

ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND INTEGRATION IN THE GLOBAL CITY:
THE CASES OF REFUGEE-ORIGIN ENTREPRENEURSHIP
IN BIRMINGHAM AND COLOGNE

by

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ABSTRACT

The integration of refugees in European societies and labour markets is one of the key social issues of our time. While much of the public discourse is focused on the role of wage labour for integration, the role of entrepreneurship has only played a minor part to date. The gap in policy and practice can also be observed in the literature: neither entrepreneurship nor integration research have explicitly considered the relation between the two phenomena.

Taking this blind spot as a starting point, in this thesis I explore the experiences of refugee-origin entrepreneurship and integration in two major European cities, Birmingham and Cologne. The main data sources are biographical interviews with 42 refugee-origin entrepreneurs who have arrived in the UK or Germany between the 1990s and 2018. Their experiences are complemented with insights from 13 key informant interviews and secondary data sources. Data collection took place prior to the COVID-19 pandemic.

The first findings section is dedicated to the process of becoming an entrepreneur. Which individual and contextual factors motivate refugee-origin entrepreneurs to engage in entrepreneurship? How do refugees access and use different kinds of resources to become entrepreneurs in their host country? Using an extended mixed embeddedness concept as a theoretical lens, I find that despite multifaceted individual motivations the general starting point for entrepreneurship among refugee-origin entrepreneurs is the wish to improve the current life and work condition. Entrepreneurship is perceived as the best alternative after considering individual resources, self-concept and the image of

their future self, in relation to the opportunities available on the market. The process of becoming an entrepreneur is marked by a flexible and sometimes creative adaptation to the context, drawing on existing and new social, human-cultural and financial capital resources, as well as personal attributes.

In the second findings section, I ask 'how does entrepreneurship impact on refugees' integration processes?'. Using the conceptual integration model by Spencer and Charsley (2016) and Phillimore's (2020) refugee-integration-opportunity structure concept as a combined theoretical lens, I investigate five domains of integration in relation to entrepreneurship: structural, cultural, social, identity and civic/political integration. The results show that entrepreneurship can have a supporting, as well as a hindering effect alongside these domains of integration, and that these effects are strongly related to the local and national contexts (policies, culture, people), the (local) opportunity structure and time. Whereas findings across most of the domains are different per location, the research also sheds light on the overarching role of entrepreneurship for identity integration. Furthermore, the findings challenge normative views on integration in the context of (super)diverse, urban settings. 'Intercultural integration' is suggested as a complementary domain of integration.

The study makes several contributions to the literature. First, it suggests conceptual advancements in integration and refugee/migrant entrepreneurship studies. Second, it combines two integration concepts with different focal points and tests them empirically. As a result, an extended theory of entrepreneurship and integration is suggested. Furthermore, the study provides a foundation to critically reflect on the emerging field of refugee entrepreneurship studies.

To my grandma

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	
Acknowledgements.....	
Table of contents	
List of tables, figures and boxes	
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Refugees and integration in the 21 st century: the UK and Germany	1
1.2 The refugee entrepreneurship paradox.....	4
1.3 Key terms and concepts	6
1.4 Arriving at the research problem	7
1.5 Outline of the thesis.....	11
Chapter 2: Conceptual framing of refugee-origin entrepreneurship and integration	15
2.1 Refugees and entrepreneurship	15
2.1.1 Entrepreneurship as a field of research.....	15
2.1.2 Migrant-origin entrepreneurship.....	17
2.1.3 Refugee-origin entrepreneurship	26
2.1.4 Entrepreneurial motivation factors.....	31
2.1.5 Resources to become an entrepreneur	38
2.1.6 Mixed embeddedness.....	42
2.1.7 Refugee-origin entrepreneurship through the lens of an extended mixed embeddedness concept.....	45
2.2 Entrepreneurship and integration: the missing link.....	48
2.2.1 Integration definition and critical perspectives	49
2.2.2 Integration as a multidirectional process.....	52
2.2.3 Integration as a multidimensional process	53
2.2.4 Integration as a multilevel process	56
2.2.5 Integration as an individual, context- and time-specific process.....	60
2.2.6 What is known about entrepreneurship and integration?	62
2.2.7 A basic conceptual model for entrepreneurship and integration.....	67
2.3 Summary and research questions.....	70
Chapter 3: Research Methodology	72
3.1 Introduction	72
3.2 Interpretivist paradigm	72
3.3 Positionality and reflexivity	74
3.3.1 Researchers' motivation	75

3.3.2 Role of the researcher	77
3.4 Ethics, informed consent and data protection.....	78
3.5 Research design	80
3.5.1 Multiple case study approach	82
3.5.2 Data sources	88
3.5.3 Sampling.....	92
3.5.4 Data collection	95
3.5.5 Data analysis	108
3.6 Limitations of methods	116
3.7 Conclusions	118
Chapter 4: The research contexts	119
4.1 Introduction	119
4.2 Global cities with changing patterns of migration	119
4.2.1 Birmingham: from diverse to superdiverse	119
4.2.2 Cologne: multicultural with changing countries of origin	121
4.3 National approaches to refugee integration.....	123
4.3.1 UK: dual and increasingly restrictive	124
4.3.2 Germany: decreasing restrictions for some	128
4.4 Entrepreneurship contexts	132
4.4.1 National level	132
4.4.2 Local level.....	136
4.5 Conclusion.....	141
Chapter 5: Becoming an entrepreneur	143
5.1 Introduction	143
5.2 Entrepreneurial motivations	144
5.2.1 Individual resources – motivations concerning the past	145
5.2.2 Self-concept – motivations concerning the present	147
5.2.3 Future self – motivations concerning the future	150
5.2.4 Contextual push factors	154
5.2.5 Contextual pull factors	157
5.2.6 Conclusion: variety and interplay of different motivational factors	162
5.3 Navigating the context	164
5.3.1 Using and accessing human-cultural capital	166
5.3.2 Roles of social capital	175
5.3.3 Using and accessing financial capital	184

5.3.4 The entrepreneurial agent: personal attributes	187
5.3.5 Conclusion: flexible adaptation to the context	189
Chapter 6: Entrepreneurship and integration.....	192
6.1 Introduction	192
6.2 Perceptions of the integration opportunity structure	194
6.3 Structural integration.....	200
6.3.1 Socio-economic mobility.....	200
6.3.2 Integration into the entrepreneurship ecosystem.....	204
6.4 Cultural integration	211
6.5 Social integration	222
6.6 Identity integration	228
6.7 Civic/political integration	232
6.8 Conclusion: individual integration trajectories, omnipresence of context	238
Chapter 7: Discussion.....	240
7.1 Introduction	240
7.2 Different pathways into entrepreneurship	240
7.2.1 The motivations of refugee-origin entrepreneurs	240
7.2.2 Modes of flexible adaptation to the context	243
7.3 Refugee-origin entrepreneurship and integration.....	250
7.3.1 The bigger picture	250
7.3.2 Entrepreneurship and integration in context	252
7.3.3 A conceptual framework of entrepreneurship and integration.....	257
7.3.4 Intercultural integration as a complementary domain	260
7.4 Summary	262
Chapter 8: Conclusion and outlook.....	264
8.1 Contributions to research	264
8.2 Reflections on limitations.....	265
8.3 Implications for future research	267
8.3.1 Methodological implications.....	267
8.3.2 Theoretical implications.....	268
8.4 Implications for policy and practice	272
8.5 Final statement	274
Bibliography	276
Appendices.....	310
Appendix 1: Journal articles and book chapters published on the topic of entrepreneurship and integration.	310

Appendix 2: Consent forms and interview schedules for entrepreneurs and key informants, English and German.....	313
Appendix 3: Codebook research questions 1-3	356
Appendix 4: The sample	360

LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES AND BOXES

Table 1: Factors for migrant-origin entrepreneurship, as mentioned by Kloosterman et al. (1999), Kloosterman & Rath (2001) and Kloosterman (2010)	43
Table 2: Summary of the research design.....	82
Table 3: Summary of sampling strategies	92
Table 4: Overview of study participants (qualitative interviews).....	95
Table 5: Characteristics of key informant respondents (gender, linked to formal organisation yes/no, role; n=13).....	101
Table 6: Characteristics of refugee-origin respondents (gender, age, country of origin, time of arrival; n=42)	103
Table 7: Educational levels and professional experiences among refugee-origin respondents.....	104
Table 8: The businesses of (active and aspiring) refugee-origin entrepreneurs by type of opportunity and sector	106
Table 9: Business characteristics (businesses by legal form of business, number of formal employees).....	108
Table 10: Overview of population and migration in Birmingham and Cologne	122
Table 11: Conditions for starting a business in Germany and the UK.....	133
Table 12: Origin and forms of human-cultural capital mentioned by respondents (entrepreneurs and key informants).....	168
Table 13: Kinds, forms and origin of social capital mentioned by respondents (entrepreneurs and key informants).....	177
Table 14: Origin and forms of financial capital mentioned by respondents (entrepreneurs and key informants).....	185
Table 15: Overview of self-assessed business performances (entrepreneurs).....	201
Table 17: Awareness of and participation in elements of the entrepreneurship ecosystem as mentioned in the interviews (entrepreneurs and key informants)	204
Table 17: Aspects of cultural integration mentioned in the interviews (entrepreneurs and key informants).....	212
Table 18: Aspects of intercultural integration mentioned in the interviews (entrepreneurs and key informants).....	218
Table 19: Forms of civic engagement mentioned in the interviews (entrepreneurs and key informants)	233
Figure 1: Theories to explain migrant-origin entrepreneurship over time	22
Figure 2: Mixed embeddedness concept for (migrant-origin) business development (based on Kloosterman et al., 1999).....	24
Figure 3: Elements influencing engagement in entrepreneurship: an extended mixed embeddedness concept (based on Kloosterman et al., 1999; Kloosterman, 2010)	46
Figure 4: Domains of integration (Spencer & Charsley, 2016).....	55
Figure 5: Integration as a multilevel process	56

Figure 6: Refugee-integration-opportunity structure (Phillimore, 2020)	61
Figure 7: Conceptual model of integration processes and effectors (adapted from Spencer & Charsley, 2016 and Phillimore, 2020).....	67
Figure 8: The sampling process in Birmingham (only entrepreneurs)	99
Figure 9: The sampling process in Cologne (only entrepreneurs).....	100
Figure 10: Typology of the opportunity structure: accessibility and growth potential of markets (based on Kloosterman, 2010).....	105
Figure 11: Extract from the final coding template related to the theme ‘contextual motivational factors’	114
Figure 12: Self-employment rates of migrant groups in the UK (study migrants, economic migrants, family migrants, asylum migrants).....	134
Figure 13: Self-employment rates of migrant groups (asylum migration, work, family migration) in Germany as of 2019	135
Figure 14: Interplay of motivational factors on the individual and contextual side.....	163
Figure 15: Elements of business formation based on an extended mixed embeddedness concept	165
Figure 16: Roles of social capital during the foundation phase of entrepreneurship ...	179
Figure 17: Conceptual model of integration processes and effectors (adapted from Spencer & Charsley 2016; Charsley & Spencer, 2019).....	192
Figure 18: Street and interior views from Small Heath and Lozells, Birmingham	218
Figure 19: Street and interior views from refugee-run businesses in Cologne.....	220
Figure 20: Elements of business formation and links between different individual and social resources.....	249
Figure 21: The relation between entrepreneurship and integration, and the main mediating factors.....	258
Box 1: Entrepreneurial self-image. Sheri’s story.	149
Box 2: Flexibility and having control. Farid’s story.	153
Box 3: Blocked mobility. Neda’s story.	154
Box 4: Interplay of motivational factors. Rima’s story.	160
Box 5: Building on selected aspects of human-cultural capital. Imaan’s story.	170
Box 6: Building on business ownership experience from abroad. Abbas’ story.....	172
Box 7: Mixed networks. Walid’s story.	181
Box 8: Entrepreneurship as civic engagement. Ephrem’s story.....	237

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

With the arrival of more than a million refugees in Europe during the 2015 so-called migration crisis, asylum migration has received much attention on the continent and beyond. Ongoing civil unrests, wars, climate disasters and persecution of individuals or groups will continue to force people to leave their homes. As a consequence, forced displacement of people inside their countries, to neighbouring countries and to Western societies will remain a reality on the long term, and with it questions around refugees' integration into work and society.

In public discourse, labour market participation of refugees is often equated with integration into wage labour. Yet an increasing number of refugees have already become entrepreneurs and set up businesses across Europe, with this alternative pathway to labour market participation only recently receiving more attention in the public sphere. This study zooms in on the experiences of those who have chosen this pathway.

1.1 Refugees and integration in the 21st century: the UK and Germany

Between 2013 and 2019, 1.95 million asylum applications were submitted in Germany alone (cf. BAMF, 2020). Newcomers' arrival caused several wide-ranging reactions in the population and among governmental actors. Optimism, as some policy makers and economic actors were hopeful to integrate newly arriving refugees – many of whom were of young working age – in the labour market, where they would contribute to tackling the increasing shortage of skilled workers. Scepticism and outright opposition towards refugees and migration in general, for instance shown by the rise of the nationalist and right-wing populist political party 'Alternative für Deutschland' around the time of the 'migration crisis' (Sterphone, 2018). Conversely, the 2015 '*long summer of migration*' (Hess et al., 2017) was accompanied with an unprecedented 'welcome culture' (Willkommenskultur) with a significant share of the population engaging to support newcomers' arrival (IfD, 2018).

The UK had experienced a larger inflow of asylum seekers in the late 1990s and early 2000s, peaking with more than 84,000 asylum applications¹ in 2002 (Sturge, 2021). Between 2013 and 2016 around 200,000 asylum applications were made in the UK (cf. *ibid.*), the lower application numbers compared to some other European countries in parts due to the country's island status. During the 2015 'migration crisis', the UK only received 32,733 asylum applications, equal to 3.1% of all asylum applications in the EU (Eurostat, 2016). But despite stagnating asylum application numbers refugees remained (and still remain) a present issue in the UK media and governmental discourse around migration. A critical stance towards (refugee) migration among a share of the population is frequently mentioned as a factor in the vote for Brexit in 2016. Although Brexit support should not be limited to an anti-immigration attitude, it can be stated that an important argument of the Brexit narrative was to let fewer people into the country and thus solve 'integration problems' (Atto et al., 2020; Galandini et al., 2019; Mort & Morris, 2020). At the same time, local engagement for refugee integration in the UK is evident in initiatives such as the nation-wide City of Sanctuary² movement.

Societal and political reception contexts matter as they shape newcomers' individual integration processes (cf. Crul & Schneider, 2010; Phillimore, 2020). Likewise, countries' policy goals of 'integrating refugees' must always be seen in the light of their attitudes and approaches towards asylum migration.

Both the UK and Germany represent distinct systems of controlling asylum in-migration and approaching refugees' integration into society and work.³ In the UK⁴, a 'dual' approach to refugee integration can be observed (Bakker et al., 2016). Asylum seekers are practically excluded from integration measures and work, while those with a refugee status can access a range of welfare support measures and have unlimited access to work.

¹ The asylum application numbers refer to main applicants who applied through the in-country asylum system only.

² See <https://cityofsanctuary.org/> [accessed 06-07-2021].

³ See Chapter 4 for a detailed outline.

⁴ It should be mentioned that within the UK, Scotland has adopted a differentiated approach to refugees' integration (Mulvey, 2015). The information used in this study is based on the policy decisions made in Westminster.

