and his friends reluctantly do so, and the 'old man' takes a puff and starts lecturing them on life, advising them they should change their criminal ways. He goes on to tell them about his own life story, how he came from Africa in the 60's, his unproductive lifestyle, and all the things in life he missed because of it. Ibbu and his friends like the wise elder, they see a mentor in him, and start hanging out with him in his house.

The 'old man' is really set on helping the boys, and starts giving them ideas on what they should do to switch to a more productive path. At first, he suggests they make a football team, as there are so many of them, to turn them to sports instead of drugs. Unfortunately, that idea fails, as there isn't much interest from the part of the kids. He then proposes they should start a small locale and repair things people throw out, such as furniture, bicycles, and clothes, in order to sell them for a profit. By doing this, the kids will stay busy, away from drugs, employ their peers helping them to get out of the life on the streets, and make some money. Ibbu loves the idea, and together with his friends, he starts working on this venture in 2008.

Their social venture is very well accepted by the state at first, and the group gets help from the government, in the form of subsidies and a place to work from. In 2010, the venture is officially launched, and met with great success, as even the King of Sweden comes to Malmo to congratulate

them. This 'honeymoon' period lasts for approximately a year, and then things start to break down as greed gets in the way.

The governmental authorities that helped them get things started, paired them with another young adult organisation, that was officially working to provide opportunities for 'street kids', but was actually just a front for a bunch of young criminals growing and smoking weed. This organisation was in charge of distributing the government grants to Ibbu and his friends and supervising them. However, the people involved were keeping most of the money for themselves and trying to make Ibbu's venture fail, in order to later copy the business model and materialise it on their own. In short, their goal was to take Ibbu and his friends out of the way, and appropriate their idea.

One day Ibbu goes to open up the place and finds the locks changed. It's 2011 and the promising social entrepreneurial project that started from the streets is officially dead. Ibbu is devastated. He is 24 now, he is angry and he feels cheated. His disappointment pushes him to illegal paths, which he joins with a 'fuck everything' attitude. He goes back to his old habits of dealing drugs on the streets, only this time in bigger quantities. He is not doing it to get rich or to feel powerful. He is selling drugs in order to survive in a country where he knows he can't get a regular job.

He sells weed, pills, and coke. The size of the operation depends on him. He can grow as big as to rule the whole neighbourhood, but he doesn't need or want that. He just wants to make a living and meet interesting people in the way. He has been arrested many times, with the most recent one occurring just three weeks before our interview. In this incident, he was caught transporting a rather big amount of drugs. His biggest worry isn't the court he is going to face though. That has happened many times before and he knows he is going to be back in the streets in no time. What's troubling him is how he's going to find a way to reimburse the people that lost their money and drugs.

His future seems uncertain. He feels tired of the drug dealing lifestyle, and would rather go back and give the repair locale and other try if the opportunity would present itself. He knows that the people that stole his idea can't make it on their own, and hopes that in the future they can reconsolidate and work together to make it happen. But he doesn't want to stress about it. For the time being, he just wants to lay low, smoke weed, and spend time with his friends. He considers himself an entrepreneur - he has always been one - and his journey has reached him many things about life and human nature that will help him in his entrepreneurial future, be it legal or illegal.

Appendix III: questions asked to our interviewees

Below are the open ended questions we asked our interviewees. In the case that our interviewees covered these questions while speaking to us we didn't ask the questions anymore

Destructive entrepreneur – Ibbu

For Ibbu, we made sure that the questions we asked were personal questions about his life story, how he got where he is, and about his two ventures; the legal and the illegal one. The personal questions were asked in order to build his life story and be able to write the narrative in an unbiased manner. Furthermore, the personal questions gave us a gateway into what Ibbu's motivation are, and why he has to go down the unproductive entrepreneurship path. On the other hand, the questions about his ventures were asked so that we understand what went wrong and be able to conclude what can be done in order to avoid the shift from productive to unproductive entrepreneurship

Background info;

- Where did you grow up
- Where did you come to Sweden from? When?
- What did your parents do? What do they do now?
- Why did your parents choose Sweden? Or was it just you?
- What was the reason to leave the home country?
- What did you do back in your country?
- What did you parents do?
- What is the education level of the parents?
- What is your education level?

Business model & business information;

- What is it that you do? At what level?
- How do you do it?
- What are the reasons for doing it? Money, girls, power, social status, etc...
- Do you make your living doing this?
- Do you have another job?
- Are you thinking of growing?
- Are you stressed when you do it? Worry? Comfortable? Why?
- Have you ever had troubles with the law?
- Who got you into this? Who made you do this?
- Which part of the chain are you? Do you sell small or big scale? What do you sell?
- Do you use what you sell?
- Do you see it as strictly business or a way to socialize?
- Do you sell to your friends only? What if a stranger approached you would you sell to him/her?

Context questions;

- Are you thinking of moving to legal business
- Has this taught you much about business operation?
- Do you see yourself as a businessman/entrepreneur?
- Do you feel you have the same chances as a Swede in starting a new venture/job market?
- How do you feel about Sweden? Do you call it home?
- Are you thinking of staying in the foreseeable future?
- Do you feel the Swedish state is fair to foreigners?
- Do you socialize more with non-Swedes, Swedes, or compatriots?
- Have you subjected to any forms of discrimination? If yes can you please specify
- Do you feel that this is something that bears a stigma because you do it?

Police officer

Question	Reason for asking
How you seen an increase in drug dealing since you became a police officer in Malmo? Please explain	This question was asked in order to assess if drug dealing is a growing problem in Malmo or not
Can you please explain to us the laws in place to deter people from drug dealing	Rules of the game dictate the supply of entrepreneurs according to Baumol (1990, 1993), Sauka (2008) and Decai (2007). Are the laws strict enough to deter people from dealing drugs when compared to the economic reward?
Can you please talk about the context of drug dealing in Malmo? For you as a police officer do you feel that the laws of the city of Malmo take into account the context of the city?	Context is very important when designing public policies because a “one size fits all” approach doesn’t work (Minniti, 2008). Furthermore, Henrekson & Stenkula (2010) talk about context and how different policies should be tailored according to context. Lastly, Welter (2011) argues that entrepreneurship has to be contextualized; something we extend to public policies driving entrepreneurship as well
As a police officer what would you do to prevent people from going into drug dealing?	Public policies dictate the supply of entrepreneurs (Baumol, 1990, 1993; Sauka 2008; Decai, 2007) so we need to modify the policies if we are to see a shift from unproductive to productive entrepreneurship
From your own interaction with drug dealers when you arrest them, can you please tell us about your experience while doing so?	This question is an open ended question which can give a lot of valuable insights on drug dealing in Malmo
What do you see as the reasons for the citizens of Malmo to deal drugs? Do you believe that people who deal drugs do so because of lack of opportunity or is it because they want to reach a position of power, and accumulate money?	Understand the motivation behind choosing unproductive over productive entrepreneurship; is it fame, money, power? (Baumol, 1990; Bamol 1993) or are there other motives?