Furthermore, the UK participates in several resettlement schemes⁵ whereby ‘vulnerable’ refugees are resettled to the UK and receive housing, language training and other integration support upon arrival (Martín et al., 2016; UNHCR, 2018b). Taken together, the UK approach to refugee integration is restrictive for asylum seekers, mainstreamed for recognised refugees and supportive for resettled refugees. Furthermore, refugee integration is decentralised and organised locally (Galandini et al., 2019).

In the past years, several formal barriers to refugees’ (labour market) integration were removed in Germany, making the current framework one of the least restrictive ones in Europe (cf. Martín et al., 2016). However, as of 2021 the country follows a differentiated approach to integrating newly arriving refugees, whereby asylum seekers from selected countries with a ‘good prospect of staying’ (gute Bleibeperspektive) are granted primary access to integration measures, which others are denied or only granted secondary access (Schultz, 2019; SVR-Forschungsbereich, 2018). Overall, Germany’s system around refugee integration is supportive for some, but generally complex and bureaucratic (Embiricos, 2020; SVR-Forschungsbereich, 2018). The distinct starting points for different refugee groups in Germany lead to different integration pathways for newcomers, depending on their allocation to one group or another.

Besides their distinctive characteristics, the reception contexts for refugees in both countries are in line with a wider trend of refugee reception and integration regimes in European and other (Western) countries. Refugee integration regimes tend to follow a three-folded approach as countries simultaneously aim to control and limit ‘irregular’ refugee in-migration, restrict access to integration-supporting measures for those whose asylum application is processed (or, in the case of Germany, who are statistically unlikely to stay), and accommodate the integration of those with a refugee status (Abdelhady et al., 2020; Gatrell, 2013). From a host country perspective, refugee integration policies are a balancing act between adhering to the 1951 United Nations Convention, which declared asylum as a basic human right, and refuting concerns to attract more spontaneous

⁵ There are also resettlement programmes in Germany, but relatively few refugees come into the country via this route as opposed to spontaneous arrivals (see <https://resettlement.de/aktuelle-aufnahmen/>, accessed 06-07-2021).

refugees. As a consequence, refugees overall have a subordinate role in the migration regime and are treated as the least wanted group of migrants compared to labour, family and study migrants (cf. Diehl et al., 2016; Könönen, 2018; Strang & Ager, 2010). For many refugees, arriving in the host society and engaging with the host country labour market is thus a process with many obstacles.

Longitudinal studies have shown that the distinct legal reception context leads refugees to enter the labour market later than other groups of migrants (Bakker et al., 2017; Söhn, 2019). At the same time, due to the forced and often sudden nature of their migration, refugees tend to have limited financial and material resources upon arrival. Other resources from the home country – including non-material assets such as education and professional experience – are often not transferrable to the new context (Bloch, 2002; Hartmann & Güllü, 2020). In addition, many host countries pursue a '*wage-earning and "work first" model*' (de Lange et al., 2020, p.11), backed by the idea to release pressure on social security systems. This approach forces many refugees (and other migrants) into low-wage jobs below their education level or aspirations.

The result for refugees is a cumulative disadvantage of getting less or delayed access to host country resources and integration support measures on the one hand, and limited usage of existing resources on the other hand (Bakker et al., 2017).

1.2 The refugee entrepreneurship paradox

Against this backdrop, refugees seem to be unlikely entrepreneurs. Nonetheless, many refugees in Europe and elsewhere start their own businesses. Refugee-origin entrepreneurs create their own jobs and jobs for other newcomers (Berwing, 2019; Dagnelie et al., 2019; Leicht et al., 2021a) support social cohesion in local neighbourhoods and beyond through their businesses (Lyon et al., 2007; Sepulveda et al., 2011) and contribute to a wider social recognition of refugees (Embiricos, 2020).

More than one in five 'asylum migrants' in the UK are self-employed (Kone et al., 2020). Their self-employment rates are higher than those of the UK-born and any other group of migrants. After as little as five years after arrival in the UK, refugees reach the same

self-employment rates as the UK-born (ibid.). Also in other country contexts (generally speaking those with rather liberal welfare regimes) such as Australia (Collins et al., 2017) and the United States (Kerwin, 2018) refugees reach high entrepreneurship rates, despite facing (the) high(est) barriers. Collins et al. (2017) describe this observation as the 'refugee entrepreneurship paradox'.

The situation in Germany is slightly different. In the comparatively stricter regulated labour market system where access to entrepreneurship in many professions (e.g. many crafts professions) requires specific certificates, becoming an entrepreneur requires more preparation time and a higher degree of adaptation to the host country context. Despite high entrepreneurial aspirations among refugees upon arrival (Obschonka et al., 2018), refugees' transition into entrepreneurship takes place later compared to the UK. On the long term, however, refugee cohorts in Germany eventually reach similar self-employment rates to other migrants and the native-born (Leicht et al., 2021a). Similar delayed trajectories of refugees into entrepreneurship can also be observed in other continental European countries including Belgium (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2006, 2008) and Sweden (Backman et al., 2020).

Taken together, the host country context largely matters for migrants' (including refugees') decisions towards and trajectories into entrepreneurship (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001; Rath & Swagerman, 2015). Each context provides specific kinds of push and pull factors, barriers and facilitators, access to markets and financial resources, policies, networks and potential customers for aspiring refugee-origin entrepreneurs.

But how do refugee-origin entrepreneurs experience host country and local contexts? How do they set their entrepreneurship plans into action? Which other processes related to arriving in the host society are linked to entrepreneurship? And how do experiences compare in different countries and cities?

In this study, refugee-origin entrepreneurs and their experiences are the centre of attention. **The purpose of this study is to explore why and how refugees become entrepreneurs in their host country, and how entrepreneurship is related to their integration processes in different contexts.** The motivation behind this endeavour is to

understand integration trajectories of refugee-origin entrepreneurs, and above all the interplay between the entrepreneurial agents and the policy, socio-cultural and wider entrepreneurship frameworks in the reception context.

By choosing a comparative research design involving two countries and cities, the focus is on finding explanations for similar and different experiences refugee-origin entrepreneurs make in these contexts (cf. Bryman, 2012).

1.3 Key terms and concepts

The central terms in this thesis are entrepreneurship, refugees, migrants and integration. They are used as follows:

- **Entrepreneurship** is understood widely as independent business ownership (Portes & Zhou, 1996). Self-employment is seen as the simplest form of entrepreneurship (Blanchflower & Oswald, 1998). **Entrepreneurs** create new businesses and become business owners, either as sole traders or as employers of other people (Ahmad & Seymour, 2008).
- The term **refugee** refers to the UN definition for refugee: *'someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war, or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group'* (UNHCR, 2010). **Forced migration** refers to all people who are forcibly displaced, whether in- or outside their home country (UNHCR, 2018a). The focus of this dissertation is on *'refugees who have crossed a border'* (Desai et al., 2020, p.3), as opposed to internally displaced refugees. Refugees are often legally classified as 'asylum seekers' upon arrival and need to apply for asylum in the host country. Recognised refugees have successfully gone through the asylum process or were granted asylum otherwise (e.g. through a resettlement programme), and hold a refugee status. The term 'refugee' is used throughout the study to describe *all* forced migrants, with or without a refugee status (i.e. including asylum seekers), unless a distinction is required.

Refugee-origin entrepreneur(ship) refers to entrepreneurs with a history of forced migration, including those who are naturalised citizens of the host country.

- The term **migrant** here includes all people who move to a different country than their country of origin, whether they have the intention to stay on the short term or permanently. Thus, the ‘migrant’ group can also include refugees (cf. Carling, 2017). **Migrant-origin** refers to migrants and those whose parents were born in a different country (i.e. second-generation migrants). **Migrant-origin entrepreneur(ship)**⁶ refers to migrant-origin individuals who set up a business.
- Furthermore, the term **native-origin** is used to talk about individuals who were born and raised in the country which, from the perspective of migrant- or refugee-origin individuals, is the host country.
- **Integration** is understood as an enduring individual, multidimensional, multilayered, multidirectional and time- and context-specific process, which takes place in relation to an individuals’ identity and belonging. Integration refers to the interplay between those who are new to a context and more established communities, institutions and individuals (including the native-origin population). A comprehensive definition and the integration concept used in this thesis are introduced in Section 2.2.1.

1.4 Arriving at the research problem

Research on refugee-origin entrepreneurship has steadily grown in the aftermath of the 2015 ‘migration crisis’ (Heilbrunn & Iannone, 2020). Although the phenomenon of

⁶ The literature on migrants and entrepreneurship often uses the term ‘ethnic (minority)’ to describe those who are connected by the same cultural/national background or migration experience (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990; Liu, 2020), and ‘immigrant entrepreneurship’ to refer to permanent (as opposed to temporary) migrants. However, the lines between migrant, immigrant, ethnic and ethnic minority entrepreneurship are sometimes fuzzy in the literature (cf. Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013). In this study, the term migrant-origin entrepreneurship is used as an umbrella term, unless the point of reference is a study or theory that explicitly looks at one of the sub-groups.

‘refugee entrepreneurship’ is not new, only with the rapid increase in the number of asylum seekers in Europe and elsewhere refugee entrepreneurship raised wider interest among academics across the globe. Also outside academia, refugee-origin entrepreneurship has increasingly received attention. The ‘refugee entrepreneur’ has found their way into newspapers, business incubators, networks (e.g. The international Refugee Entrepreneurship Network), platforms (e.g. the Refugee Investment Network, US) and designated conferences (e.g. the Refugee Entrepreneurship Summit, UK).

There is wide agreement among researchers that different causes and outcomes are at play for refugee-origin entrepreneurship than for entrepreneurship among voluntary migrants (Heilbrunn et al., 2019; Leicht et al., 2021a; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). In other words, scholars agree that the (legal and personal) experience of being a refugee impacts on the way refugees realise entrepreneurship in their host countries. However, Desai et al. (2020) note that *‘How and why, are not well understood’* (p.2).

Today the research subfield is still in its infancy, marked by an explorative and descriptive nature, fragmented across disciplines and underpinned with limited theorisation (Abebe, 2019). While this *‘take-off phase’* (cf. Landström et al., 2012, p.1156) of the field means there is no critical mass of publications and theory to build upon yet, it is also a chance to explore sensible connections with the existing body of research in related fields. Against this backdrop, this study draws on the broad literature on migrant-origin and ‘mainstream’ entrepreneurship.⁷

As described in Section 1.2, refugees are unlikely entrepreneurs given their disadvantaged starting point on the host country labour market in combination with the initial resources upon arrival. It is reasonable to expect that their unique position impacts on refugees’ motivations to engage in entrepreneurship. However, the factors that motivate refugees to become entrepreneurs in their host countries (as opposed to non-refugee entrepreneurs) are largely unexplored (Abebe, 2019). Little is known about the

⁷ See Section 2.1.

individual and contextual factors driving refugees to engage in entrepreneurship in different contexts. Here lies *the first gap* this study seeks to explore.

Secondly, how entrepreneurs access and use resources during the process of 'becoming an entrepreneur' has been explored in the wider entrepreneurship literature (Alvarez & Busenitz, 2001; Davidsson & Honig, 2003; Pret et al., 2016; Shane & Venkataraman, 2000), including the literature on migrant-origin entrepreneurship (Edwards et al., 2016; Kloosterman, 2010; Kwong et al., 2018; Villares-Varela et al., 2018; Waldinger et al., 1990b). In the refugee context the process of 'becoming an entrepreneur' has not explicitly been studied to date. Insights on how (aspiring) refugee-origin entrepreneurs use different resources to navigate the social and business environments in different countries and cities are limited. Here lies the *second gap* addressed in this study.

The *third gap* in the literature is related to the implications of entrepreneurship on refugees' integration processes within the host societies. Integration processes and outcomes of migrants have been mapped extensively in the past decades (cf. Alba & Foner, 2015; Garcés-Mascareñas & Penninx, 2016; Penninx et al., 2008). Scholars widely consider integration as an enduring multidirectional, multidimensional and multilevel *process*, marked by a shared responsibility and engagement of all involved actors and dependent on the individual, the context and time (Ager & Strang, 2004; Heckmann, 2005; Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019; Penninx, 2009; Spencer & Charsley, 2016; Strang & Ager, 2010). Furthermore, recent theoretical advancements have shifted away from normative ideas of the integration of a minority group into a majority society (cf. Spencer & Charsley, 2021). Also outside the realm of academia, 'integration' is an omnipresent variable in the public and policy discourse, and it is important to mention that the term is often used differently in these settings. In contrast to the nuanced and processual view usually taken by scholars, in policy contexts there is a stronger focus on measurable integration *outcomes* in different domains of life, and on individuals' responsibility to integrate (Grzymala-Kazłowska & Phillimore, 2017; see Section 2.2.1).

Despite different underlying interests and goals, both in the policy and in the academic discourses on integration 'work' is acknowledged to play a crucial role for migrants'

transition into host societies (Alba & Foner, 2015; Kleist, 2018; Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019; OECD, 2018; Penninx, 2005; UNHCR, 2013). However, entrepreneurship (as a form of work) and integration have rarely been investigated together. This shortcoming exists in both of the relevant academic fields: Neither has entrepreneurship research paid much attention to integration, nor has integration research considered entrepreneurship. In the few cases where these two phenomena have been explored simultaneously (e.g. Alrawadieh et al., 2018; Beckers & Blumberg, 2013; Brzozowski & Lasek, 2019; Mago, 2020; Shneikat & Alrawadieh, 2019), 'integration' is used as a broad and vague term, mostly treated normatively (i.e. integration of a minority into an established majority population) and without reference to an underlying integration concept. In summary, the relation between entrepreneurship and integration is a black box yet to be explored.

The research questions

The identified research gaps lead to three overarching research questions. These questions are at the centre of this study.

Which individual and contextual factors motivate refugee-origin entrepreneurs to engage in entrepreneurship?

How do refugees access and use different kinds of resources to become entrepreneurs in their host country?

How does entrepreneurship among refugees impact on their integration processes?

To address these questions, *the cases of refugee-origin entrepreneurship in Birmingham, UK and Cologne, Germany* are explored by means of a qualitative, comparative multi-case approach. By choosing two cities in different European countries as case sites the dearth of comparative studies in migrant- and refugee-origin entrepreneurship research (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013; Ram et al., 2017; Rath & Swagerman, 2015) is addressed.

The main data sources were biographical interviews with 42 refugee-origin entrepreneurs as participants. Refugee-origin respondents with different characteristics (e.g. countries of origin, gender, kind of business, time of arrival, aspiring and practising entrepreneurs) were included to explore multiple facets of refugee-origin entrepreneurship. Their narratives were complemented and triangulated with insights

from interviews with 13 key informants who had knowledge about the entrepreneurship ecosystems and/or refugee integration. Finally, the study draws on on-site observations and secondary sources such as policy and media reports.

As refugee-origin respondents comprised individuals who have arrived in the UK or Germany between the 1990s and 2018, the study could also capture some nuances how entrepreneurship and integration processes differ in a changing policy and integration context⁸ for refugees, albeit this is not the focus of the study. Finally, the study comprises refugee-origin individuals from all walks of life and raises questions about ‘refugeetude’ in relation to the field of refugee entrepreneurship.

This study makes several contributions to the literature. First, it contributes to conceptual advancements in integration and refugee/migrant entrepreneurship studies by suggesting additional aspects to understanding processes of becoming an entrepreneur, and integration processes in the context of entrepreneurship in (super)diverse, urban contexts. Second, it makes an empirical contribution by combining two concepts around integration – Spencer and Charsley’s (2016) integration model and Phillimore’s (2020) refugee-integration-opportunity structure concept – and testing them empirically in the context of comparative refugee-origin entrepreneurship. The result is an extended theory of entrepreneurship and integration.

1.5 Outline of the thesis

Chapter 2 provides the conceptual framework of this thesis by means of a narrative literature review on a) refugees and entrepreneurship and b) entrepreneurship and integration.

First, Section 2.1 gives an overview of the relevant literature leading to a conceptual framework for refugee-origin entrepreneurship, thereby seeking to embed the topic in the existing body of entrepreneurship literature. The focus in looking at the entrepreneurship literature is the phase of ‘becoming an entrepreneur’. After exploring entrepreneurial motivations, resources to become an entrepreneur are considered as

⁸ In that regard it is important to note that data collection took place before the COVID-19 pandemic.

relevant topical areas (not only) for refugee-origin entrepreneurship. Mixed embeddedness (Kloosterman et al., 1999; Kloosterman & Rath, 2001) as a widely used theoretical lens to explore processes of becoming an entrepreneurs in different contexts is introduced. At the end of the section, an extended mixed embeddedness concept including Nee and Sander's (2001) forms-of capital model is presented as a conceptual framework to look at the processes of becoming an entrepreneur in the refugee context.

Second, an integration definition and concept are introduced in Section 2.2. The two streams of literature – entrepreneurship and integration – are then synthesised by asking: What is known about the relation between the two phenomena? It will become clear that the link between entrepreneurship and integration has received little scholarly attention to date. Nonetheless there are initial insights on the relation between the two to build upon, and these generally point towards a positive relation between entrepreneurship and integration. The conceptual model of integration by Spencer and Charsley (2016, 2021) and Phillimore's (2020) refugee-integration-opportunity structure concept are merged into a conceptual model for entrepreneurship and integration.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to the research methodology derived from the three research questions. It starts with the bigger picture: what is the underlying philosophical stance of the study? What has led the author to engage in this research topic? What are the main ethical considerations in researching refugee-origin entrepreneurship, and how do these differ in the two case contexts? The introduction of the interpretivist epistemological angle and the researcher's positioning leads to the research design, which is of qualitative nature. Following, the reader is guided through the structure and processes of the research design and gets insights into the multiple case study research approach, the chain-referral sampling process (Patton, 1990, 2002a) to find suitable interviewees and how thematic analysis was applied to analyse the data from multiple sources.

As typically done in case studies, **Chapter 4** provides a comprehensive description of the two case sites, Birmingham and Cologne. This chapter is important as the findings can only be interpreted against the backdrop of these research contexts. It becomes clear that the national and local contexts of these two case sites represent contrasting

elements including the refugee-integration-opportunity structures and their changes over time, and the conditions for entrepreneurship in each place.

Chapter 5 addresses the first two research questions and is dedicated to the process of becoming an entrepreneur in refugee-origin entrepreneurship. Through the lens of mixed embeddedness (Kloosterman et al., 1999; Kloosterman & Rath, 2001) and Nee and Sander's (2001) forms-of-capital model to explain 'immigrant incorporation', the chapter looks at entrepreneurial motivations on the one hand, and how refugee-origin entrepreneurs access and use resources to start a business on the other hand.

Chapter 6 is dedicated to the third research question and explores the relation between entrepreneurship and integration. The conceptual integration model by Spencer and Charsley (2016, 2021) is used as a heuristic lens to capture integration processes related to entrepreneurship. It is complemented with Phillimore's (2020) refugee-integration-opportunity structure concept.

Chapter 7 marries the findings with the existing literature and highlights unanticipated insights, as well as findings that deepen the literature. First, motivational factors that are enforced in the refugee context or are specific to refugee-origin entrepreneurship are highlighted. Second, the interplay between different forms-of-capital (social, human-cultural and financial) with the context is discussed, whereby three capital-mixing strategies of 'becoming an entrepreneur' among refugee-origin entrepreneurs become evident: 'spontaneous entrepreneurship', 'focused entrepreneurship' and 'assimilated entrepreneurship'. In looking at the interplay between refugee-origin entrepreneurs' resources and the opportunity structure, the mediating role of certain personal attributes (proactivity/perseverance, versatility and trust in oneself) in exercising agency even in restrictive contexts is underlined. Third, entrepreneurship and integration are discussed from a comparative perspective, highlighting how different integration prerequisites needed to engage in entrepreneurship lead to different integration processes across domains and spatial levels. The chapter is closed by introducing intercultural integration as an additional subdomain of integration to do justice to increasingly (super)diverse urban realities. The role of refugee-origin entrepreneurs in these intercultural integration

processes on the neighbourhood level and beyond is highlighted, both as intercultural learners and co-creators of intercultural integration processes.

In **Chapter 8**, the thesis is wrapped up with a conclusion and outlook. Its contributions and limitations, as well as implications for future research, policy and practice are presented. Possible limitations are related to the sampling strategy, which might have excluded potential participants due to only two available interview languages and the (unavoidable) usage of the 'refugee' label to recruit participants. Further limitations are related to the timing of the study before Brexit and the COVID-19 pandemic. Future research could include a higher number of case study sites, assess refugee-origin entrepreneurship longitudinally and test the patterns and categories in a quantitative setting. It is suggested to critically reflect on the emerging field of refugee entrepreneurship studies. In terms of policy and practice, several ideas around normalising and supporting refugee-origin entrepreneurship in different contexts are presented.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMING OF REFUGEE-ORIGIN ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND INTEGRATION

This thesis is informed by two streams of literature, namely entrepreneurship research and integration research. Literature was selected by means of a semi-structured literature review, also known as narrative review (Bryman, 2012; Snyder, 2019). Information was included based on the premise that it contributed to mapping the state of knowledge in both topical streams.

2.1 Refugees and entrepreneurship

2.1.1 Entrepreneurship as a field of research

Entrepreneurship research – here referred to as ‘mainstream’ entrepreneurship – has a long scholarly history that dates back to the 18th century (Casson, 2005). During the past few decades, entrepreneurship research has become an established and multidisciplinary field. Perspectives on entrepreneurial action are multifaceted and stretch from the individual entrepreneur to groups of entrepreneurs, cultures, regions and countries, industries and time spans (Audretsch et al., 2002; Landström et al., 2012). Thereby scholars use various definitions and concepts of ‘entrepreneurship’ and ‘the entrepreneur’ (Ahmad & Seymour, 2008; Berglann et al., 2011; Gartner, 1990). As a result, findings on the causes and consequences for entrepreneurship differ widely (Verheul et al., 2001). As Audretsch et al. (2007) summarise, *‘Entrepreneurship is not a field known for its consensus’* (p.3).

Tradition of the ‘mainstream’ research: focus on growth, innovation and the entrepreneurial individual

From a critical perspective, three overarching characteristics of the field can be highlighted. These aspects are relevant as they stand in contrast to the main characteristics of migrant-origin entrepreneurship research (see next section). First, despite the ‘mainstream’ orientation of the field, research on the *‘Silicon Valley type of entrepreneurship’* (Welter et al., 2016, p.312) with a focus on growth, innovation and technology is overrepresented in the literature. Relatedly, the traditional research focus is on the *economic* functions of entrepreneurship, and less so its social functions. Second,

the field carries a long tradition of focusing on the entrepreneurial individual – who seems to be imagined as White, male and middle-class (Ram et al., 2017) – rather than on the role of the context (Hjorth et al., 2008; Sarason et al., 2006). In this tradition, the entrepreneur achieves success through hard work and dedication, closely linked to the Schumpeterian idea of the entrepreneurial hero (cf. Schumpeter, 1911, 1934, 1939). Third, and partly resulting from the first two points, little attention has been given to other types of entrepreneurs (Hjorth et al., 2008; Landström et al., 2016), such as those engaged in ‘everyday entrepreneurship’ (Welter et al., 2016) who in fact represent the mainstream to a much greater extent than Silicon valley-type of entrepreneurs. Taken together, the world of enterprise is more diverse than the ‘mainstream’ literature has traditionally depicted.⁹

Research subfields: focus on context, social functions of entrepreneurship and disadvantage

At the same time, subfields of entrepreneurship have developed parallel to mainstream entrepreneurship research, albeit later. These subfields represent entrepreneurial minority groups (in that these groups diverge from the imagined ‘mainstream’ as described above) and are for example related to gender (e.g. ‘female entrepreneurship’, ‘mumpreneurship’), age (i.e. young and old entrepreneurs), social status (e.g. ‘privileged entrepreneurship’), migration history (e.g. ‘ethnic (minority)’, ‘(im)migrant entrepreneurship’, ‘refugee entrepreneurship’, ‘expatpreneurship’), but also the intersectionality of different categorisations (e.g. ‘female migrant entrepreneurship’). These and other entrepreneurship subfields have a history of operating in ‘*scholarly ghettos*’ (Baker & Welter, 2017, p.170), both separate from the mainstream field and from each other (cf. Carter et al., 2015).

Other than in mainstream research, in the subfields of entrepreneurship research a tradition of focusing on the *social* functions of entrepreneurship in addition to entrepreneurial motivations, constraints, agency and economic outcomes can be

⁹ In this context it should be mentioned that during the recent years new focal points have emerged, including a stronger context-focus and the inclusion of more types of entrepreneurs and modes of entrepreneurship (see for example Baker & Welter, 2017; Sarason et al., 2006; Zahra & Wright, 2011).

observed (Baker & Welter, 2017). Furthermore, subfields of entrepreneurship are more sensitive to the role of context by recognising that the same context can work differently for different entrepreneurs. Martinez Dy (2020) suggests that *how* the context works for entrepreneurs is in parts a question of social positionality. On a social positionality continuum, some sub-groups of entrepreneurs are observed to be more enabled to engage in entrepreneurship in a particular context, whereas others experience additional barriers towards accessing important material, cultural and financial resources, and can therefore be considered disadvantaged (Maalaoui et al., 2020). In other words: the interplay between entrepreneurial agents and context does not work equally for every entrepreneur, but can instead create spheres of advantage and disadvantage. Thereby the latter is more often in the focus of research in groups of minority entrepreneurs than the former.

For the sake of narrowing down the literature to a manageable size in a time-bound project, this literature review concentrates on literature of the subfield most closely related to refugee-origin entrepreneurship: migrant-origin entrepreneurship.

2.1.2 Migrant-origin entrepreneurship

Migrant-origin entrepreneurship is an established, albeit fragmented subfield of entrepreneurship research. Similar to other subfields, migrant-origin entrepreneurship research has emerged later and mostly separate from the ‘mainstream’ discourse (Jones & Ram, 2007). It is a suitable example to illustrate (and explain) the rift between mainstream entrepreneurship research and the subfields.

Characteristics of the field

Mainstream and migrant-origin entrepreneurship research are united by many overlapping interests and topics, including the examination of motivational factors and interest in resources such as human capital and entrepreneurs’ social embeddedness (see Sections 2.1.4 – 2.1.6). On a practical level, non-migrant and migrant entrepreneurs share real social and economic spaces within neighbourhoods, cities or countries. They operate in the same formal markets and entrepreneurial ecosystems, with their business support structures and institutions. All nascent entrepreneurs are faced with the same

prevailing rules and business-related regulations such as educational requirements and tax-related duties. Regardless their origin, small-scale entrepreneurs have similar motivations and are affected by the same challenges to growth and expansion (Jones & Ram, 2007). Finally, challenges in terms of financial insecurity and risk management can affect any entrepreneur (Kloosterman, 2010). Yet, migrant-origin entrepreneurship is often treated as a distinct domain in the literature.

As for most subfields of entrepreneurship research, the reasons for this separation are related to the (host country) context, the distinct resources of migrant-origin entrepreneurs, and the outcomes resulting from the interplay of context and resources.

First, migrant-origin entrepreneurs face distinct structural conditions to enter the markets (e.g. Carter et al., 2015; Rath & Swagerman, 2015). These are, for example, linked to their legal status and the limitations that might come with this status (e.g. limitations to enter entrepreneurship in general or to accessing bank loans; Fairlie & Lofstrom, 2015; Rath & Swagerman, 2015), the non-recognition of formal professional degrees necessary to enter a specific sector (Hartmann & Güllü, 2020; Villares-Varela et al., 2017) and the transition into an unknown business environment which might be complex, more bureaucratic and follow a different logic than in the home country (Sandberg et al., 2019). This 'liability of foreignness' is a phenomenon generally acknowledged in the literature on international business studies and management (Johanson & Vahlne, 2009; Zaheer, 1995), but it comes into play especially when entrepreneurs migrate from less regulated to highly regulated countries (cf. Harima et al., 2019) and as individuals rather than as part of an existing company.

Studies have also shown issues of discrimination and racism as important structural conditions migrants may face, and which impact on migrant-origin entrepreneurship in various ways (Carter et al., 2015; Light, 1972; Ram, 1992; Teixeira et al., 2007). In that regard, Ram et al. (2017, referring to Jones et al., 1992) list '*resistance and hostility from customers, suppliers, banks and insurance companies*' (p.7) as forms of institutional discrimination experienced by South Asians and African Caribbean business owners in England.

Second, migrant-origin entrepreneurs have a '*different set of resources at their disposal*' (Kloosterman, 2010, p.26), in comparison to native-origin entrepreneurs. In other words: especially newcomers face the challenge to transfer their experience and other human capital, their social networks and sometimes financial capital to a new context, as the value of (entrepreneurship-related) resources is always '*classified by the place where they were acquired*' (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013, p.832).¹⁰

As a combined result of the differences in initial resources and distinct structural conditions for entrepreneurship, migrant-origin entrepreneurs are more likely to enter labour intensive low-value markets with low entry thresholds in terms of financial capital and required qualifications. These markets are in turn characterised by intense competition and little growth potential (Kloosterman, 2010). Scholars have noted that migrant-origin entrepreneurs often run businesses under precarious circumstances and economically marginal (Barrett et al., 2001; Schmitz, 2013), or are excluded from 'mainstream' markets (Jones et al., 2014a).

In that regard, it cannot be emphasised enough that *the* migrant-origin entrepreneur does not exist. Just like entrepreneurship overall, migrant-origin entrepreneurship is heterogenous and represented in every sector of the market. Migrant-origin entrepreneurs around the world run small-sized and low-threshold businesses, but are likewise active in high-value and high-growth markets such as ICT, insurance, media and tourism (Rath & Swagerman, 2015). Famous examples in this respect are Asian/Chinese tech entrepreneurs in the Silicon Valley. More recently, the emerging literature stream on 'expat-preneurship' (e.g. Selmer et al., 2018) is dedicated to a sub-group of international migrant-origin entrepreneurs that is characterised as a '*highly innovative group of individuals*' (Ruthemeier, 2021, p.193), who tend to operate in high-value and high-growth markets.

And yet, while economic trajectories of growth and success are a pathway for some and are represented in sections of the literature, a large part of the literature is dedicated to

¹⁰ However, there are large variations between and inside migrant groups when it comes to (transferable) resources for entrepreneurship (Fairlie & Lofstrom, 2015; Hermes & Leicht, 2010).

those whose transitions from the home to the host country take place less smoothly. Taken together, although all entrepreneurs are faced with the same rules, regulation and occupational constraints (Jones & Ram, 2007), migrant-origin entrepreneurs experience a specific interplay between context and personal resources. Often, this interplay leads to greater barriers to entrepreneurship for migrants as opposed to entrepreneurs who have their roots in the host country.

Research perspectives and units of analysis

Just like mainstream entrepreneurship research, migrant-origin entrepreneurship research is an established and widely studied field (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013). It is also known for its multidisciplinary allocation across disciplines. As a literature analysis from Cruz and Pessoa de Queiroz Falcão (2016) shows, migrant-origin entrepreneurship is covered in journals from various disciplines including business, management, sociology and urban studies. Almost 85% of the 939 authors that were included in the bibliometric study only published one work on the topic (ibid., p.82), showing the fragmentation of the research field. Furthermore, a lack of comparative research can be observed in migrant-origin entrepreneurship. This lack is surprising given the important role the field attributes to the context (see next section), and has evoked calls to expand the field in this direction (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013; Ram et al., 2017; Rath & Swagerman, 2015).