Social Democrats & Sweden Democrats (both political parties)

Question	Reason for asking
<p>Where does the party stand on drug dealing? Do you feel that the current policies and laws in place reflect the party's stand? Do you think there should be stricter laws in place or do we need to loosen up a bit?</p>	<p>Policies dictate the supply of entrepreneurs according to Baumol (1990), Sauka (2008), and Desai (2007) so if we work on these policies the allocation of entrepreneurs should shift from unproductive to productive</p>
<p>What do you know about the policies and programs in place for people to move away from illegal activities and turn to legal ones instead?</p>	<p>This question touches on the above question, as well as the arguments by Minniti (2008) and Henrekson & Stenkula (2010) who talk about context and how different policies should be tailored according to context</p>
<p>Do you believe that education plays an important factor in people picking illegal over legal? If yes, shouldn't the focus be on education rather than tougher drug policies?</p>	<p>Education plays a big role in the productiveness of an entrepreneur according to Sauka & Welter (2007) so by asking this question we wanted to see whether this is true in Sweden or not</p>
<p>In terms of policies and programs in place what do you think that we can do, but we are not doing, in order to turn people from illegal activities to legal ones?</p>	<p>Policies dictate the supply of entrepreneurs according to Baumol (1990, 1993), Sauka (2008), and Desai (2007) so if we work on these policies the allocation of entrepreneurs should shift from unproductive to productive</p>
<p>Do you feel that the policies in place are tailored to Malmo's needs? So where these programs/policies put in place taking into account the context of the city of Malmo? Or were the policies/programs designed based on the "best practice" method?</p>	<p>Context is very important when designing public policies because a "one size fits all" approach doesn't work (Minniti, 2008). Furthermore, Henrekson & Stenkula (2010) talk about context and how different policies should be tailored according to context. Lastly, Welter (2011) argues that entrepreneurship has to be contextualized; something we extend to public policies driving entrepreneurship as well</p>
<p>What do you see as the reasons for the citizens of Malmo to deal drugs? Do you believe that people who deal drugs do so because of lack of opportunity or is it because they want to reach a position of power, and accumulate money?</p>	<p>Understand the motivation behind choosing unproductive over productive entrepreneurship; is it fame, money, power? (Baumol, 1990; Baumol 1993) or are there other motives?</p>

Publiket Entrepreneurship

Question	Reason for asking
<p>What is that you exactly do for entrepreneurs? Coaching, mentoring, financing?</p>	<p>Segal (2005) suggests that self-efficacy is the most important factor in being a productive entrepreneur; with this question we tried to figure out whether these organizations focus on financing or building self-capacity of entrepreneurs. Furthermore, we are trying to understand the motivation behind choosing productive over unproductive entrepreneurship</p>
<p>Who is your typical customer? Background, age, and education level?</p>	<p>Education plays a big role in the productiveness of an entrepreneur according to Sauka & Welter (2007) so by asking this question we wanted to see whether this is true in Sweden or not</p>
<p>Have you ever had a case where someone who was involved in illegal entrepreneurship turned to legal activities and came to you for help?</p>	<p>With this question we wanted to see how effective the policies are in turning unproductive entrepreneurs to productive one. In addition, this is a good question to test how visible the “system” in place is for the unproductive entrepreneurs Also, here we want to test Fairlie (2002) and see if our results agree with him in that drug dealers make better productive entrepreneurs</p>
<p>In terms of policies and programs in place what do you think that we can do, but we are not doing, in order to turn people from illegal activities to legal ones?</p>	<p>Policies dictate the supply of entrepreneurs according to Baumol (1990, 1993), Sauka (2008), and Desai (2007) so if we work on these policies the allocation of entrepreneurs should shift from unproductive to productive</p>
<p>What do you respond to people saying that because of bureaucracy and long waiting times, people are not interested in applying to programs that help entrepreneurs with their ventures?</p>	<p>This question is a continuation to the above question where we are testing whether the policies in place are effective</p>

<p>Do you feel that the policies and programs you have in place at Publiket Entrepreneurship are tailored to Malmo's needs? So where these programs/policies put in place taking into account the context of the city of Malmo? Or were the policies/programs designed based on the "best practice" method?</p>	<p>Context is very important when designing public policies because a "one size fits all" approach doesn't work (Minniti, 2008). Furthermore, Henrekson & Stenkula (2010) talk about context and how different policies should be tailored according to context. Lastly, Welter (2011) argues that entrepreneurship has to be contextualized; something we extend to public policies driving entrepreneurship as well</p>
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Social workers (Region Skane & Malmo Stad)

- What do you know about the policies and programs in place for people to move away from illegal activities and turn to legal ones instead?
 - o Are these programs/policies clear enough so a person knows exactly where and how to apply?
 - o Are these programs made of giving money to start a venture and mentorship, or just money?
 - o Do you think that public policies can push a person from illegal activities to legal ones?
 - o What might stop the person from applying to these programs?
 - o What do you see is Malmo Stad's responsibility in this topic?

[Reason]; these questions were asked in order to figure out if it is public policies that drives the supply of entrepreneurs (Baumol, 1990; Sauka, 2008; Desai, 2007). Also these questions were asked in order to see what is the focus on when it comes to designing public policies to encourage productive entrepreneurship? Money? Lowering entry barriers or focusing on individual traits such as self-efficacy? Segal (2005) argues that self-efficacy yields the best results

- What do you think that Malmo Stad can do, and is not doing, in order to turn people from illegal activities to legal ones?

[Reason]; these questions were asked in order to figure out what new public policies can drive the supply of entrepreneurs from unproductive to productive entrepreneurship (Baumol, 1990; Sauka, 2008; Desai, 2007)

- What do you respond to people saying that because of bureaucracy and long waiting times, people are not interested in applying to governmental programs?

[Reason]; this question is a continuation to the above question where we are testing whether the policies in place are effective

- Do you feel that the policies in place are tailored to Malmo's needs? So where these programs/policies put in place taking into account the context of the city of Malmo? Or were the policies/programs designed based on the "best practice" method?

[Reason]; Context is very important when designing public policies because a "one size fits all" approach doesn't work (Minniti, 2008). Furthermore, Henrekson & Stenkula (2010) talk about context and how different policies should be tailored according to context. Lastly, Welter (2011)

argues that entrepreneurship has to be contextualized; something we extend to public policies driving entrepreneurship as well

- What do you think are the reasons for the citizens of Malmo to deal drugs? Do you believe that people who deal drugs do so because of lack of opportunity or is it because they want to reach a position of power, and accumulate money?

[Reason]; Understand the motivation behind choosing unproductive over productive entrepreneurship; is it fame, money, power? (Baumol, 1990; Bamol 1993) or are there other motives?

- The more the education, the less the possibility of drug dealing; is this true from your experience? Do you believe that if we try to maximize one's education, we will cut down on illegal activities?

[Reason]; Education plays a big role in the productiveness of an entrepreneur according to Sauka & Welter (2007) so by asking this question we wanted to see whether this is true in Sweden or not

- From your experience, do people with an immigrant background represent a bigger chunk of the drug dealers in Malmo in comparison to native Swedes?

[Reason]; this question was asked because we thought it would make an interesting future research topic

- In general, what is your experience with people dealing drugs (anything that was not discussed)?

[Reason]; to cover anything that the interviewee wanted to say and could not say it

Appendix IV: organisations selected for interviews

Below is a detailed description of the different organisations that our secondary interviewees work for, and the reason why we decided to choose them:

Organisation supporting social entrepreneurship (**Publikt Entrepreneurship**); this is an organisation involved in supporting social entrepreneurship initiatives. They provide funding, mentoring, and coaching for people who want to start their own venture within the social entrepreneurship context (<http://www.publiktentreprenorskap.se/>). We chose to interview an employee within this organisation so we can understand their inner workings, how they decide to work with who, and to learn about their policies and programs

Social work – city wide (**Malmö Stad; City of Malmö**); the city of Malmö works on improving the lives of its inhabitants through different programs, encouraging social entrepreneurship initiatives, and discouraging unproductive entrepreneurship (<http://malmo.se/>). We chose to interview an employee within this organisation to understand how they help the youth to steer away from unproductive entrepreneurship and go into the productive form through the different programs and policies in place

Regional entrepreneurial strategy building organisation (**Skåne Region**); Skåne region has different programs and is working on many region wide projects (<http://skane.se/>). What interests us is their social innovation strategy; how it is designed and how it is supposed to help with encouraging social entrepreneurship over unproductive entrepreneurship.

Right wing party (**Sweden Democrats**); a right wing party known for advocating right wing populist, national-conservatism, and anti-immigration laws and policies (<https://sd.se/>). We chose to interview a party representative so we can understand how they look at drug dealing; what are its causes, how to avoid it, and how to steer people away from it.

Socialist democracy party (**Swedish Social Democratic Party**); a social democratic party, with the most members, and most representative in Sweden. Swedish Social Democratic Party supports social welfare provision through progressive taxation, social corporatist economy, and are pro-immigration (<http://www.socialdemokraterna.se/>). We chose to interview a party representative so we can understand how they look at drug dealing; what are its causes, how to avoid it, and how to steer people away from it.