Most of the studies on migrant-origin entrepreneurship to date have analysed *individual* characteristics of migrant-origin entrepreneurs (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013). In clear distinction to mainstream entrepreneurship research, performance-linked topics like venture strategy, management, venture performance and growth are rarely addressed in the literature.¹¹ Besides the economic aspects of participation in the labour market per se, the literature has rather focused on the *social* functions of entrepreneurship (Indarti et al., 2020), not only for the entrepreneurial individual but also their families and co-ethnic communities. There is also an overwhelming focus on South-North migration, and relatedly migration from less to more developed countries in the literature (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013; Indarti et al., 2020).

¹¹ Exceptions include Achidi Ndofor & Priem (2011) and Mitchell (2015).

Related to the focus on social functions of entrepreneurship, an established perspective in migrant-origin entrepreneurship literature is on social capital and social embeddedness. Thereby the literature on 'ethnic entrepreneurship' has long focused on the role of (local) co-ethnic networks and customers as the '*fundamental basic units*' (Kloosterman & Rath, 2018, p.106) for migrant-origin entrepreneurs. However, it is now commonplace that – depending on the structural circumstances, but also personal preferences and networks – migrant-origin entrepreneurs in a globalised world more often than not serve clienteles beyond 'ethnic niches' (Arrighetti et al., 2014; Pécoud, 2004) and operate simultaneously in 'ethnic' and 'non-ethnic' markets (Berwing, 2019; Schiller & Çağlar, 2013; Zhou, 2004), both nationally and transnationally (Nazareno et al., 2019).

Theoretical perspectives over time

Theory building around migrant-origin (or rather: 'ethnic') entrepreneurship has started as early as the 1960s. One of the historical reasons to look at migrant-origin entrepreneurship was the observation that self-employment rates of 'ethnic minority groups' varied significantly from those of the native population (Drinkwater, 2017). The observation was true in both directions: While some groups more often engaged in entrepreneurship than the native-origin, other groups engaged less in entrepreneurial activities. For example, several migrant groups in the 20th century US including the Korean-, Chinese- and Cuban-origin led the entrepreneurship statistics¹² (Bailey & Waldinger, 1991), whereas business activities among '*Black groups*' were significantly lower than among other migrant groups, and '*foreign-born whites*' (Light, 1972, p.13; also see Fairlie & Meyer, 1996).

In order to explain these varying rates, the hitherto prevalent economic and social models to explain engagement in entrepreneurship were not sufficient. A need for theoretical models to identify the factors that push or pull certain groups of migrants towards entrepreneurship arose. Consequently, scholars went beyond the focus on entrepreneurs' individual traits and started looking for explanations for entrepreneurship

¹² Measured as self-employment rates.

within common ‘ethnic group characteristics’ – such as cultural traits – to explain the observed inter-group variations (Kloosterman, 2010). Ever since, the theoretical discussion has undergone several shifts (see Figure 1).

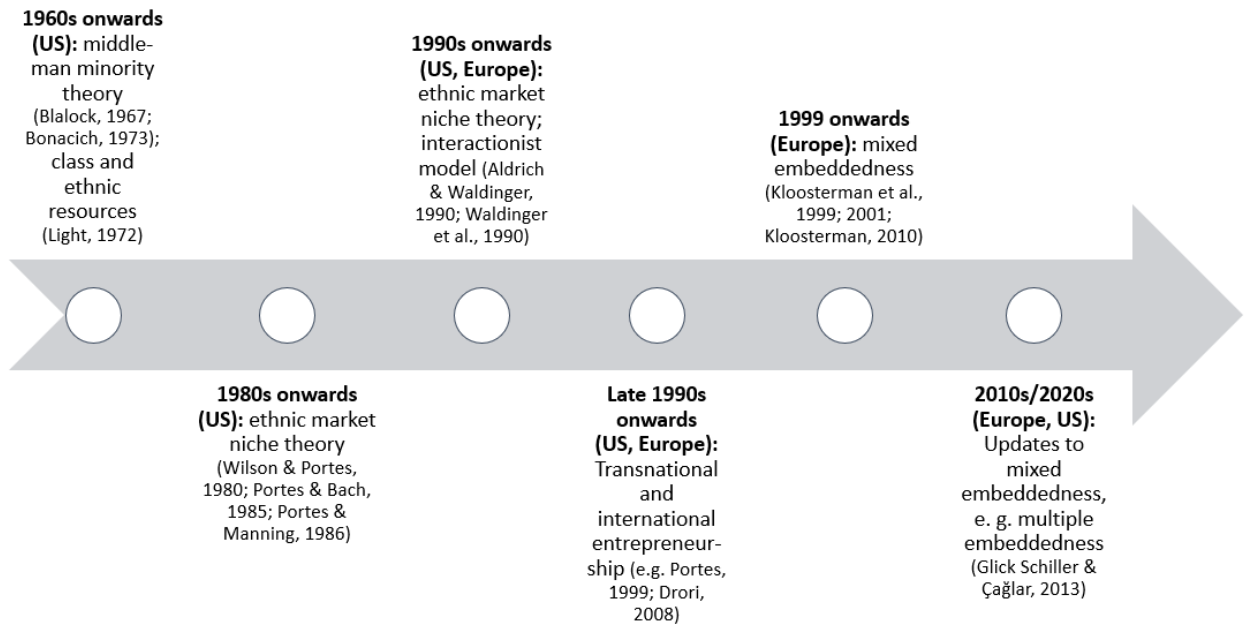


Figure 1: Theories to explain migrant-origin entrepreneurship over time

Migrant-origin entrepreneurship research of the late 1960s to the 1980s was largely informed by US-origin theories and research. Empirical contributions also came from the UK, where some migrant-origin communities such as the Chinese, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Indians were considerably more likely to engage in entrepreneurship than ‘whites’ (Clark & Drinkwater, 1998, p.385). It was only in the 1990s that European scholars outside the UK entered the field more visibly.

Initial theories from the US were based on observations that some migrant-origin entrepreneurs operated within their ethnic communities and were framed around these so-called ethnic enclave economies (Zhou, 2004). Important theoretical foundations were the middlemen minority theory (Blalock, 1967; Bonacich, 1973), which looked at migrants as guests in the host society (‘sojourners’) intending to return to their country of origin and therefore focusing on social (business) connections within their co-ethnic community, Ivan Light’s (1972) concept of class and ‘ethnic resources’ as well as the ethnic market niche theory (Portes & Bach, 1985; Portes & Manning, 1986; Wilson &

Portes, 1980), according to which 'ethnic enclaves' are connected by shared cultural values (manifested in trust, solidarity) that facilitate economic activities within their community, but not beyond.

All three theories emphasised the importance of 'ethnic group characteristics' on the one hand, and the entrepreneur's 'ethnic resources' on the other hand. Less focus was given to the role of the reception context.¹³ In 1990, US social scientists Howard E. Aldrich and Roger Waldinger introduced an interactionist model that links 'ethnic business development' to three different components: opportunity structures (i.e. market conditions and access to ownership), group characteristics, and 'ethnic strategies' (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990; Waldinger et al., 1990a; Waldinger et al., 1990b). Notably, the interactionist model was the first one to explicitly consider the interaction between the entrepreneur's ethnic and socio-cultural factors on the one hand, and the broader societal and economic context or opportunity structure on the other hand (Zimmermann, 2016).

Overall, early migrant-origin entrepreneurship research rather focused on the 'ethnic' supply side than on the structural demand side, i.e. the focus was more on group characteristics (and to a lesser extent personal characteristics) than on the opportunity structure in which the entrepreneur is embedded. Such an approach is understandable in rather loosely regulated economic systems like in the US, where individuals tend to have more scope, but also responsibility for their entrepreneurial activities than in tightly regulated systems. In the case of the UK, which shares the liberal market economy regime with the US, there was no urgent need to challenge the US approaches. But in the continental European context with its tighter business regulations and a stronger state regime, the US models did not fully serve the purpose to explain migrant-origin entrepreneurship.

¹³ Although Light (1972) in his book *'Ethnic Enterprise in America'* had already pointed out labour market disadvantages and discrimination as a trigger for entrepreneurship among some of the affected 'ethnic groups' – an observation that can be considered a forefather of the 'blocked mobility' hypothesis (Alaslani & Collins, 2017; Gold & Kibria, 1993; Waldinger, 1989).

The status quo

Around the turn of the millennium, Dutch scholars Robert Kloosterman, Joanne van der Leun and Jan Rath (1999) presented a theoretical concept that considers the wider economic, social and political context in which a business is embedded: mixed embeddedness (see Figure 2).

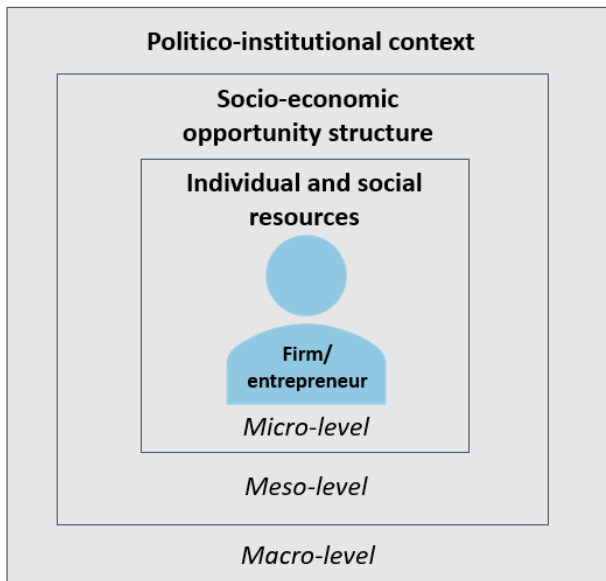


Figure 2: Mixed embeddedness concept for (migrant-origin) business development (based on Kloosterman et al., 1999)

The concept defines three interacting spheres with an influence on business development: Besides the entrepreneur with their individual and social resources (micro-level) and the socio-economic opportunity structure of the local market (meso-level), mixed embeddedness acknowledges the role of the politico-institutional context (macro-level) for (migrant-origin) entrepreneurship (Kloosterman, 2010). In this advanced interactionist approach, entrepreneurs are embedded in different forms of social structures. Based on Granovetter's (1985) seminal work on 'Economic Action and Social Structure', mixed embeddedness distinguishes between two overarching forms of social embeddedness: a *relational embeddedness* through direct social networks and a *structural embeddedness* in the broader politico-institutional context (Kloosterman et al., 1999). The politico-institutional context, in turn, impacts on available market openings, and thus on entrepreneurial actions. An important contribution of mixed embeddedness

was to link these three levels to each other, and to acknowledge their dynamic interplay (Barberis & Solano, 2018; Kloosterman & Rath, 2018).

Despite more recent theoretical developments, the idea of mixed embeddedness still remains a widespread theoretical starting point in the field. As noted by Ram et al. (2017, p.13): *'now it is something of a commonplace to argue that migrant enterprise must be seen as grounded in the wider political-economic environment as well as in the social capital of its own communities.'*

Somewhat parallel to mixed embeddedness, since the late 1990s transnational and international entrepreneurship research have emerged on both sides of the Atlantic (Drori et al., 2009; Jones et al., 2010; Miera, 2008; Portes, 1999; Santamaria-Alvarez & Śliwa, 2016) against the backdrop of globalisation, international migration and new technological possibilities. Scholars have proposed updates to the mixed embeddedness concept as a reaction to these global changes, and to address the multiple embeddedness of migrant-origin entrepreneurs in different networks from the local to the global level (Nazareno et al., 2019; Schiller & Çağlar, 2013; You & Zhou, 2019).

In a nutshell, theoretical perspectives on migrant-origin entrepreneurship have grown from an inward focus on the entrepreneurial individual or their 'ethnic' group to a focus on the interaction between the entrepreneur and their resources with the context. Thereby the influential spheres of the 'context' have become more fine-grained and have expanded to wider spatial levels, including transnationality.

The outline is relevant for refugee-origin entrepreneurship, as the nascent field largely builds on the status quo of theory development in migrant-origin entrepreneurship literature. The following section introduces the emerging subfield of refugee-origin entrepreneurship. It is shown that the subfield follows some traditional lines of migrant-origin entrepreneurship research in terms of the units of analysis and theoretical frameworks, but that the field is also characterised by some distinct themes and categories.

2.1.3 Refugee-origin entrepreneurship

Refugee-origin entrepreneurship – often referred to as ‘refugee entrepreneurship’ – as an academic field is a relatively new domain (Heilbrunn & Iannone, 2020). Only in the past years, academic publications on the topic have grown steeply: Among the 105 journal articles on ‘refugees AND entrepreneurship’ in the Scopus online database¹⁴ (published between 1986 and 2020), 83 were published since 2014. 30 articles were published in the year 2020 alone.

The emergence and growth of research on refugee-origin entrepreneurship can be linked to two wider occurrences.

The first one is the rising numbers of refugees across the globe, leading scholars and policy makers to develop an interest in understanding mechanisms of refugees’ incorporation into host societies. Thereby entrepreneurship is increasingly understood as one mode of labour market integration (e.g. Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019; OECD, 2018)¹⁵. This occurrence led to the rise of scholarly work per se, similar to the growth of refugee studies since the 2015 ‘migration crisis’ (Kleist, 2018).

The second one is the observation that in many countries around the world refugees show entrepreneurial behaviour, despite high barriers towards entrepreneurship in many contexts (Betts et al., 2017). This observation defines the direction the body of research has taken so far: Scholars seek to understand the ‘*refugee-entrepreneurship paradox*’ (Collins et al., 2017, p.10), or why even in the most adverse circumstances refugees often become entrepreneurs (Desai et al., 2020). Hence, a large research focus is on barriers and disadvantages, and how refugee-origin entrepreneurs overcome these obstacles.

Development of the research field

Refugee-origin entrepreneurship is still in its infancy as a research field, both in terms of quantity and research tradition. Up to now, most of the research on refugee-origin entrepreneurship is explorative and focuses less on theory building (Abebe, 2019;

¹⁴ See <https://www.scopus.com/search/form.uri?display=advanced>; the numbers refer to the status quo in April, 2021.

¹⁵ See, for example, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-business-start-up-training-for-refugees-in-the-uk> [accessed 06-07-2021].

Heilbrunn & Iannone, 2020). Where theoretical frameworks are used or advanced, they are borrowed from other disciplines and research areas including sociology (Bizri, 2017) and social work (Fong et al., 2007). Commonly, however, similar theoretical lenses to those used in migrant-origin entrepreneurship research are applied, such as mixed embeddedness (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008), social capital theory (Bizri, 2017) and ethnic enclave theory (Gold, 1992). Surprisingly, given that refugees are highlighted as a distinct group of migrants, refugee theories are rarely used to explore and explain refugee-origin entrepreneurship (cf. Heilbrunn & Iannone, 2020). Some authors have not used any particular theoretical framework (Fong et al., 2007; Lyon et al., 2007; Maignan & Collins, 2003), in line with the descriptive nature of most research to date (Abebe, 2019).

Similar to migrant-origin entrepreneurship a fragmentation of refugee-origin entrepreneurship research into a wide range of disciplines can be observed, albeit with a focus on the social sciences. Publications are represented in journals from different fields including business, management, and accounting (Sepulveda et al., 2011), entrepreneurship studies (Harima et al., 2019; Sandberg et al., 2019), migration studies (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008), and rather broad fields such as vocational behaviour (Obschonka et al., 2018). Another continuity of migrant-origin entrepreneurship are the units of analysis in refugee-origin entrepreneurship research. A common unit of analysis is the entrepreneur and their social embeddedness, rather than their business venture or its economic success and growth. Thereby research has either focused on the entrepreneurial individual (Bizri, 2017; Sandberg et al., 2019) or on a group of refugee-origin entrepreneurs who share the same country of origin, such as Syrian-origin refugees (Embricos, 2020; Harb et al., 2019; Shneikat & Alrawadieh, 2019).

Regarding geographical locations, some major – but by far not all – international refugee movements are represented in the literature. One focus is on refugee movements from developing to developed countries such as the US, the UK and Germany (cf. Heilbrunn & Iannone, 2020). But research has also taken place in neighbouring countries of major refugee-sending countries where most of the world's refugees reside, such as Turkey, Pakistan, Lebanon and Uganda (ibid.). Furthermore, research is largely based on single

case studies in one country context. Similar to migrant-origin entrepreneurship research there is a lack of comparative studies: Among 68 publications investigated in Heilbrunn and Iannone's (2020) literature review on 'refugee entrepreneurship', only three were of comparative nature.

So far, it has become clear that refugee-origin entrepreneurship is marked by several continuities of migrant-origin entrepreneurship. Scholarly work is located in various disciplines, but with a focus on the social sciences, and has an orientation towards theoretical lenses and approaches borrowed from migrant-origin entrepreneurship research. Yet, refugee-origin entrepreneurship also has some distinctive features. These are mainly linked to the forced nature of refugee migration.

Focus on barriers and disadvantage

As outlined in Section 2.1.2, while migrant-origin entrepreneurship as a field is diverse and covers any kind of entrepreneurship, a common perspective revolves around disadvantage and resource constraints. A similar focus can be observed in refugee-origin entrepreneurship, albeit in an amplified manner due to the nature of forced migration and its individual and legal implications. Insofar, looking at refugee-origin entrepreneurs as a distinct category promises to yield theoretical insights into the interplay of entrepreneurship actors and contexts.

The literature suggests that refugees are located in a unique institutional context at the intersection of state and international governance, formality and informality, and national and transnational economies (Betts et al., 2017). Refugees are under the authority of their host country, but also under the authority of international institutions (ibid.). In comparison to native-origin people and other groups of migrants, refugees usually have less rights to participate in the formal economy, at least during the asylum process prior to gaining a refugee status. The loss of physical capital and sometimes traumatic experiences can aggravate resource scarcity among refugees (Gold, 1992; Kira et al., 2014; Shneikat & Ryan, 2017). Due to the irregular nature of their migration, their main social and financial resources might be located in different countries than the host country, where savings or bank accounts might no longer be accessed. In addition, many

have paid large sums for their flight (Brücker et al., 2016a) and find themselves with little or no savings upon arrival in the host country. Finally, when arriving in the host countries refugees not only face a specific legal framework based on their migration channel, but also perceptions of 'refugees' in the host country population summarised by Hutchingson & Dorsett (2012) as '*a dominant Western deficits model that defines refugee people as traumatised victims*' (p.55).

These aspects of disadvantage are widely reflected in the refugee-origin entrepreneurship literature as a large thematic focus is on refugees' challenges, constraints and barriers to entrepreneurship (Alexandre et al., 2019; de Lange et al., 2020; Lyon et al., 2007; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). Other themes or focal points of published papers span from the characteristics of refugee-origin entrepreneurs (Gold, 1992; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008) or their start-ups (Bizri, 2017), to bricolage as a mode of pulling together the scarce resources at hand to start a business (Heilbrunn, 2019; Kwong et al., 2018). Relatedly, research has addressed informality or informal practices in refugee-origin entrepreneurship, which are in turn described as a reaction to formal barriers (Sepulveda et al., 2011).

From an economic perspective, scholarly focus is on entrepreneurship as a mode of economic *participation*, however rewarding in terms of income, rather than on performance. From the individual perspective, another aspect is the role of entrepreneurship for personal embedding processes (Bizri, 2017; Lyon et al., 2007), a pathway to self-reliance (Fong et al., 2007) and as a sign of resilience even in the most adverse circumstances (Heilbrunn, 2019; Shepherd et al., 2020).

To a smaller extent the success factors and enablers for refugee-origin entrepreneurship are illuminated (Betts et al., 2015; Fong et al., 2007; Refai et al., 2018). The same is true for refugees' resources and motives to start a business (Gold, 1992). One prominent success factor highlighted in the literature is transnationality: Even though refugees' mobility between the country of origin and host country is typically limited, so far studies indicate that refugee-origin entrepreneurs often engage in international and transnational businesses activities (Halilovich & Efendić, 2019; Sandberg et al., 2019).

Refugees' embeddedness as entrepreneurs and otherwise does not only take place in the host country, but they remain embedded in structures in the home country or have links to diasporas all over the world (Harima et al., 2021; Lyon et al., 2007).

As indicated above, research on refugee-origin entrepreneurship stems from various country contexts, and the thematic research focus is influenced by the context where research is conducted. Extreme examples of entrepreneurship in adverse situations in the literature are the camp economies within refugee camps (Betts & Collier, 2017; Heilbrunn, 2019), which offer everything but an accommodating entrepreneurial environment. In Jordan-based Zaatari refugee camp, for instance, for decades refugee residents were not officially allowed to work, but entrepreneurship was '*tolerated within the camp boundaries*' (Betts et al., 2015, p.18). These examples of 'refugee economies' (cf. Betts et al., 2017) demonstrate how refugees overcome the existing (legal) boundaries and, often against all odds, start their own businesses.

In these cases, the (first of all: restrictive) role of the context is evident, and emphasised in the 'refugee economy' literature. However, surprisingly little attention to context is given in the refugee-origin entrepreneurship literature overall, although the power of socio-cultural and politico-institutional contexts is recognised as an important factor for entrepreneurial activities among refugees (Heilbrunn, 2019; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). So far, studies in refugee-origin entrepreneurship have presented the configurations and impact of the context at most as a blurry background variable (cf. Heilbrunn & Iannone, 2020).

In summary, much has been said in the literature about the characteristics of refugee-origin entrepreneurs, and the various constraints (and some enablers) refugees encounter when setting up and running a business in their host country. Less is known about the factors that motivate refugees to become entrepreneurs in their host countries, and to what extent these motivations are influenced by the context. At the same time, the process of 'becoming an entrepreneur' has not explicitly been explored to date. Little is known about how aspiring and practising refugee-origin entrepreneurs use different kinds of resources to navigate the social and business environments in

different countries and cities. These identified gaps in the literature are in line with findings from Abebe (2019) who concludes in his literature review on 'refugee entrepreneurship': *'While a significant body of the literature focuses on the characteristics, and sociocultural and structural determinants of refugee entrepreneur/ship, very little is known regarding entrepreneurial decisions, actions and processes.'* (p.23)¹⁶

These topics are however not new to entrepreneurship research per se. Entrepreneurial motivations and resources are important components of entrepreneurial opportunity recognition processes. Mixed embeddedness is an established theoretical lens to understand the process of becoming an entrepreneur. In the following sections, these three topics are explored. Since entrepreneurial motivations and the use of resources have been widely studied in migrant-origin and mainstream entrepreneurship research, the review mainly draws on those insights.

2.1.4 Entrepreneurial motivation factors

It is widely recognised in the literature that the motivational factors for individuals' transition into entrepreneurship are multifaceted and complex (Clark & Drinkwater, 2000; Williams & Williams, 2012). But despite different research traditions and focal points in entrepreneurship subfields, there are some common typologies that appear across the literature: push versus pull factors and structural versus individual factors. Furthermore, there are motivational factors said to be specific to migrant-origin entrepreneurship.

Push versus pull factors

In both mainstream and migrant-origin entrepreneurship research, motivations for entrepreneurship are often summarised as a mix of pull factors versus push factors. Translated to an either-or-logic, entrepreneurs can be 'necessity entrepreneurs', driven by a lack of alternative work opportunities, or 'opportunity entrepreneurs', driven by the

¹⁶ Furthermore, there is a scarcity of research looking at the implications of entrepreneurship on processes of arriving in the host society, in other words, on the relation between entrepreneurship and integration. This gap will be explored in Section 2.2.6.

possibility to exploit a market opportunity (Barrett & Vershinina, 2017; Block & Sandner, 2009; Maritz, 2004; Smallbone & Welter, 2003). Push factors underlying the motivation to engage in entrepreneurship include blocked access to employment, unemployment or the threat of becoming unemployed (Bosma et al., 2020; Hinz & Jungbauer-Gans, 1999; Smallbone & Welter, 2003). Pull factors listed in the literature include independence and flexibility, making a difference in the world and generating a high(er) income (Baycan-Levent & Kundak, 2009; Bosma et al., 2020).

Over the past decades, a plethora of more fine-grained typologies to explain entrepreneurial motivation has been developed (cf. Stephan et al., 2015). However, the idea of a push versus pull view on entrepreneurs is an established conceptualisation of entrepreneurial motivation and remains widespread. It has been criticised, for example, by Williams (2008) for representing a *'simplistic bifurcated depiction'* being adopted by numerous scholars despite being *'an a priori assumption rather than a finding of empirical studies'* (p.158f.). Similarly, Williams and Williams (2012) suggest that motivational factors for entrepreneurship should not be regarded as either-or-dichotomy, but rather as a dynamic and nuanced continuum of entrepreneurs' motivations. In other words, individuals can be pulled and pushed towards entrepreneurship at the same time. For example, an individual might have recognised and been attracted to exploit an entrepreneurial opportunity for a long time (pull factor), but only at the moment of facing unemployment (push factor) these aspirations are realised.

The factors said to explain entrepreneurial motivations of migrants appear to be more on the push- than the pull-side (Clark & Drinkwater, 2000; Kloosterman et al., 1999). Baycan-Levent and Kundak (2009) list *'high unemployment rates, low participation rates and low status'* as *'the main determinants generally pushing immigrants into entrepreneurship in many European countries'* (p.284). In addition to these factors, discrimination on the labour market is regularly described as a push factor for migrants to engage in entrepreneurship (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990; Kloosterman et al., 1999; Light, 1972). Blackburn and Ram (2006) point to discrimination on the UK labour market pushing *'certain ethnic minorities'* (p.76) into entrepreneurship, namely those from South-East Asia and the Mediterranean. For these entrepreneurs, entrepreneurship is at least partly

a reaction to social exclusion and structural discrimination. Although they often struggle to make ends meet in hostile urban environments, entrepreneurship can still be favoured to unemployment in the “*mainstream’ economy’* (ibid., p.83).

Pull factors appear too in the literature on migrant-origin entrepreneurship. These are typically linked to experience: either the person’s own entrepreneurship experience or experience with working in a profession, a history of business ownership within the family or a culture of entrepreneurship within a diasporic community (Baycan-Levent & Kundak, 2009; Ullah et al., 2016; also see next paragraph). Second, pull factors in migrant-origin entrepreneurship studies are linked to migrants’ close social contacts, for example when family members can support the business. Third, but not in the focus of this literature review, some individuals recognise a market opportunity in a different country and migrate to exploit this opportunity (Vandor & Franke, 2016).

Structural versus individual/group factors

Motivational factors for entrepreneurship are also described to have a binary but non-exclusive nature, namely the role of individual and structural factors (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001). There are some overlaps with push and pull factors, but in comparison individual and structural factors appear to be more fine-grained and specific.

Structural factors appearing in the literature include political factors, market forces, the prevalent entrepreneurship culture, and social norms (Bosma et al., 2020; Shane et al., 2003; Verheul et al., 2001). These and other structural aspects including the ease of starting a business, a functioning support system, the presence of entrepreneurship for example through role models, but also changes in the economy such as rapid growth might trigger more individuals to engage in entrepreneurship than in contexts where these factors are absent (cf. Bosma et al., 2020). Put simply, given the same individual starting point, because of structural compositions in some contexts starting a business is more likely than in others. Different contexts provide their own, specific set of market opportunities and cultures around entrepreneurship. Thereby structural differences do not only exist between countries, but also between places inside a country (cf. Razin, 2002), as regions and cities might offer very different market opportunities and support

structures for aspiring entrepreneurs. For these reasons, structural factors can weigh heavily for an individuals' decision to become an entrepreneur. The more surprising is that structure/context has long played a *'peripheral role'* (Baker & Welter, 2017, p.171) in entrepreneurship research.

Individual factors influencing transitions into entrepreneurship discussed in the literature include economic characteristics such as an individuals' income and position on the labour market prior to entrepreneurship (Wolff et al., 2016). Furthermore, educational background and work experience (Cooper, 1981), but also (access to) supportive social capital (Estrin et al., 2013) are acknowledged as important factors that influence entrepreneurial motivations. A large strand of the entrepreneurship literature is dedicated to the role of the entrepreneurial personality. The argument is that personality traits predict entrepreneurial behaviour (Rauch & Frese, 2000). However, the exact role and weight of personality traits in the decision for entrepreneurship is discussed controversially (Rauch & Frese, 2007). Shane et al. (2003) identify nine motivational factors from the research domain of personality traits and entrepreneurship. These are the need for achievement, risk-taking, tolerance for ambiguity, self-efficacy, goal setting and locus of control, the strive for independence, drive and egoistic passion (i.e. *'a passionate, selfish love of the work'*, *ibid.*, p.268).¹⁷

Somewhat at the intersection of individual and structural factors lies the complex issue of entrepreneurial identity markers that feed into entrepreneurial decision processes. Although defining 'identity' goes beyond the scope of this thesis, it can be stated that identity is a situative, fluid construct that might vary depending on the perspective (e.g. self-perception and perception of others; cf. Lawler, 2015). For example, a refugee-origin entrepreneur might perceive themselves as an entrepreneur before anything else, while people in their street might perceive them as a refugee in the first place. Despite being fluid and situative, identities are like a stable anchor and a decision-making tool for individuals (Oyserman et al., 2012). Taken together, identities form one's self-concept

¹⁷ Related to the last factor, Østergaard (2018) notes that entrepreneurial personality traits are not necessarily positive character traits, but also include aspects of lack, such as a negative adaptation capacity to social and work contexts.

(ibid.). The self-concept, just like identity, is created and adapted in exchange with the context, past experiences, the present and generates versions of possible future selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Possible future selves, in turn, serve as incentives for future behaviour (ibid.). Translated to entrepreneurship, experience as an entrepreneur can thus result from positive entrepreneurship experiences in the past. At the same time, the imagined, possible future self as – for instance – an independent and hard-working shop owner can motivate a person to engage in entrepreneurship.

Within the literature on identity markers and their impact on entrepreneurial motivations, scholars refer to different markers such as an entrepreneurial ‘image of self’ (Mitchell & Shepherd, 2010), ‘self-definition as entrepreneur’ (Glinka & Brzozowska, 2015) and ‘sense of self’ (i.e. entrepreneurial identity; Alsos et al., 2016). These three concepts have in common that they link past experiences and current self-concepts to future selves as entrepreneurs. In the words of Baker & Welter (2017), they represent ‘*identity fulfilment motivations*’ (p.171) for entrepreneurship. Further future-oriented motivational factors for entrepreneurship include a desire for autonomy, independence and the wish to become self-sufficient (Else et al., 2003; Smallbone & Welter, 2003).

Taken together, individual motivations to become an entrepreneur can be grounded in past experiences, point to the (imagined) future, and relate to the present self-concept, which is in turn influenced by past experiences and the imagined future.