Police officer – narcotics division (**Polisen Rosengård**); even though that there is no real narcotics division anymore in the city of Malmö due to structural reorganisations, the Malmö Police does have a unit which performs drug surveillance and arrests drug dealers; this is the unit we decided to interview (<https://polisen.se/Kontakta-oss/Polisstationer/Skane/Malmo-Rosengard/>). This unit has is involved and works on arresting drug dealers, meaning it interacts with them on daily basis. We chose to interview a police officer within this group so we can understand how drug dealing is dealt

with on street level, and to get a firsthand narrative of a police officer who comes in contact with drug dealers during their daily work.

Social criminology professor (**Lund University**); the social criminology department at the University of Lund looks at recognised social problems (crimes) and their declared solutions (<http://www.soc.lu.se/en/research/research-environments/sociological-criminology>). We chose to interview a professor at Lund University within this department in order to learn about his research when it comes to drug crimes in Sweden, the history behind it, and the preventative measure taken.

Appendix V: Original narratives

4.1 The unproductive entrepreneur

Getting an interview with a drug dealer proved to be a very hard task, tougher than what we expected when choosing to investigate this topic. It is only logical. People in this line of business do not want to expose themselves to any unnecessary risks. They do not want to jeopardise their business, and, even more so, they do not want to end up in prison. After many hours of research, and being rejected by practically everyone we knew, our friend Z-dog - a small scale dealer herself - told us that the guy who was supplying her was intrigued by our academic research, and wanted to tell his story.

We met Ibbu at Z-dog's apartment in the centre of Malmö, just a few blocks south of Mollan square. Ibbu didn't trust us yet and wanted the interview to happen on neutral ground, with the presence of our common connection. We had arranged the meeting to take place around noon, but after many delays and postponing from his part, we finally managed to start the interview late in the afternoon. When we entered Z-dog's home, Ibbu had already made himself comfortable on the armchair, and was rolling the first of the many marijuana joints he would smoke during the course of the next two hours. Although only the four of us were present at the start of the interview, eventually a number of other people with similar experiences in drug dealing would come and go, taking some hits and adding their valuable insights on the matter. At first, Ibbu was reluctant to open himself up to us. He sat there, taking big hits from his jay, looking at us with red, mistrusting eyes. Eventually, we would gain his trust and his tongue would start running.

We started by explaining to him the purpose of our visit and reassuring him about our discretion regarding his identity and personal details. We asked him how he wanted to be referenced at in our paper. 'I don't need to hide' he told us, 'I already have a name, Ibbu'. The first part of the interview was concentrated on his background and first years in Sweden. We learned that he was born in Gambia in 1986, Swedish citizen from birth through his mother. He spent the first 17 years of his life in Gambia with his father and four siblings. In 2004, seeing his life stagnating, he decides it's time for a change and buys a one way plane ticket to Sweden, to be reunited with his mother. Although he was excited about his new life, shortly after arriving he realised that things weren't as ideal as he'd thought. He tries to get immersed into the Swedish educational system, but drops out shortly thereafter due to learning difficulties that aren't properly identified and addressed by the Swedish school system.

The first years in Malmö are tough. He has no guidance in his life, as his personal mentor up to this point, his father, is still in Gambia. Ibbu realises that he has to create his own path, make his

own decisions for the future, and tries to find ways to survive. He spends most of his time in the streets with his friends. That's when he has his first experience with drugs, smoking weed and dealing it in small quantities. His lifestyle remains as such for the year to come, until he meets the 'old man', who changes his life.

'The old man was sitting on his balcony and watching us smoking and selling weed in the basketball court we used to hang out', he tells us, 'every day we saw him there'. One day, the old man comes down and joins the group of young delinquents, asking them to pass him the joint they were holding. Ibbu and his friends reluctantly do so, and the 'old man' takes a long hit and starts lecturing them on life, advising them they should change their criminal ways. He goes on to tell them about his own life story, how he came from Africa in the 60's, his unproductive lifestyle, and all the things in life he missed because of it. Ibbu and his friends like the wise elder, they see a mentor in him, and start hanging out with him at his house.

Ibbu's eyes light up when he talks about the 'old man'. It is clear for us that this man is one of the most important people in his life, someone he respects, a role model. 'He really wanted to help us', he says, 'and he was giving us all these ideas to work on'. At first, he suggests they make a football team, as there are so many of them, to turn them to sports instead of drugs. Unfortunately, that idea fails, as there isn't much interest from the part of the kids. He then proposes they should start a small locale and repair things people throw out, such as furniture, bicycles, and clothes, in order to sell them for a profit. By doing this, the kids will stay busy, away from drugs. They will also employ their peers and help them getting out of the life on the streets, as well as making some money on the side. Ibbu loves the idea, and together with his friends, they start working on this venture in 2008.

'It was a great idea', Ibbu says with passion, 'and we were the best people to make it, "cos we knew the ways of the streets'. Their social venture is very well accepted by the state at first, and the group gets help from the government, in the form of subsidies and a place to work from. In 2010, the venture is officially launched, and met with great success, as even the King of Sweden comes to Malmo to congratulate them. This 'honeymoon' period lasts for approximately a year, and then things start to break down as greed gets in the way.

The governmental authorities that helped them get things started, paired them with another young adult organisation, that was officially working to provide opportunities for 'street kids', but was actually just a front for a bunch of young criminals growing and smoking weed. This organisation was in charge of distributing the government grants to Ibbu and his friends and supervising them. However, the people involved were keeping most of the money for themselves and trying to make Ibbu's venture fail, in order to later copy the business model and materialise it

on their own. In short, their goal was to take Ibbu and his friends out of the way, and appropriate their idea.

One day Ibbu goes to open up the place and finds the locks changed. It's 2011 and the promising social entrepreneurial project that started from the streets is officially dead. Ibbu is devastated. He is 24 now. He is angry and he feels cheated. His disappointment pushes him to illegal paths, which he joins with a 'fuck everything' attitude (sic). He goes back to his old habits of dealing drugs on the streets. Only this time, it's bigger quantities. He is not doing it to get rich or to feel powerful. He is selling drugs in order to survive in a country where he knows he can't get a regular job.

'I sell weed, pills, and coke' he tells us, and we can't read any emotion on his face. 'I can grow as big as I want. If I want, I can rule the whole neighbourhood'. But he doesn't need or want that. He just wants to make a living and meet interesting people on the way. He has been arrested many times, with the most recent one occurring just three weeks before our interview. In this incident, he was caught transporting a rather big amount of drugs. His biggest worry isn't the court he is going to face though. That has happened many times before and he knows he is going to be back in the streets in no time. What's troubling him is how he's going to find a way to reimburse the people that lost their money and drugs.

His future seems uncertain. He feels tired of the drug dealing lifestyle, and would rather go back and give the repair locale another try if the opportunity would present itself. He knows that the people that stole his idea can't make it on their own, and hopes that in the future they can reconsolidate and work together to make it happen. But he doesn't want to stress about it. For the time being, he just wants to lay low, smoke weed, and spend time with his friends. He considers himself an entrepreneur - he has always been one - and his journey has taught him many things about life and human nature that will help him in his entrepreneurial future, be it legal or illegal.

4.2 The police officer

Getting to interview a narcotics cop is not an easy task. We had to go through multiple people to get to Samuel – a narcotics police officer with the City of Malmo. Getting an email from a narcotics officer saying that he agrees to be interviewed about his job, and the people he deals with, is something to remember.

We arrived to the modern day fortress that is the *Rosengård* police station on a rainy Thursday afternoon. After waiting for 10 minutes in the lobby area, the locked door opens, and a tall, muscular man in an Adidas hoodie and jean pants shakes our hand and introduces himself as Samuel. Samuel has been with the special surveillance division, Malmo police, for the past 3 – 4 years. "I started out working in the radio cars responding to calls from the public, and then about 3 or 4 years ago the situation in Malmo was very bad; there was a lot of shootings and violent crimes

between drug dealing gangs and as a sort of a project we formed small groups of plain clothes officers targeting drug dealing at a street level and also targeting gun crime. And that group has now got a permanent place [...] There isn't a narcotics division anymore [...] There is a special unit for advanced surveillance and they can work long surveillance cases which can include heavy drug crime or serious drug crime but can also be directed at other types of crimes and a lot of that work there used to belong to the narcotics division.”