Motivational factors specific to migrant-origin entrepreneurship

In research on migrant-origin entrepreneurship, additional factors that are found to impact on entrepreneurial motivations appear in the literature. Zimmermann (2016) in his literature review on migrant-origin entrepreneurship lists more than 20 factors influencing ‘*migrant/ethnic self-employment*’ (p.43), including the following six overarching factors:

1. *Personal characteristics*, for example the migration trajectory (e.g. reasons for migration, time since migration, permanent or temporary settlement); educational and professional qualifications from abroad and in the host country;

- current position on the labour market; language proficiency in the host country language; access to collective resources, including 'ethnic' resources
2. *Opportunity structures*, for example market conditions; available business niches; competition; mechanisms of 'ethnic' solidarity
 3. *Disadvantages and discrimination on the labour market*, for example structural barriers for migrants; blocked upward mobility; discrimination based on ethnicity etc.
 4. *Culture-related factors ascribed to some groups*, for example traditions and beliefs from the home country related to work and entrepreneurship; entrepreneurial spirit
 5. *Time*, which is relevant in relation to the individual (e.g. time since arrival in the host country), generations¹⁸ and the context (i.e. when structural conditions for groups of migrants change over time, such as policies that facilitate/restrict their access to entrepreneurship)
 6. *Space/context*, i.e. rules and regulations for groups to enter entrepreneurship, different compositions of local markets, which provide distinct opportunities to aspiring migrant-origin entrepreneurs. Space is also considered in terms of the neighbourhoods where migrants operate businesses.¹⁹

Relating to the 'reason of migration' as a personal characteristic (see 1.), different migration pathways are relevant as they are accompanied with different rights and responsibilities for aspiring entrepreneurs (see for example Collins et al., 2017). This differentiation is crucial with respect to refugees, who overall face higher restrictions upon arrival than other migrant groups.

Relating to the 'culture' factor, migrant-origin entrepreneurship research has long been marked by a '*culture versus structure debate*' (Ram & Smallbone, 2003, p.153). Thereby migrant-origin entrepreneurs' motivation to engage in entrepreneurship was linked to

¹⁸ For example, second-generation entrepreneurs are found to fair better on the market than first-generation migrants (see Rusinovic, 2006).

¹⁹ For example, a high concentration of businesses in a neighbourhood increases the likelihood for some migrant groups to engage in entrepreneurship, particularly those with limited opportunities in wage employment (see Kone et al., 2020; Schunck & Windzio, 2009).

universalistic cultural or ethnicity-based traits, rather than individual motivation factors. By now scholars have moved away from focusing on group characteristics as the main determinants for migrant-origin entrepreneurship. First, because such a view easily undervalues role of the context in which entrepreneurship occurs. Second, because it undermines the role of the entrepreneur as an active agent and the diversity of entrepreneurial motivations (and identities) of people from the same ethnicity (cf. Barrett & Vershinina, 2017). Third, explanation models that highlight ethnicity-based and cultural motivational factors for entrepreneurship disregard the fluidity and adaptability of culture itself (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990, referring to Nee & Wong, 1985).

While it is still acknowledged that cultural traditions and beliefs can play a role for individuals' entrepreneurial activity²⁰ and the tendency for self-employment, at the same time their scope is contested. In that regard, Barrett and Vershinina (2017) point to the complexity of migrant-origin entrepreneurs' identities in times of increasingly diverse migration patterns, where even migrants from the same ethnic background can make very different migration experiences. In their study on Polish-origin entrepreneurs in the UK the authors show that the role of their 'Polish identity' does indeed appear in their entrepreneurial narratives, but that it is merely one among several identity factors that shaped their entrepreneurial motivation.

Finally, a recent study on motivations for refugee-origin entrepreneurship mentions a feeling of stability and belonging as an additional, future-oriented motivational factor among aspiring refugee-origin entrepreneurs (Embiricos, 2020).

In summary, entrepreneurial motivations are multifaceted. They are a combination of various factors related to the entrepreneurial agent and the structure in which they seek to enact entrepreneurship. Individuals can be pushed or pulled towards entrepreneurship, but most commonly both happens at the same time. While there is a multitude of generic motivational factors from the entrepreneurship literature, there are also some motivational factors specific to migrant-origin entrepreneurship.

²⁰ See for example Altinay et al.'s (2014) study on the role of 'multiple cultural identities' for Turkish-origin small businesses in London.

2.1.5 Resources to become an entrepreneur

The mainstream literature

How entrepreneurs access and use resources during the process of ‘becoming an entrepreneur’ has been widely explored in the mainstream entrepreneurship literature, and is linked to the notions of opportunity recognition and exploitation (Shane et al., 2003; Shane & Venkataraman, 2000). There is also wide consensus on the kinds of resources individuals draw on to discover and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities. Thereby, similar to research in entrepreneurial motivations, personality traits as resources were traditionally in the focus of the literature (Rauch & Frese, 2007).²¹ Almost intuitively, financial capital is further highlighted as an important resource for nascent entrepreneurs. Research has found that most nascent entrepreneurs use their existing financial capital resources or borrow informally (cf. Baker & Nelson, 2005), for example from family members. Nonetheless, formal capital sources such as venture capital are frequently highlighted as important resources to start a business (Baumol & Schilling, 2008). Other, non-financial resources represented in resource-based approaches to entrepreneurship include social, human(-cultural) and symbolic capital (Alvarez & Busenitz, 2001; Davidsson & Honig, 2003; Pret et al., 2016). It is understood that these intangible forms of capital can influence entrepreneurial processes substantially (Marvel et al., 2014; Pret et al., 2016). At the same time, studies investigating the impact of different forms of capital during entrepreneurial opportunity recognition and exploitation processes are scarce (e.g. Davidsson & Honig, 2003).

Migrant-origin entrepreneurship and resources

While the above-mentioned resources are commonly acknowledged in entrepreneurship research, scholars such as Martinez Dy (2020) point out that solely recognising their importance does not suffice. As ‘critical entrepreneurial resources’ (ibid., p.689) result largely from accumulation processes over a lifetime, and even across generations, not everyone has access to relevant resources in the same way. This argument leads back to

²¹ And these characteristics largely overlap, too: Personality traits such as ‘tolerance for ambiguity’ and ‘self-efficacy’ are not only motivational drivers, but also intangible resources that nascent entrepreneurs can draw on (cf. Alsos et al., 2016).

the '*different set of resources*' (Kloosterman, 2010, p.26) that migrants, overall, possess in relation to the host country. More concretely, especially newly arriving migrants in average have lower transferable social, financial and human-cultural capital to start a business in the host country.²² Thus, in the likely case that migrants' initial resources cannot directly be transferred to the host country context, in order to become entrepreneurs they face several pathways. As someone might pursue more than one strategy, in reality these pathways can overlap.

First, migrants can engage in entrepreneurship despite inadequate initial resource configurations. One mode of circumventing a lack of host country resources is to serve a fragment of the population, such as co-ethnics and/or people in the direct neighbourhood (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990). These modes tend to go hand in hand with entering sectors with low entry barriers in terms of human and financial capital, and low growth-prospects at the same time (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001). Another mode mentioned in the literature is to deploy informal economic strategies (e.g. not declaring some or all business activities), to overcome structural and formal barriers towards entrepreneurship (Edwards et al., 2016; Kloosterman, 2010).

Second, migrants can invest time to accumulate different forms of capital prior to business start-up. Literature shows that the barriers towards work (including entrepreneurship) decrease over time, as migrants' social and human capital, especially host country language skills increase (Bakker et al., 2017). These changes in host country-specific resources make it easier for migrants to navigate the institutional structure, acquire the necessary diplomas and start a business. Kraus & Werner (2012) speak of a '*cultural imprinting' effect*' (p.324) of the host country in this regard, which increases over time. Another means of accumulating host country capital mentioned in the literature are business incubators. Thereby incubators targeted at newly arrived migrants fulfil the role of overcoming institutional barriers and bridging cultural and social gaps (Harima et al., 2019; Meister & Mauer, 2018). However, accumulating relevant capital is also frequently found to take place within so-called ethnic economies. One example are

²² Also see Section 2.1.2.

'apprentice entrepreneurs' (Ram et al., 2001), who work for experienced entrepreneurs with a shared ethnicity, in sectors such as hospitality, and with the goal of becoming a competitor. Alternatively, albeit less explored in the literature, some 'new migrant' entrepreneurs might treat their initial entrepreneurship endeavour merely as a stepping stone towards a bigger or better business (Edwards et al., 2016). In these cases, the goal is to accumulate host country capital *during* the initial process of entrepreneurship.

Third, migrants can seek to combine available resources, however scarce these are, in alternative ways. The ways of resource combination have been widely explored in the literature on migrant-origin entrepreneurship. In that regard, bricolage – '*making do with whatever is at hand*' (Lévi-Strauss, 1967, p.17) – is one mode of creatively deploying the available resources, however small, and circumvent resource scarcity. For example, a study with internally displaced entrepreneurs in Pakistan finds that nascent entrepreneurs in adverse contexts use clandestine networks to access labour, customers and local knowledge, together with a '*reconfiguration of business ideas and scopes*' (Kwong et al., 2018, p.8). In the near absence of physical resources, the entrepreneurs reconfigure aspects of their human capital (e.g. work experience, digital skills) to adapt them to the new context. Having several small businesses alongside each other and using the same space for multiple purposes are related bricolage strategies, as a study by Villares-Varela et al. (2018) with migrant-origin entrepreneurs in the UK West Midlands finds. Another form of bricolage is financial bootstrapping, whereby nascent entrepreneurs access a range of financial resources from their inner social circle, such as friends and family to realise their business idea (Kariv & Coleman, 2015). A study of Turkish entrepreneurs in Switzerland shows that financial bootstrapping is widespread among the newly arriving, first generation of migrants as '*a common way of getting the necessary capital to start a new business*' (Baycan-Levent & Kundak, 2009, p.304), but over the course of time formal forms of financial capital such as bank loans are added to the capital mix.

Regardless the strategy migrant-origin entrepreneurs deploy, the role of social capital resources are often highlighted as the lynchpin for nascent entrepreneurs. Especially when other resources are scarce, social capital can be a key resource to engage in

entrepreneurship (Kloosterman, 2010; Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993). Thereby the role of *informal* social capital is emphasised. Several scholars have noted that nascent migrant-origin entrepreneurs tend to draw strongly on family and community resources, for example in the form of unpaid work and other informal support from family members (Edwards et al., 2016; Light, 2004). Masurel et al. (2002, p.238) go as far as to state that *'Informal networks are crucial for business success [in 'ethnic entrepreneurship']'*. Furthermore, transnational social capital resources of migrant-origin entrepreneurs increasingly receive scholarly attention. Migrant-origin entrepreneurship today is characterised by unprecedented levels of transnationality (Nazareno et al., 2019) as technology allows entrepreneurs to be active in several geographical locations and, in the case of migrant-origin entrepreneurs, to mobilise transnational resources through diasporic networks easier than some decades ago (Miera, 2008; Portes et al., 2002). Transnational social capital is thus an important resource for migrants, including refugees (Sandberg et al., 2019), to engage in entrepreneurship.

Some scholars have argued that the role of social capital has been overemphasised at the cost of considering other resources (Ram et al., 2008; Vershinina et al., 2011). Interestingly, in the recent work on refugee-origin entrepreneurship the focus on social capital has reappeared (Bizri, 2017; Lyon et al., 2007; Sandberg et al., 2019; Williams & Krasniqi, 2018).

Nee and Sanders' (2001) forms-of-capital model to explain 'immigrant incorporation', which is based on Bourdieu's (1986) forms-of-capital approach, provides a lens that considers the *mix* of capital migrants arrive with and accumulate in the host country. Its key argument is that ***'the mode of [immigrant] incorporation is largely a function of the social, financial, and human-cultural capital of immigrant families and how these resources are used by individuals within and apart from the existing structure of ethnic networks and institutions.'***²³ (Nee & Sanders, 2001, p.388). As such, the forms-of-capital model overcomes a too narrow focus on the role of (co-ethnic) social capital. For instance, in their application of the model, Vershinina et al. (2011) find that Polish-origin

²³ Highlighted in the original text.

entrepreneurs in Leicester, UK, use and combine different forms of capital in various ways. The authors come across large differences of deploying social capital, even within this group of migrants from the same ethnic background, and conclude that *'Social capital arising from a shared ethnicity or the same country of origin did not have a fixed and immutable value'* (p.113).

Nee and Sander's (2001) forms-of-capital model is congruent with the idea of mixed embeddedness (cf. Ram et al., 2008), which is discussed subsequently.

2.1.6 Mixed embeddedness

Mixed embeddedness was already introduced as an important theoretical lens in migrant-origin entrepreneurship research in Section 2.1.2. The concept is suitable to explore the process of 'becoming an entrepreneur' across different contexts for three main reasons.

Interplay between agency and structure

First, mixed embeddedness considers the entrepreneur's resources and their agency, as much as it considers the wider opportunity structure for enterprise development (Sepulveda et al., 2011). Agency can be summarised as *'a temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past (in its habitual aspect), but also oriented toward the future (as a capacity to imagine alternative possibilities) and toward the present (as a capacity to contextualize past habits and future projects within the contingencies of the moment)'* (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998, p.963). In other words, agency refers to an individual's capacity to act autonomously within a given structure.

The opportunity structure refers, most of all, to the local market (Kloosterman, 2010). Which market openings any entrepreneur can access, depends on their individual and social resources, including their agency, and the contextual framework. More concretely, the *interaction* between the entrepreneurs' individual and network resources and the wider opportunity structure (i.e. the social, economic, political and institutional environment; Kloosterman, 2010) is at the core of mixed embeddedness. The notion of 'mixed' in mixed embeddedness highlights that migrants are embedded in different *'spheres of influence'* (Jones et al., 2014a, p.503), which go beyond co-ethnic networks.

These spheres of influence and the factors they comprise (see Table 1) all impact on the form and direction of entrepreneurial processes.

Table 1: Factors for migrant-origin entrepreneurship, as mentioned by Kloosterman et al. (1999), Kloosterman & Rath (2001) and Kloosterman (2010)

<i>Sphere of influence</i>	<i>Factors in the mixed embeddedness concept</i>
Individual and social resources (micro-level)	Financial capital
	Human capital
	Social capital and social embeddedness
	'Ethnic' capital
	Agency
Socio-economic opportunity structure (meso-level)	Markets and market openings
	Orientation towards certain economic activities, i.e. accessibility of markets and their growth potential
	Urban policies
Politico-institutional context (macro-level)	The welfare system and national institutions
	The organisation of markets
	The framework of rules and regulations
	Housing policies (impacting on the residential distribution of migrants)
	Business associations
	Business practices which regulate particular markets
	Entrepreneurial culture
Contextual changes over time	

On the micro-level of individual and social resources, (not only) migrant-origin entrepreneurs are equipped with different forms of capital, and agency. The meso level of the opportunity structure refers to local markets, their accessibility and growth potential, but also to urban policies. The macro-level of the politico-institutional context sets the formal framework for entrepreneurial activities among migrant-origin entrepreneurs. In fact, regulation in various forms – including deregulation – is central to mixed embeddedness, as the following quote illustrates:

'[...] different markets offer different opportunities, put up different barriers, require different skills, competencies and resources (in terms of financial capital, social network, educational requirements and so on), lead to different forms and levels of success (however defined), and eventually to a different ethnic division of entrepreneurial labour. [...] This multifacetedness is not just the product of changing demographic

or economic conditions, but also of **regulation**²⁴. [...] Entrepreneurs are active in a market economy, and market economies – including the more liberal ones – are always regulated, albeit the form and level of regulation may vary. [...] Regulation encompasses both legislative and non-legislative forms, and is therefore more than just state regulation. [...] Deregulation or non-actions, to be sure, are also forms of regulation.’ (Rath & Swagerman, 2015, p.155)

Different spatial levels (multilayered concept)

Second, mixed embeddedness takes different spatial layers into account. More concretely, a three-level approach is suggested whereby national, regional/urban and local/neighbourhood spatial levels are considered (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001). Mixed embeddedness thus allows to analyse migrant-origin entrepreneurship from multiple spatial perspectives and to set focal points whilst doing so. For example, Price & Chacko (2009) study how different migrant groups in metropolitan Washington, DC, transition into entrepreneurship. The authors use mixed embeddedness to draw attention to the role of the *regional* opportunity structure for different pathways into entrepreneurship, but also address and acknowledge the *national* regulatory context.