Samuel's unit does short term surveillance before the arrest. Usually, a community member, a drug dealer, or another police officer, would tip them off about the presence of drug activity at a certain spot. The unit would then go out, watch that corner for a bit to spot any drug transactions and, then, if needed, the arrest would take place. “For instance we get complaints that there's a gang dealing drugs on this corner and we'll try to get eyes on this corner and watch what is going on, document what is going on for some time. Maybe get some evidence that one particular person is dealing, selling several times and then go in and make an arrest, often the same day or at least the same week”

We move on to our next topic which Samuel answers with more passion; drug activity in Malmo since he started working for the police in 2008. He confides to us that over this time drug dealing has gone up in Malmo. He says with a confident voice “I would say it increased a lot. There are a lot of narcotics in Malmo”. He believes that the biggest change is that drugs are now being sold in the open, something that wasn't happening some years ago. He points out that drugs aren't just sold in the open in Rosengård. There are other places in Malmo where you confined them. “Now you can just walk to a specific street and you will be approached and offered drugs”.

Noticing his passion for this subject, we continue by asking why the police isn't efficiently combating the problem. “It is a combination of different factors; it is partly the police resources. Police in Sweden is heavily understaffed. There are just far too few policemen to do what the public expect us to do and then another problem is the legal system where you have very short, very mild sentencing. If we arrest young local dealer dealing cannabis in a small scale, most often he gets off with a fine and of course it costs a lot of resources to get him and prosecute him. This is the joke within the police that often the dealers are back in the street corner dealing before we are finished our reports, and that's just how it works; so it just goes round and round, we know the dealers out here are convicted multiple times for drug crimes but it just doesn't deter them from standing on the corner dealing”. He estimates that more than 80% of his arrests are repeating offenders; people he has arrested for drug related offences before.

Samuel continues by telling me that some of the offenders consider going to prison “a vacation” (sic). “It is quite nice to go to prison for a few months. Swedish prison is a very high standard; you can eat well, you can train well, gain some muscles for the summer”. He elaborates

further by telling me that most of the people who sell drugs also “use drugs themselves and that lifestyle isn’t very healthy so they say ‘I need to go off for a few months and sort of rest up before I can go at it again’ so it is not that big of a problem for them”. He believes that the fact that it takes a long time to prosecute someone, combined with the fact that it is easy to sell drugs in Sweden, contributes to today’s picture. “With a slow court system it could take years before they could actually get a sentence for the crime”

We were done with our long introduction, so we moved on to our unproductive entrepreneur. Samuel believes that this is a “very typical story that probably applies to 80 – 90 % of the people in his situation”. He also believes that “the problem with the school is the key factor”. However, there is one big things that Samuel disagrees with; it is the fact that Ibbu had to sell drugs to survive. Samuel believes that “people here often identify themselves with American films, and TV series, and drug dealers there, and I think it is an unfair statement because there is a social security system in Sweden that works, nobody has to sell drugs to survive, to get food on the table, to get a flat to rent. You are taken care of by the state. It is not a flashy lifestyle to live on social welfare, but then what he means is something else. He wants something more and he hasn’t found a way to get that, and that is not the same thing as doing it to survive”. Samuel then says that Ibbu’s introduction to dealing drugs could have been avoided as “those dealers that he met there [on the basketball court], they should have been in prison, not luring him into this trade.” He also acknowledges that part of the problem is “the young kids see the older kids [drug dealers], they drive around in fancy cars, and have big watches, and gold chains. I mean it works, they can see that it works”. He believes that once you become a drug dealer, it is hard to come out of it, and in Ibbu’s case it is even tougher because “he was encouraged by this older man to start this business and it went pretty well, but as soon as it got tough he gave up and he went back to doing what he was doing before, and I think it is that kind of person that needs constant support and encouragement”

We move on to the part where Ibbu was arrested but released, and the fact that Ibbu’s worry was that the cops will take his drugs away. Samuel takes this chance to repeat his point that we need stricter laws if we are to deter people from dealing drugs. “This is what I was talking about before, that the criminal system is far too lenient against these people. He describes it that he didn’t see the police as a problem at all. The only problem for him was is if they seized his drugs then he would then own somebody some money. And I believe that is where the legal system could do its part, but that would require complete reform and it is not going in that direction, in fact it has gone in the complete opposite direction”. When I ask him whether he believes that drug dealing is more prevalent within the immigrant community rather than the Swedish community he is quick to answer. “[It] is probably more related to class rather than ethnicity”.

Before finishing the interview, Samuel proposes possible solutions. “I would increase our resources a bit or a lot and I would toughen up the legal system. Things that are illegal should come with heavy consequences’. He also speaks about prevention; education. ‘I would pump in resources into the schools because I think that is the key to giving people the alternative to doing something else’.

Finally, Samuel believes that “the main factor [for choosing an unproductive lifestyle] has to be the nature of the person, because it’s not like there isn’t opportunity. There are opportunities; you have a free education system here and you can, in theory at least, become what you want to be whatever your background is’.

4.3 The right wing politician – SvergieDeomkraterna

Our meeting with Patrick was scheduled for 10am on a Monday at Malmo City hall. He was waiting for us outside his office. We said hi and shook hands. Patrick is a built young man with a firm handshake; you can see the ambition on his face, and his welcoming gestures make you feel at ease. We didn’t have a tour of his office, nor did we say hi to anyone. We went straight to a big meeting room where we sat down and we explained to him the general procedure that we follow with everyone we interview.

Pat’ love for his party is very obvious. When Sweden Democrats’ came knocking with a job offer, Pat dropped out of Lund University in order to go work for them. Sweden Democrats was not his first political affiliation though. “I have been a member of the party since 2012. [...] I got interested in the party maybe 2009. When I was younger I was a member of the moderate party; the conservatives. [...] after the gymnasium [Swedish upper secondary school] I started political science in Lund and I never finished my studies because I got an opportunity to work here in Malmo for the Sweden’s Democrats”. He holds a counselling position in the party. “I work alongside [name of party member], who is our [position of party member] here in Malmo.”

The introductions are over. We move on to discuss what I was there for; the story of our drug dealer. When we ask him what he think of the drug dealer narrative, Patrick sits up and gives a compassionate answer, “It is quite [a] sad story that someone tries to live the life of, you know, without breaking the law and tries to do the right but fails back into the bad habits again. I don’t know much about Ibbu but I think to fall back into that kind of behaviour is quite common for someone who maybe had a rough background; he doesn’t have a lot of help from back home. I don’t think if I, well, obviously I am not from that kind of background. If I lose my job here I don’t think I will fall into that kind of behaviour, but if you don’t have that social status or whatever you call it maybe it’s simpler to fall back into that kind of behaviour that he did after his business failure”

To be honest, we were expecting a tougher response considering his party's stance on immigration; Sweden Democrats is known for their anti-immigration rhetoric. However, Patrick seemed to understand, rather than judge, our unproductive entrepreneur. This understanding slowly went away though after I asked him again what he thinks about this kind of behaviour. "Of course it is sad when people fall back into the same habits again and I think that I am not exactly sure what happened in his case but because some things didn't go as he wanted them to, I don't think it is an excuse to fall back into the same behaviour again"

Patrick has no further comments about Ibbu's life story, so we move on to our predetermined questions. He believes that in order to reduce drugs, and ultimately drug dealers in our society, Sweden needs to establish tighter border controls. He points out that the proximity of Malmo to Copenhagen is the main reason Malmo has seen such a spike in drug dealing. "I think the most important thing to do if you want to reduce drug dealing, and the flow of drugs in our streets is to have border control because right now it is extremely simple to take the train from Copenhagen into Malmo with a bag of cocaine and so on".