Suitability for comparative research

Third, with its emphasis on the structural elements for entrepreneurship mixed embeddedness facilitates comparing the conditions for migrant-origin entrepreneurs in different countries and cities (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001). As local opportunity structures (local markets) and the politico-legal regulation frameworks differ from context to context, the mixed embeddedness lens can help to explain variances in migrant-origin entrepreneurship in different regulatory contexts. While mixed embeddedness *generally* acknowledges the role of regulatory matters, applied to comparative contexts these are turned into more *concrete* aspects (Rath & Swagerman, 2015). For example, it might be taken for granted in one context that refugees have legal access to entrepreneurship, whereas in other contexts policies exclude refugees from this form of work. Those who intend to start a business might be legally obliged to join a professional association in one

²⁴ Highlighted in the original text.

context, but not in another. By using mixed embeddedness as a comparative lens, concrete aspects of the opportunity structure with an impact on entrepreneurial activities even among similar groups of migrants in different contexts (for example refugees in Germany and the UK) can be highlighted.

More than 20 years after its introduction, mixed embeddedness is still a widely used theoretical lens in migrant-origin entrepreneurship research (Ram et al., 2017). At the same time, scholars have suggested complementary lenses and extensions to the concept in the light of global developments towards digitalisation, transnationality and super-diversity (Barberis & Solano, 2018). These suggestions include: a focus beyond 'ethnic' capital (Ram et al., 2017); transnationalism and diasporic networks (Miera, 2008; Nazareno et al., 2019; Schiller & Çağlar, 2013; You & Zhou, 2019); a stronger emphasis on agency (Ram et al., 2017); the role of time (Beckers & Blumberg, 2013) and the process character of mixed embeddedness ('mixed embedding'; Evansluong, 2016).

2.1.7 Refugee-origin entrepreneurship through the lens of an extended mixed embeddedness concept

Taking into consideration some of the theoretical advancements in the field, an extended mixed embeddedness concept is suggested to explore the mechanisms of why and how refugees become entrepreneurs in different contexts (see Figure 3). Building on mixed embeddedness, the concept is structured around the entrepreneurial agent with their individual and social resources on the one hand, and the structural environment with its different levels and elements on the other hand. Elements of agency and structure, and how these elements interact, are at its core. The extended concept includes the transnational level as an additional spatial level, differentiates between the politico-institutional and the societal environment as a part of the demand side, and emphasises the role of time. In addition, Nee and Sander's (2001) forms-of-capital model is added to the side of the entrepreneurial agent.

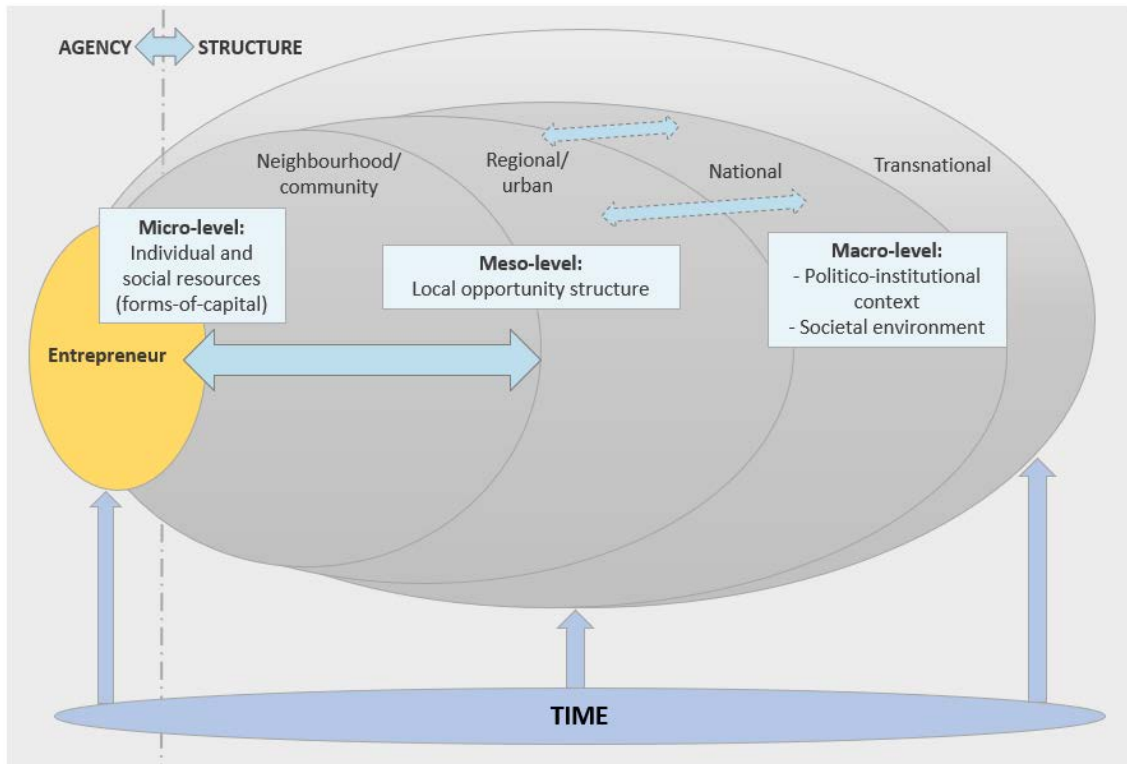


Figure 3: Elements influencing engagement in entrepreneurship: an extended mixed embeddedness concept (based on Kloosterman et al., 1999; Kloosterman, 2010)

Four spatial levels

The demand side consists of different geographical levels which can all impact on the process of becoming an entrepreneur: the neighbourhood/community, regional/urban and the national level (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001). Since, just like other migrant-origin entrepreneurs, refugee-origin entrepreneurs can have transnational personal and business ties (Lyon et al., 2007; Sandberg et al., 2019), the transnational level is added to the original concept.

Spheres of influence: forms-of-capital, the politico-institutional and societal environment

On the micro-level, Nee and Sander's (2001) forms-of-capital model is incorporated into the suggested mixed embeddedness concept. Namely the mix of the social, financial, and human-cultural capital resources refugees have upon arrival and accumulate over time is considered, and how the mix of these forms-of-capital impact on their trajectories into entrepreneurship in the host country. Nazareno et al. (2019; referring to Ram et al., 2008 and Vershinina et al., 2011) suggest that 'linking this approach with an analysis of

different forms of capital (social, cultural, economic) and their mobilization provides a more comprehensive perspective on immigrant entrepreneurial communities' (p.790). For instance, the forms-of-capital lens helps to explore how networks and experiences differ within the same group of migrants, including co-ethnics (Rodgers et al., 2019).

On the macro-level, the extended mixed embeddedness concept distinguishes between the politico-institutional context and the societal environment, as suggested by Wauters and Lambrecht (2008). Both aspects impact on the opportunity structure for refugee-origin entrepreneurship. 'Institutional' environment refers to any kind of legal requirements (ibid.). These include national politico-legal rules and regulations decided on the national level (e.g. access to entrepreneurship for refugees), the regional level (e.g. regional approaches to refugee integration) and the transnational level (e.g. refugee relocation agreements between different countries), which can directly affect refugee entrepreneurship on the local level. 'Societal environment' is here used broadly as an umbrella term for societal factors that can support or hinder refugee-origin entrepreneurship, such as the ethnic and social composition of neighbourhoods, the presence (or absence) of supportive organisations and the wider entrepreneurial culture in the host societies (ibid.). In addition, structural discrimination (Blackburn & Ram, 2006) can be added to the list.

Time

'Time' refers to several facets of refugee-origin entrepreneurship. First, it refers to the various stages of the entrepreneurial trajectory (Kloosterman, 2010), in this case the phase of 'becoming an entrepreneur'. How do refugee-origin entrepreneurs use and access their initial resources upon business start-up? Second, it refers to changes in the wider opportunity structure over time, and how these changes are reflected in the experiences of nascent refugee-origin entrepreneur. How do, for instance, changes in refugee-integration-opportunity structure (Phillimore, 2020) translate to the experiences of refugee-origin entrepreneurs over time? The extended concept thus highlights that opportunities and strategies of becoming entrepreneur do not only occur in a specific context, but are also *'embedded within changing historical conditions'* (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990, p.112).

In summary, the adjustments to the original mixed embeddedness concept facilitate a comparison between refugee-origin entrepreneurship in different contexts and across time.

The next section introduces the second main part of the literature review.

2.2 Entrepreneurship and integration: the missing link

Rising numbers of refugees and other third-country migrants in European countries since the late 1990s have led to a growing interest in integration among policy makers and international organisations, followed by a steep rise in integration research and publications (Penninx et al., 2008). Studies have looked at integration processes of individuals and migrant groups, and how different groups of migrants fare within the same context. In the past two decades there has also been a growth in comparative studies looking at integration processes and outcomes in different country contexts (Diehl et al., 2016). To what extent do host countries allow migrants to unfold their potential and aspirations? How do receiving societies support or hinder integration? What is the role of institutions in this process? How does the same group of migrants fare in different contexts? How can countries – under the premise that integration is a desirable goal – learn from each other? Following the pathways of newcomers into different societies can help answering these questions.

Both in single-context and comparative studies, migrants' labour market participation in the host countries is given a prominent status as it is said to be a key factor for migrants' integration and participation in society (Alba & Foner, 2015; Kleist, 2018; Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019; Penninx, 2005). However, participation in the labour market is typically equated with wage labour. Entrepreneurship as an alternative way of labour market integration has rarely been researched (see Section 2.2.6).

In the following sections, a definition and concept of 'integration' is first introduced (Section 2.2.1). Sections 2.2.2 to 2.2.5 are dedicated to mapping the state-of-the art of integration research. Section 2.2.6 gives an overview of what is already known about the

relation between entrepreneurship and integration. Finally, in Section 2.2.7 a concept to look at entrepreneurship and integration in comparative contexts is presented.

2.2.1 Integration definition and critical perspectives

Integration is a much-debated topic in policy, media and academia. Integration processes and outcomes of migrants have been mapped extensively in the past decades (cf. Alba & Foner, 2015; Garcés-Mascreñas & Penninx, 2016; Penninx et al., 2008). Also outside the realm of academia, ‘integration’ is an omnipresent variable in the public and policy discourse around migration, and it is important to mention that the term is often used differently in these settings. What is meant when utilising the concept is largely dependent on the perspective, the intention and background of the speaker (Phillimore, 2012).

In the policy context, the focus is rather on measurable, tangible integration *outcomes* (Grzymala-Kazłowska & Phillimore, 2017; Spencer & Charsley, 2021) such as migrants’ participation rates in different domains of life as opposed to the native-born members of society. Furthermore, policy makers tend to place an emphasis on migrants’ responsibility to integrate (Dahlstedt & Neergaard, 2015).

Despite the lack of a universal definition for integration in the academic discourse (Grzymala-Kazłowska & Phillimore, 2017; Sobolewska et al., 2017), scholars widely agree on some aspects of the phenomenon. Importantly, in distinction from the policy discourse a common starting point is to look at integration as a *process*, and not an end state (Penninx, 2009). Integration is understood to take place as a non-linear context- and time-specific, joint process of different actors (newcomers and the receiving society) on different levels and in different domains of life (Ager & Strang, 2004; Garcés-Mascreñas & Penninx, 2016; Heckmann, 2005; Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019). Furthermore, recent theoretical advancements have shifted away from normative ideas of integration of a minority group into a majority society (Spencer & Charsley, 2021).

Building on this largely accepted common ground in the academic integration discourse, the following definition of integration is used in the context of this study. This definition also forms the foundation of the integration concept introduced in Section 2.2.7.

Definition of integration: *Integration is an enduring multidirectional, multidimensional and multilevel process, which is marked by a shared engagement of all involved actors and dependent on the individual, the context and time. Integration processes take place in relation to social, structural, cultural and civic/political domains of life, as well as identity. From the individual's point of view, 'integration' is mostly expressed as a sense of belonging to the receiving society. From a systemic point of view, 'successful' integration means that migrant-origin individuals have the same chances and opportunities as the long-established groups in the population.*

Before proceeding with different elements of an integration concept, the point should be raised that the notion of 'integration' is not uncontested.

On the one hand, aspects and patterns of the dominant integration discourse have been problematised by scholars. Regarding the units of analysis, a point of criticism is that policymakers and academics tend to treat groups of people as '*predetermined units*' (Cherti & McNeil, 2012, p.4) who share similar identities and patterns of behaviour (also see Crul & Schneider, 2010). Some argue that as a combination of policy and academic efforts particularly in Western societies, a fixed paradigm of integration has established which hampers the development of alternative perspectives on the phenomenon (Ling-fung Chau, 2013).

Furthermore, the idea of 'integration into an existing mainstream society' is questioned since the constellation of (Western) societies has changed over the past decades and moved away from previously more clearly defined categories such as '*single ethnic belonging*' (Crul & Schneider, 2010, p.1249). Many global European cities have become largely diversified, not only in terms of different ethnicities within the population, but also in terms of legal statuses, gender and age distribution, professional experiences, migration channels and geographical distribution of migrants (Vertovec, 2007). The former majority group, characterised by a shared citizenship and birth country, has become a minority among many others in '*super-diverse*' (ibid.) cities like London, Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels (Crul et al., 2013) and Frankfurt²⁵. The accompanying question of any integration concept – 'integration of whom into what?' – has thus reached an

²⁵ See <https://www.mpg.de/252939> [accessed: 06-07-2021].

unprecedented state of fuzziness, making it hard to find points of reference against which integration processes can be assessed.

Some scholars go as far as to question the notion of integration as a whole (Favell, 2001, 2019; Ozkazanc-Pan, 2019; Schinkel, 2017), perhaps culminating in Schinkel's (2018) suggestion that integration is a concept of '*social hygiene*'²⁶ (p.5), based on theories of difference between artificially constructed groups of people, whereby groups of migrants (or: non-white individuals) are problematised as outsiders to the otherwise '*pristine, pure*' society that is in itself flawless. Using somewhat less dramatic words, the notion of integration – derived from the Latin word 'integer', i.e. complete, whole, intact – implies that outsiders who are not (yet) part of a functioning whole – society – need to be fitted into what is already there.

And yet, despite these well-founded criticisms in the concept of integration, scholars have continued to work with versions of it. Alternative and established theoretical concepts to capture individual and group processes of cross-border movement, arriving at and becoming part of a new place are still scarce. Efforts to replace/merge integration with alternative concepts such as inclusion and intersectionality exist, but contribute to more incoherence in the literature.