The second solution he proposes is harder punishments for people who deal drugs. He believes that drugs and guns go hand in hand, and both those offences should be severely punished. "Of course not only controlling the borders but also having harder punishments for people who are not only dealing drugs but dealing weapons and so on". He points out that Malmo has had several "explosions" (sic) with the armed gangs dealing drugs at the centre.

As a third method to prevent drug dealing, Patrick proposed a better education system, and a closer look at the Malmo schools. He suggests that if you fail at school, chances of you dealing drugs are also higher. "I think if you fail at school it is more common that you fall into that kind of behaviour because people feel that they don't have a chance and so on. If they don't qualify for the gymnasium, and they don't have the help from home they will get rough, they will have a rough life ahead of them. So to prevent people from joining these kinds of activities of course we need to help better the education and so on"

We move on to the subject of why people choose to deal drugs. Patrick says that he believes that there are two ways to look at this. When you start off, you are looking for money. Once you start making money, you want fame and power. Patrick also believes that having drug dealers driving around in their fancy cars, and showing off their money plays a negative role with the young people's perception of drug dealing. Young people look up to the older drug dealers and think that the drug dealing life is all about throwing money around and having fancy things.

He then comes up with yet another preventive way to reduce drug dealing; the presence of

role models in society. People who have lead tough lives but has become successful in productive fields. Students need to be given examples of people who went through the school system and their education helped them succeed in life. Lastly, even though Patrick's party has anti-immigration policies, Patrick believes that drug dealing is more of a social phenomenon rather than a cultural one. It is usually "the people at the bottom" of the society who deal drugs, the ones that have lost faith in society. He says that "they don't think that the Swedish society can help them to fix their problems" and that is why they turn to dealing drugs.

4.4. The social entrepreneurship supporting worker – Publikt Entreprenörskap

We met Niklas Phillips at his office near Mollan, the activist area of Malmo, just a few hundred meters from the apartment we had met Ibbu some weeks before. Contrary to Ibbu, he was there at the predetermined time, 8.30 in the morning. He greeted us with a smile and a firm handshake, making us feel welcome from the very beginning. He introduced himself and took us around the office, introducing us to people we crossed on our way. He took us to a small conference room with a table, a few chairs and a big screen TV. We sat down and started explaining in detail what we wanted from him. He was going to tell us a bit about himself and what he does, his thoughts about Ibbu's story, and answer some predetermined open questions we'd already sent to him. We asked him if he'd read Ibbu's story we had sent him some days before. He answered that he didn't have the time, so we passed him the laptop with the word document. He sat there silently reading through the story. When he finished, he looked quite emotional and said something that took us by surprise, 'I have to tell you that I actually know Ibbu. I was the one who dealt with him when they first started; I was the one filling up his applications and trying to set him up'. Throughout the interview he was very thoughtful. He took his time before answering our questions, and often became a bit lost in his thoughts. We could tell that he spoke with passion. This subject mattered to him.

He started by stating his sadness and disappointment about Ibbu's relapse to his old drug dealing habits. He then went on presenting himself and his work. He works for the centre for social entrepreneurship, which is active all around Skane, and has been dealing with all kinds of social issues for the last 10 years. This initiative was started from grassroots organisations and non-formal adult educational platforms, with a strong sense of learning in the methodology they follow. They welcome all initiatives that aim to produce social benefits. They have very low thresholds. They accept anything, from a barely formulated idea, to an already established business. They help with various parts of the process, such as financing, organisation, communication etc. They're a team of 3-4 people, funded by public means, working closely with a massive network of all sorts of people.

Niklas proceeded by presenting his side of Ibbu's story, stressing however that he doesn't consider what Ibbu told us untrue. It is just the way he felt and experienced things from his

perspective. 'They were young people from socially deprived neighbourhoods in Malmo' he said, places 'where there are hand grenades and burning parts, and people on the streets shooting people'. 'They walked in the city hall and met the youth coordinator, who is a friend of mine'. This friend of Niklas', Mimi, took them to Niklas and asked him to guide them. 'So, I met the guys', Niklas told us, 'and these guys had very low capacities in language and knowledge of how things run and work in finance [...] but they had really high capacity in knowing the ways of the streets, knowing which houses had drugs, they knew the language of the streets, they knew who to talk to, how to talk, how to dress and how to meet the people there, the drug dealers and the kids'. In short, they were highly skilled in areas no other social worker was. Niklas also added they were very engaged in helping their peers and doing something good both for themselves and society.

Niklas redirected them back to the municipality because his organisation lacked the finances to materialise their idea, but used all of his time for a long period of time to help them get things running. 'So we started a capacity building program to hire a coach for them to guide them through how to organise' he tells us, a coach to help them through all the processes they lacked the skills to complete. But the guys didn't have the patience needed and they didn't seem to understand how things work on this level. 'Why don't you just give us 1 million?' they asked. 'We want this place, we want it equipped, and we want 1 million'. However, Niklas says, that's not how things work, 'if this is publicly funded, you have to follow some rules [...] there's no way you can get one million to give to ex drug dealers. What happens if there's a fire or a burglary, or someone gets hurt? If all the money disappears? So, we hired a person to help them build their capacities with the ambition to get funding in 2-3 steps.' In this process, Ibbu and his friends were fully supported, 'cuddled to death' (sic) as Niklas puts it, because 'the story here is dynamite! People from the streets stop selling drugs, organise other kids... but the guys showed a great level of distrust, turning down many offers for a venue, out of fear that someone might hijack their idea'.

So the first signs of friction start to appear on the matter of the venue that would house Ibbu's initiative. Other problems arise with the addition of the state appointed coach to the team, who tries to organise the kids. 'Why should we wake up in the morning and discuss this and this? Why do i have to learn this? Can't we meet at 11? I can't meet at 9, 'cos I'm up smoking weed all night'. At first, everybody was very tolerant. They tried to make the boys understand that this behaviour is not going to get them what they want, that they have to show discipline and play by the rules to get their idea going. Later, two even more serious incidents drive the initiative to its early death. First, 'some of the guys were caught smoking and selling drugs in one of the places they were trying to build up their business'. Then, 'one of them [...] collapsed in a drug frenzy, so they had to drive him to the hospital. He did not overdose, but something happened. When this happened, after some time, the schools and the municipally got out and said 'we're not funding this

basement where people sell drugs, this is not where tax money should go'. So everyone got really afraid. From being cuddled to death to a total no-no of working with these guys. [...] and they went back to the streets, leaving them with a big distrust for the system and leaving the system very, very afraid of supporting similar initiatives in the future'.

Niklas believes that there are three issues that have to be solved in the future in order to work with untraditional initiatives like this one, that don't fit in the regular processes. 'One issue is length' he says, 'if we want to solve the problems on the streets, in the Malmo context, we have to find a quick way to support these initiatives. We have to have some easy access for urgent money to support people that do things in a non-traditional way [...] this would certainly pay off in a 20 years perspective'. Secondly, trust is needed 'so that they can collaborate with each other. To me it's crazy that they didn't collaborate with other NGOs. They're working on the same need, helping youth etc. There was a big distrust that they were getting high jacked, if we could counter that in some way...' The third step that has to be taken, is 'the addition of people that could help them with their social problems, drug use or family problems etc...' People that can support these individuals socially and psychologically, and guide them smoothly through the process. What is needed, Niklas concludes, 'is some kind of interface between different sectors for supporting this kind of entrepreneurship'.

The procedure for the establishment of these social ventures, Niklas says, 'is not especially designed for Malmo, it's especially designed for Sweden. [...] the design and the system works, but not for all initiatives. There are some cutting edge [...] challenges that are so difficult that they cannot be solved within the system. There, you need to have some other flexibility, another element wrapping this... resources to put in... in an untraditional way. When it's an untraditional initiative, you can't have traditional ways of solving it. You have to have innovative solutions for difficult social problems. We don't have this today'. The future doesn't seem to hold the solution for this problem either. 'I'm not even sure how it should look like', Niklas tells us.

4.5. The Social Innovation Strategist – Region Skane

We were given Thomas' contact information by Caroline, our thesis supervisor. After a short telephone call, we arranged to meet in his office at Region Skane in Malmo, to conduct this interview. We walked in to the beautiful building near the river that houses the organisation, and waited for Thomas in the lobby area. After a few minutes, he appeared and proposed we follow him to the cafeteria to have our interview there, as there was a lack of available rooms. We explained that in order to have a fruitful discussion and record it, we needed a quieter place, so we moved to a very small room; one that reminded us of a police interrogation room.

Thomas started explaining what he does, and both his nervousness and passion were obvious by the way he jumped between topics. He started by explaining his organisation's

responsibilities. '[We are in] Region Skane at the department for regional development, [...] we are working with business development, [...] our main task is to create a system for innovation and entrepreneurship. We try to develop the system, we try to bring in new aspects to the system, and we try to be the actor that is in between all other actors. [...]. We are part of so many different cooperations, working between different organisations, working between the businesses in Skane, but also to be the actor that is between existing businesses and the universities and the support system.' Thomas and his group do not have any authority over these collaborating organisations though. 'That is really challenging to be the guys who are in between, but without a formal authority to take decisions over people, so our main task is to create development. [...] You can say that we have three different tools to work with; we have some small money, [...] so we can support development financially. But we can also support with knowledge, with contacts, networks, combining people, create meetings, small events, and stuff like that. But I think that [...] the most important tool that we have, [...] is to disturb people's minds, people's norms within the system'.

Understanding our confusion over the exact responsibilities and actions his office in charge of, Thomas provided us with a concrete example. 'The Somali group is the most excluded group in Sweden. [...] If you investigate how many percent of the group do businesses in Sweden it is 0.02%, [...] so it is about 25 or 30 Somali enterprises in Sweden, and that is kind of a shocking result if you do an international comparison. If you go to the UK or the States, the Somalis are famous for being entrepreneurial. [...] So, [...] since a couple of years ago, [...] we financially support a centre called the "Somali information of business centre" [...] to become a bridge between the group and the whole support system for entrepreneurship and innovation, and the society as a whole because, basically, what they have found out in that project is that there is huge mistrust in the group towards the society. [...] There is no lack of support for entrepreneurship in Sweden, [...] we have between 80 or 100 different actors that are working with support to entrepreneurship and innovation, just in Skane.' The problem is that minority ethnic groups, like the Somalis, feel excluded from this support structure. 'They think the whole Swedish system is so confusing, and they don't believe there is a system for support. They think that the tax system is so confusing; I mean, you know, it is a mismatching trust.' To make the group gain trust towards the system, Region Skane supported this initiative within the community. 'It is run by and owned by Somalis. [...] Well-educated Somalis, and the whole idea is to of course be a bridge. [...] They have trust from the group because they are Somalis, they are well known as experienced, well educated; they are role models and they work with trust, but they work to connect the group to the system in order to be a bridge. [...] I think that's a very interesting and attractive model of how we could use to create new bonds, so to speak, between the existing norm, the system, and the groups that we can't find.'

After a lengthy discussion on Thomas' organisation's responsibilities, we moved on to our main subject, Ibbu's narrative. Thomas seemed very thoughtful and could not provide us with straight answers. On the one hand, he believes that the main goal should be to 'have more innovations, more entrepreneurship in order to create a better GDP, [...] to increase taxes in order to create more welfare.' A welfare system that could take care of people in Ibbu's position. On the other hand, even if he does not seem to believe that these unproductive individuals could ever provide as much as the legit businessmen and entrepreneurs to economy, he 'like[s] the idea of working with, and to find and to support the development of methods for helping [...] the unproductive ones, [...] to help them to become more productive even if they will not be that productive'. Thomas believes that Region Skane is doing its part trying to reintegrate unproductive people into productive economy, and it is lowering the entry barriers to be able to include more people from all sorts of backgrounds in the process, but, he adds, 'of course, more could be done'.

When we ask him what can be done to motivate the unproductive entrepreneurs and to increase their self-confidence and belief towards the system, he has no clear answer, as 'we are not the right actor to ask that question to, [...] our responsibility is to work with regional development, and the right actors to us when it comes to working towards individuals is probably municipalities, I think because they have the explicit task within, for example, social work, labor market issues to work with supporting individuals.' He adds that the system is complicated. Bureaucracy and the existence of so many different actors that have to work together makes it hard. 'Sometimes, it feels like it's a total mess'. They are trying to find a solution though, by collaborating with a massive network of NGOs that are more capable of handling these matters. '[We have] an agreement that Region Skane has decided together with this organisation called NAT; they represent 21,000 NGOs in Skane. [...] So that is one example of how we can do [it]. But of course it is one thing to write an agreement, it is something else to implement that agreement into our everyday practices'.

Concerning the topic of how the policies directed towards promotion productive entrepreneurship in Skane are designed, Thomas says that it is a collaboration towards players in the region, and external actors. 'On the one hand they had regional meetings, but they also had national meetings, in order to have feedback from the national level. But for the most important part of the development of that strategy they invited international researchers and expertise from OECD, in order to get feedback for the strategy before they took the final decision'.

The end of our conversation with Thomas raised more questions and concerns in our minds. Thomas and his organisation, are trying to do the best they can, within their means and responsibilities, to promote productive entrepreneurship and development in general on a regional context. But, again, the mistrust, and the slow, linear public mechanism do not provide a fertile ground for initiatives aiming at aiding unproductive entrepreneurs find their way to grow.

4.6. The Left Wing Politician – Social Democrats

We had to go through many people in the currently ruling party of the Social Democrats before getting a hold of Albert. His personal assistant, who obviously takes care of arranging the busy politician's schedule was the one we were in contact with, and the person who finally set this meeting up. We met with Albert at Malmo city hall, the same place we had met the Swedish Democrats representative, Patrick, a few weeks earlier. When we went up to the seventh floor and walked to his office, we found the vice mayor talking on the phone in his fairly big office that had a desk, a meeting table, some chairs, and nice pictures on its wall. We waited a bit for him to finish his conversation, and introduced ourselves. He was casually dressed, wearing jeans and a V-neck sweater.

Albert started by talking about his responsibilities as a vice mayor. 'I am deputy mayor in Malmo since 2010. I have responsibility for questions about labor market, adult education in upper secondary school, and also safety and security issues'. We then cut straight to the chase, and started talking about Ibbu and the narrative we had sent him beforehand. 'We have some group of kids who was in this situation in Malmo so I think I recognise it. I have seen it before, and the story about young men who are not occupied by anything always leads [...] to some kind of problems. If it is drug abuse or drug selling, or [...] violent extremism and so on. The problem is always unoccupied young men'. Albert clearly believes that the main reason behind choosing an unproductive career, is the lack of employment, which leads to individuals not feeling included in society.

To combat this huge social problem, the Social Democrats aim to address it as early as possible; at a very young age. 'We are talking about [...] how to create a social sustainable city. That is the idea of making huge investments early on in life to get young children through school [...]. Each year we have 13% of the 6 year olds who are starting preschool that will not make it. They will not manage, they will not finish school. Many of them will end up in criminality, in unemployment, some of them will get diagnosis as ADHD or something like that, and we know that it is not only a tragedy for the children. It is also a huge economic loss for society. So this is a win-win; if we can do that kind of investment; much early on in life. As older as the child gets, the harder, and more expensive it gets to try as a society to bring them back and include them into society.'

But how about people like Ibbu, people that are already 'lost'? Albert admits that things are very hard in these situations. The main problem, Albert suggests, in line with many of our other interviewees, is Ibbu's mistrust towards society and the 'system', and his lack of self-belief, his low Emotional Quotient, or EQ, as it is commonly referred to. 'You don't only need work to go to, you also need to have the right mentality, the right self-esteem to be a part of the society and I think that is very important. We are [...] implementing a Danish method [...] which addresses both IQ and

EQ to learn that [...] you need to have education to get a job, but you also need to understand the social codes that are in a work place.’ Albert goes on by telling us that similar methods are already in place to help ex-cons reintegrate into society.

We take the chance here to question him on this subject. We tell him what we have learned by the cop we interviewed. Legislation in Sweden is too lenient, 80-90% of all prisoners are repeat offenders, and many of them view jail as a ‘vacation’ (sic). Albert strongly disagrees. ‘Prison is not a 5 star hotel. It is a ridiculous comparison. In Sweden [...] we don't call it prison, [...] we call it care for criminals [...]. It is not only about a penalty from society. It is also about creating a possibility to, when they leave prison not to go back to criminality, to change their mind and change the way of living their life and I think it is quite important. We can compare it to many other countries who have harder legislation than we have, [...] where the prisons are poor, where it is only about the penalty from society. Do they have a lower crime rate there? Or is it higher? Well, when I look at other countries, it is higher. This shows me that [...] most people [...] would under other circumstances, [...] choose another life. And I think we need to remember that, as a society. It is about how we look at humanity; which chances we give each other. if you have made a wrong doing, if you made a mistake, if you don't have the right living circumstances, we as a society, have to address that when [...] when we make the judgement about that person’. Albert goes on talking about his parties view on drug laws. ‘Our party has always had a harsh view on drug abuse and drug selling and so on and I think this is in Swedish culture’.

The main problem that drives individuals towards unproductive entrepreneurship, according to Albert, is the high unemployment rate that has skyrocketed since 1990, going from a mere 1.2% to 7.5%. The prime issue here, is the lack of what he calls middle jobs. ‘If you look at the labor market in Malmo, [...] we are really short of what we call middle qualifying jobs. We have the high qualified jobs because we have many companies; they need really qualified people. But the problem is that we lack the middle. So the middle who have a good education are pushed down to the low qualified jobs, and those people who lack education and skills are left out’. To tackle that, the government is trying to ‘change our educational system to get people [...] better education and [...] have more parts with the vocational. [...] The main thing is to address the young men who are tired of school [...]. The great problem is if they drop out of school and so on. We know that will create huge problems in the future and they will not find work because obviously the companies can choose other higher skilled work force and so on. So we are trying to address that but it is hard because we have, nowadays, [...] a business community moving quite rapidly and knowledge has become a thing [...] that you always have to renew. You have to educate yourself your whole life long.’ Albert believes that the policies and programs in place are solid, and that many of them have

been designed specifically for Malmo, taking in account its peculiarities, its specific problems and weaknesses.

As for the reasons people choose the drug dealing lifestyle, Albert thinks that ‘for many young men, it is a way of feeling respected. Respected in the society who they feel [...] hasn't respected them [...]. Perhaps not included in society at large, but included in the area where they live. [...] They think it is a way of getting the income to feel that kind of respect. I think it is very hard, but we have to [...] try to show the other ways that you can find in order to feel respected, feel that kind of self-esteem, feel that you are included in society’. Lastly, Albert surprised us by stating that these tries from the Swedish government to help unqualified individuals start their own businesses are ‘naive’, and lead, more often than not, to failure. ‘We are trying to support people but sometimes, we don't want to realise that we are supporting something that will never be that sustainable company [...]. I have seen many of those ideas, a couple of years ago we had a large project, where the idea was that we should create this bazaar, like you have in Turkey [...], where people [...] could sell spices, [...] or something like that. In Sweden, [...] you can't have an income of 25000 or 30000 KR each month by selling spices or by mending shoes. It is naive. I think this is a problem that we are trying to create projects, where those who participate [...] can create their own income, and in that sense have an input in their own destiny but most of the ideas that come out of that are not realistic. [...] I always say that the last one to look onto business ideas should be a civil servant. [...] Business men should look at business ideas and make a good evaluation if that business idea is good or not, but we have civil servants who are in charge of these funds and they are not always doing a good job. [...] I think it is very fundamental that in a society you respect what you are good at. We are good [...] to give people somewhere to live, we are good at giving people education and so on, but we are not good at entrepreneurship and deciding which business idea is good or not, so let the business men do that. I think that is fundamental respect for each other because you will end up disappointing people and they will be in a worse situation than they were in the beginning.’

4.7. The Sociology Professor – Lund University

Christian was one of the first people we met during the writing of our thesis. He is a teacher of sociology at Lund University, with a particular interest in crime networks. Christian had helped us before, guiding us in the right direction during our research for people to interview and literature to base our arguments on. He agreed to help us further by providing us with his sociological perspective and personal thoughts on Ibbu's narrative. For a second time, we met him in the beautiful sociology building in Paradisgatan, and sat at the round table in his office.

As we had already met Christian, there was no need for further introductions, and we cut straight to the chase. From a sociological perspective, three things stood out for him in the drug

dealer narrative. 'The first and obvious one is how much tiny details matter in life. So this guy, for instance, what would have happened if his mother was more engaged when he came to Sweden? What would have happened if he had come here with his father who was apparently a very important figure? So these tiny little circumstances that really shift your narrative often one way or another. [...] Another thing which interests me in network analysis is the position you're in social life, the relationships you have to other people and to other organisations, the kind of resources you have are really what defines the constraints and opportunities, and I think this is what this story is really about. You pursue the opportunities that you have. [...] Once there is a decent opportunity, he is willing to pursue that. [...] He is not going down the criminal path because of the high, or a good payback. It's basically the only thing available to him. And that is, I think, the standard [sociological] explanation [...] for why people end up here or there. It's not really that they're forward looking, utility maximisers. It's rather that they find themselves in this social position, this social path, and they just have a little set of alternatives. [...] And then the other thing, which is also obvious, from a sociological point of view, in the story, is the drive for belonging. Being a meaningful part of something which is bigger than yourself. I think very few people are motivated by personal gain, in a more utilitarian or monetary sense. I think we thrive on the relationships that we have with others, [...] our identities are mirrored in our surroundings, so we need to have that meaningful social environment around us. [...] That's why he ends up just smoking weed with his friends. It's a way of life, you are someone in a group. You get a sort of value just by hanging out with the other guys. And if there's nothing else on offer, then that's better than nothing'.

It is obvious that, as all of our interviewees do, Christian looks at the matter from his own perspective, putting greater value to its sociological parameters. When we asked him about the way sociology aims to provide a solution, Christian laughed. 'Unfortunately sociologists are good at defining the problems, but not so good at solving them. In a way this is the whole story about segregation I think. You get large parts of the population that don't feel they belong and they have to find other ways of dealing with it. [...] School of course has a tremendous role here. [...] It's a failure of the school to a large extent, to allow these kids to drift out. And that would be the way to solve the problem I think. [...] You used to have several opportunities when you went to upper secondary school in Sweden. You could go for 1 or 2 year education. They were very practical with this. Low academic content, but you learnt a few tricks, and a trade maybe, and you got a meaningful education, I think, that could bring you further. And then, with this whole idea that everybody has to [...] go to university, I think we failed a large part of the younger generations. Just forcing them towards this academic stuff, which they have no interest in and not even maybe the capacity for. So you have to have an ecology of education, choices. We're all different and you

have to have diversity in the educational system. Currently I don't think we have that. We did when I was a kid, but that was 35 years ago'.

Another thing that has to be rethought, and designed differently is urban planning. 'Housing segregation of course is extremely damaging, because you don't get a mixture of people. [...] That would be my sociological recipe, make sure you have a society where everybody crosses paths with everybody else. There are different ways of doing this, and it probably involves social engineering, but I think we need to do it, because at the end of the day, it's only the individual who can actually change, no-one else can drag me up if I don't want to. What I can see if I get exposed to other people's life stories, I can see the alternatives, and I can start thinking about them. Society has to offer these resources'. Christian laughs awkwardly, 'I am an embarrassing academic, I have very little to say about practical solutions'.

Christian, surprisingly, isn't very concerned about the crime levels in Malmo. 'Crime isn't a major challenge to the society as it is. Although I suspect that if the segregation continues as [...] we've seen in the past 15-20 years, one of these days there might be a tipping point where it really turns bad. We think that Malmo is a horrible and dangerous place, but it really isn't, in the scale of things. So I'm not sure if crime is a threat or a challenge in that respect. [...] Every society has its own crime, I guess it's also part of what human society is about, right? Everybody won't fit in, that's the thing'.

But what caused this segregation? 'I guess [Sweden] was for a very long time a very homogenous society, culturally and religiously speaking, and I think immigration was fine as long as there were demands from the labour market. But I don't think this was ever a very open society. I don't think we were ever particularly welcoming to the outside world. But it's also a very static society, if you have noticed. Swedes are born, grow up and die in the same city. Maybe you go to university in some other towns but you tend to rotate back. [...] It's not a country of immigrants basically, and it takes many generations for that self-image and the general culture shift. [...] That's one of the things, it's not very inviting, and the other, it's nicer to stay with people that resemble yourself, speak the same language and, if you should pick a neighbourhood, you would go where the people are similar to yourself. It's the sort of natural choice. And if you allow these different parts of the country to remain homogenous, that's how you end up with these very segregated neighbourhoods. So you find the middle class in one, and the working class in the other, the Swedes in one, and the immigrants in another. So it's partly due to preferences and I think this is where you need some sort of regulation. You can't just let people do it the way they like, it's not optimal for everybody. So if you want to change it, you could build differently, a mixture of different kinds of buildings. I think one of the big mistakes was one of these big housing programs we had in the 60s and 70s, where you had places like Rosengard, you know very unattractive places to live in for the

affluent middle class, they never even considered it'. The effects of this segregation are, of course, catastrophic for society. 'You get this hierarchy, resource hierarchy, or income hierarchy, and the neighbourhoods that are in the left hand of this distribution, which are resource poor, is where people will have no opportunities, and will have to struggle much harder to make their way. So it creates inequality in opportunities, [which is] a huge problem for society'.

Christian continued by talking about the changes that should be made to the Swedish labour market, if it were to become more accessible to everyone. 'You have to have more entry level jobs, which don't pay as good, but at least offer you a road into society again, being part of something'. We thanked Christian and left, perplexed with the multitude of opinions and perspectives we received on the topic, and what to make of them.

4.8. The Social Worker – City of Malmo

Mimi was the link between Ibbu and the 'system', so we knew we had to interview her in order to get a clear picture of what happened to 'Feed Us', the name of the social venture launched by Ibbu and his friends. During our interview with Niklas from Publikt entrepreneurship, her involvement in the case came up, so we asked him to give us her contact information. From the first email exchange, she was very helpful, and granted us a meeting at her workplace, in Helsingborg city hall. After a few minutes of waiting, a young, energetic Mimi appeared, and led us to a big, minimalistic conference room, where we would have our discussion. Throughout the interview, her love for the kids in Malmo - which she called 'her kids' - was very obvious, as was her passion for making a positive change in their lives

Mimi, as everyone calls her, has been working as a strategic planner for the city of Helsingborg for a year now. Her areas of responsibility are public health, social sustainability, and anti-discrimination. Between 2006 and 2014, she was in charge of the youth programs in the city office in Malmo. 'I was [...] trying to develop the city's different departments, in order to be able to listen more to youth and make sure to grant their rights according to the convention of the rights of the child. [...] It was a new thing. I mean, youth as all inhabitants should have their right to influence but you need certain new methods to work with young people. And in 2006 [...] I was in charge of a youth forum which was on the operative level; I was meeting youth [...] that wanted to work in order to make Malmo [a] better city for young people. So that could range from school events to anti-drug events, cultural nights, yea different things. [...] I also started up a project together with the Red Cross for families; newly arrived, and also families that have been evicted. [...] That is where my passion started; working with children that were not so well off, and I took that into my work in the city of Malmo as well.

That's how she met Ibbu. 'I got a phone call from Ibbu [and his friends], and I could barely understand what they were saying. Their Swedish [...] wasn't very good, so they handed the phone

to this older man and I was talking to him. I said it is better to come down to City hall and we can meet and talk in person because I couldn't really understand what they wanted. [...] They came with handwritten notes, and I could see by the look on their face that they were, maybe not high, but they were... you learn to see the signs, and I was like OK, they are not the usual group of kids that go to the city office. And it was cute, or sad, or something, that they came with four hand written notes and they said they have been around looking for the municipality. We sat together there and I listened to their idea about the project; it was a bit unorganised, they didn't really know what they wanted.[...] They had an idea about these old bikes or furniture that people just throw away here in Sweden, and they said this furniture could be used in Western Africa, where we come from. They said we wanted to do a project where we renovate all these things [...] and then ship them down in containers by boat to Africa [...] I was really touched by their idea, [...] it is exactly these kids that need our help'. So Mimi tries to organise the youngsters. She tries to point them in the right direction to materialise their idea. But the extensive paperwork and general slow rhythms of the state mechanism, do not agree with the kids' temperament. After some waiting time and frustration, Mimi puts them in contact with a community base program, and the guys finally get approved and receive a subsidy to start working on their project.

However, shortly after things get set up, the problems start. 'They were accused [...] of smoking weed and doing drugs in the space. I have no idea what is true or not, I wasn't part of it, but I kept telling them that you are not supposed to, you can't mix work and pleasure.' Then, a meeting between Mimi and the 'Feed Us' representatives goes very wrong. 'Gessim and Ibbu were talking to the researchers, and David was there but he was acting really, really weird. He would say the weirdest things and after a while I asked him, David do you want to come with me? And we walked out and I was like [...] what drugs have you been talking? He was acting really crazy like I was freaked. [...] Some of the researchers [...] said, you have to take him to the emergency psychiatric, so I just went in a cab with him, the other kids came with me. Then in the waiting room he was just [...] tripping out, throwing stuff... It was pretty crazy. He met with the doctors and he would stay there for, I think, 2 weeks'.

That's when the state authorities that had been trying to help the youngsters, got fed up, and dissociate themselves from the social venture, which leads to its demise. Mimi, on the other hand, believed they should continue supporting them, and was trying to use her influence to back the kids. 'I was saying OK are we going to let these kids down again? They are going to fail, they are going to fail one or two or three times but we can't really give up that easily, we can't stick to our rules, [...] but I wasn't their boss. I couldn't tell them you have to continue with this'. Mimi believes the city ought to pay special attention to these kids. 'I think that's how the city should work. To get one person that is on the wrong track if you understand, like in criminality, or taking drugs or

whatever. If you get one youth [...] to become [a] productive member of the society, they city is going to make money on that, [...] but it takes a lot of work’.

Mimi believes the system is very rigid, and has to change in order to be able to make a change for antisocial youngsters. ‘[The procedures] are very democratic, everyone has the same criteria but for people that are not familiar with the system, [...] the language, [...] the organisations in the Swedish context, [...] they are not going to be on equal terms applying for the grants’. She suggests that those kids need more support from the authorities. ‘Number one is when they had their own idea, to really support it. When they come to us and say we want to do this, then we should go out of our way to make sure it is going to happen’.

Mimi is still in contact with Ibbu and some of the other guys. ‘I talked to him the other day and he said he has been down to the space in that area and says still nothing going on and they are still trying to do the same thing. They [the organisation working with Ibbu], have contacted him saying oh can you help us getting youth here? And he doesn't want to help them; he feels let down. I also think that they [Ibbu and Co.] know they didn't do up to their agreement either but I still think they feel disappointed because there is another project renovating bikes [...], so he feels like someone has taken their idea. [...] I think they feel let down by Lasse [project leader] and Jalmar [person who was helping them establishing their venture]. That cooperation didn't work out. But I also think that they understand that they didn't do everything according to the plan either, I think they know that’.

Mimi’s story is in great part in line with Niklas’, but she also feels, that although the guys were difficult to work with, and did not meet their part of the agreement, the system should have done more, as it was a rare chance to really make a difference for unprivileged youngsters that have been down the ‘wrong’ path, and wanted to change their lives around. This is highlighted by her last words during our discussion. ‘Of course, the responsibility is on the city’.