In recent years there have been several calls to reconceptualise or rethink integration to keep track with societal developments towards (super)diversity (Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2017) and migrants' transnational belonging (Dahinden, 2012; Ehrkamp & Leitner, 2006). Others have called to make use of mid-level theories to bridge the gap between theory and policy/practice (Strang & Ager, 2010), as integration scholars face the challenge of doing justice to scholarly principles of critically assessing and theorising integration (processes) *and* making theoretical insights relevant to the practical world. Ager and Strang's (2008) very own conceptual framework of integration is such an example, as it was developed in a policy context (refugee resettlement in the UK) and has

²⁶ Highlighted in the original text.

yet become an established conceptual framework to explore integration processes of different migrant groups.

A somewhat related mode of rethinking integration is to use integration concepts as a heuristic lens to capture processes of change (Spencer & Charsley, 2016), as it is done in this study. The argument is that by doing so, the focus can solely lie on capturing the complex processes happening among individuals and institutions, whilst circumventing issues of normativity and ‘othering’ of migrants (Spencer & Charsley, 2021).²⁷

Against the backdrop of this complexity, and the changing nature of ‘integration’ and its contexts, some relevant aspects of the current (pro-integration) academic discourse are summarised in the following sections.

2.2.2 Integration as a multidirectional process

Scholars widely consider integration as an interactive process involving both the effort of the receiving society to accommodate integration and migrants’ willingness to integrate (Garcés-Masareñas & Penninx, 2016; Strang & Ager, 2010). In this two-way process, which involves interaction and adaptation of all those involved, the receiving society usually has more control over the direction and pace (Heckmann, 2005).

Since integration involves both migrants and receiving societies in the sense of a shared engagement, integration processes do not only change migrants’ behaviour and perceptions, but also have effects on the receiving societies and their identity (Alba & Foner, 2015; Berry, 1997, 2011). The related adaptation processes do usually not take place smoothly, but are subject to conflicts between migrants and their descendants and other residents, as the boundaries of the different cultural comfort zones are constantly renegotiated (Berry, 1997). As such, conflicts between established (and thus more powerful) groups in society and minorities can also be a signal of successful integration of the latter as they – metaphorically speaking – claim their place on the receiving societies’ table (El-Mafaalani, 2018). More recently, the integration process has been described as ‘multidirectional’, rather than a two-way process, to emphasise the

²⁷ Although, as the authors themselves state, applying such a heuristic, process-orientated concept does not automatically free those who apply it from an underlying normativity.

increasing heterogeneity of both receiving societies and migrants (Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019).

Furthermore, the notion of a two-way or multidirectional process also refers to the directions integration might take over time. As Phillimore (2012) summarises, scholars agree that integration should be treated as a process, but there is criticism in the presumption that this process is an '*unidirectional, monolithic route that all migrants follow*' (p.2). Rather, integration is to be seen a non-linear process with no fixed pace and direction. The feeling of being integrated can advance over time, for example when friendships within the community are built. It can also decrease, for example when language difficulties hinder participation in institutions of everyday life such as work and education. Integration processes can involve key moments that foster integration and increase the feeling of belonging, but they can also involve concrete disruptive experiences, for example in the form of discrimination or concrete negative experiences with official bodies.

2.2.3 Integration as a multidimensional process

In the past decades, integration has also increasingly been considered as a phenomenon that takes place within different domains of life. Thereby 'domains' are defined in different ways.

Some integration frameworks distinguish between a small number of *overarching* domains of integration, such as a structural (or functional) and a socio-cultural (or social) domain (Kissoon, 2006; SVR-Forschungsbereich, 2017; Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000).

Structural aspects of integration are linked to measurable outcomes, such as language proficiency and participation rates of migrants in education or the labour market, including entrepreneurship. These aspects of integration can be assessed quantitatively as participation or success rates in the respective field, whereby the rates of different migrant groups are compared to each other or to the native-origin population.

Socio-cultural aspects of integration widely refer to the extent of newcomers' and other minorities' cultural, attitudinal and behavioural changes towards the receiving society, and interpersonal relations with the native-born population (Beckers & Blumberg, 2013;

Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000) and other long-time residents. Language, which is considered an important facilitator for both integration into structural and socio-cultural aspects of life (SVR-Forschungsbereich, 2017) can be allocated in between the two overarching domains: Being able to communicate in the host country's language not only facilitates access to work, housing, education and social or health care (i.e. integration into the structural domain), but it also simplifies social connections and cultural learning (i.e. integration into the socio-cultural domain).

Other scholars approach integration from a perspective beyond separate domains of everyday life, for example by including the pre-conditions that determine integration in these domains (e.g. Ager & Strang, 2004), or use different points of reference in relation to which integration processes can occur, such as the state, the market and the nation (Garcés-Masareñas & Penninx, 2016). In the 'Indicators of integration' conceptual framework first developed by UK scholars Alastair Ager and Alison Strang (2004) and recently revised for the UK Home Office (Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019), integration is framed by foundational principles such as citizenship and migrants' rights on the one hand, and integration outcomes in the public domain (employment/work, housing, education and health) on the other hand. In between these foundational principles for and measurable outcomes of integration, different forms of social connections and a set of 'facilitators' such as safety and stability serve as '*connective tissue*' (Ager & Strang, 2008, p.177).

Finally, the individual integration experience has become a focus of scholarly attention besides structural and socio-cultural factors. It can be considered a domain in its own right, albeit a domain deeply intertwined with other domains of integration. From an individual point of view, the integration process can be summarized as '*the development of a sense of belonging in the host community, with some renegotiation of identity by both newcomers and hosts*' (Phillimore, 2012, p.3). Relatedly, research with recently arrived refugees found that reaching a state of 'normality' in their host country is a key desire for refugees: '*people want to feel and be treated as if they are normal*' (Mulvey, 2013, p.9). Integration policies, subsumed under 'Rights and responsibilities' in the updated Ager and Strang framework (Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019), play a mediating role in that context. While policies cannot *enforce* migrants' feeling of connectedness to the host country, legal

regulations and related rights can signalise respect and acknowledgement and therefore facilitate the identification with the host country (SVR-Forschungsbereich, 2018).

According to Spencer and Charsley (2016), integration domains mentioned across the literature can be narrowed down to five overarching domains (see Figure 4): the structural (e.g. participation in training and the labour market, access to housing, education and health care), the cultural (attitudes, behaviour and lifestyle), the social (e.g. social interaction, relationships, intra- and interethnic networks) and the civic/political domain (participation in democratic processes), as well as integration in relation to identity.

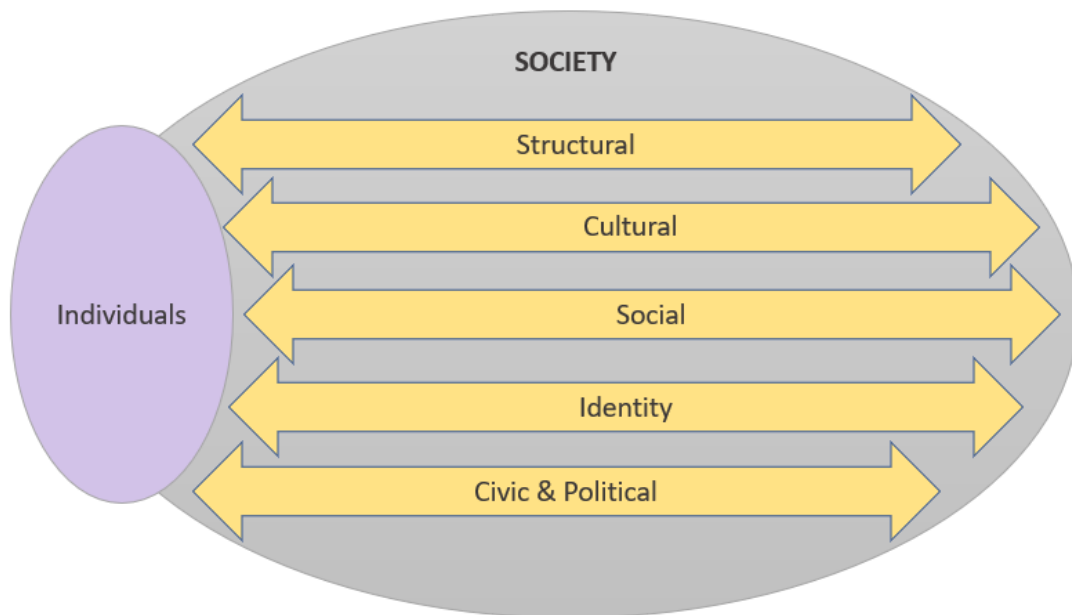


Figure 4: Domains of integration (Spencer & Charsley, 2016)

Rather than representing isolated aspects of everyday life, the boundaries between different domains can overlap, and positive or negative integration processes within one domain can have an effect on other domains. For example, having meaningful social connections in the host society (related to social integration) and being embedded in society's institutions such as work (related to structural integration) can lead to a stronger feeling of belonging (related to identity integration). Reversely, patterns of adaptation to the receiving society might also take place in some domains but not in others. Using the

example of the segmented assimilation theory, migrants' social upward mobility in the U.S. is not necessarily followed by their cultural integration into the white middle-class group (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997). Considering integration as an uneven process with different patterns across domains is closely related to looking at integration as a non-linear progress over time (see Section 2.2.2).

2.2.4 Integration as a multilevel process

There is also a wide agreement among scholars that integration is influenced by multiple geographical integration layers or levels (Hesse et al., 2017; Penninx, 2009; Spencer & Charsley, 2016). Although the exact categories vary, five overarching levels regularly appear in the literature: the individual level, the neighbourhood (also community level), the regional/urban (also: local) level, the national level and the transnational level (see Figure 5).

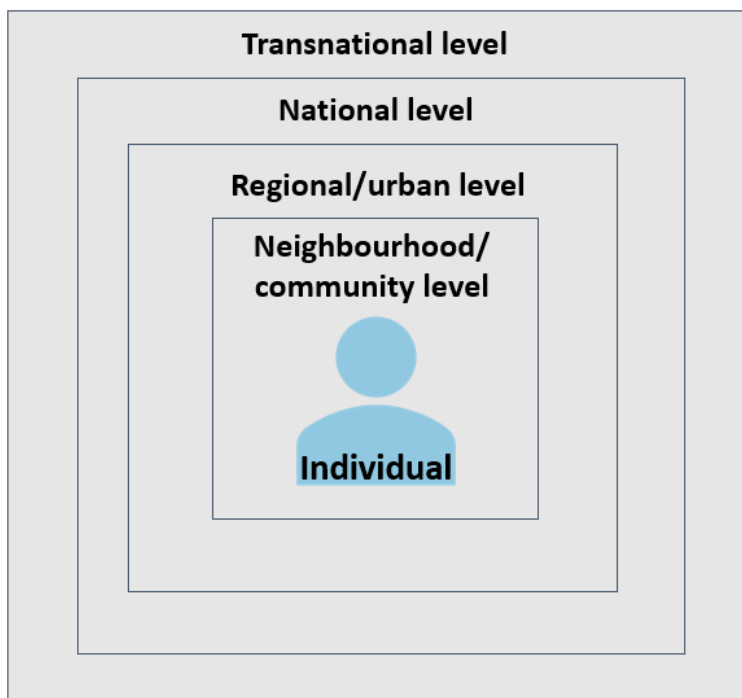


Figure 5: Integration as a multilevel process

The *national levels* as contexts for integration have long served as the most common lens in academic discourse (Garcés-Mascreñas & Penninx, 2016) as they set the frame for integration through their immigration policies, civic integration policies, and other legal regulations for migrants. It is in the national-level policies and rhetoric where receiving

societies' stance towards accommodating integration is reflected (Mulvey, 2015). In the case of the EU member states, the EU has increasingly been granted more power in the form of common standards such as the Common European Asylum System, agreed upon in 1999. However, the translation of these directives into concrete integration policies remain largely at the discretion of the nation states, resulting in a large diversity of integration-related policies (Goodman, 2010). As a consequence of these different national approaches, migrants in European countries face different circumstances, chances and barriers which can lead to varied integration outcomes even among those with similar cultural and geographical backgrounds (Crul et al., 2013).

The *regional/urban (or local)*²⁸ level represent the space where sub-national rules and regulations are decided and implemented. These contexts serve as an intermediate level for national integration policies on the one hand and integration practice on the other hand. Thereby, the wider *regional levels* are said to play an important role in facilitating integration in federal states like Germany (Ling-fung Chau, 2013), where the 16 different federate states have competencies that are indirectly related to integration, such as sovereignty over their education systems and the housing of refugees. Similarly, *local governments or municipalities* can be assigned particular integration responsibilities by national governments. For example in the UK, the local authorities are given a central responsibility in welcoming and supporting newly recognised and resettled refugees (Debbonnaire et al., 2017; Phillimore, 2020)²⁹.

In general, *local governments and cities* are confronted with migration in the most direct way, often leading them to develop their own integration approaches (cf. Jorgensen, 2012). Such approaches can resemble the national policy frameworks, as shown by Dekker et al. (2015) in their comparative studies of integration policies in Berlin, Malmö and Rotterdam. However, local governments and cities regularly come up with their own solutions to migration and integration, which can differ widely from the national policy

²⁸ The different sub-national integration levels addressed here – from the regional to the neighbourhood level – are often summarised as 'local' integration contexts in the literature, as opposed to national and transnational contexts (e.g. Jorgensen, 2012; Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019; Spencer & Charsley, 2016).

²⁹ Also see Chapter 4.

frameworks (Caponio & Borkert, 2010). In that regard, Scholten & Penninx (2016, p.91) find that *'Local governments, large cities in particular, are becoming increasingly entrepreneurial in developing their own integration philosophies and policies'*, leading to various approaches to integration even within one country. For example, when nearly one million asylum seekers arrived in Germany in 2015, local governments and municipalities across the country looked for quick and pragmatic solutions to serve the newcomers' needs alongside official, nation-wide guidelines (Degler & Liebig, 2017).

Being more likely to have direct contact with different migrant communities than national policy makers, in some contexts the local governments have also been found to respond more directly to migrants' needs (Bousetta, 2001; Dekker et al., 2015). Furthermore, openness towards newcomers can be interwoven with the wider city branding in multicultural and cosmopolitan cities such as Amsterdam or London (Dekker et al., 2015), or with *'urban regeneration and rebranding efforts'*, as Glick Schiller and Çağlar (2013, p.494) describe for the city of Halle. Finally, it is on the local level that migrants have bureaucratic contacts and face the reality of national integration policies (Belabas & Gerrits, 2017). To emphasise the specific role of local governments and urban/regional contexts, some scholars have advocated the study of local practice alongside public discussions and national integration policies (Crul & Schneider, 2010; Jorgensen, 2012; Ling-fung Chau, 2013).

For day-to-day integration processes, however, the *neighbourhood or community level* is argued to be an important spatial unit (Strang et al., 2018). It is here where newcomers can evolve a concrete sense of feeling welcome and belonging, and where residentially-based social networks are created (Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Hebbani et al., 2018; Wessendorf, 2018). A study with refugees in Scotland finds that their integration (as expressed by refugee respondents) was only possible *'within defined and small spatial units'* (Mulvey, 2013, p.134) such as the neighbourhood, since it was only here that respondent could overcome the structural and practical barriers to integration faced by refugees in the UK. Peters (2011) in her study of multi-ethnic neighbourhoods in several Dutch cities shows that even fleeting interactions with others in the shared environment can create positive feelings towards the host community. In this context, 'ethnic' shops,

cafes and restaurants play an important role as meeting points for the local community and places of casual interaction between locals (ibid.).

The ethnographic studies by Hall (2011, 2015a, 2015b) in multi-ethnic London boroughs show how local residents from very diverse backgrounds establish organic ways of co-living in a spatially limited locality: the 'ordinary street'. The ordinary street is one feature of the changing urban landscape, and a place where migrants co-create urban spaces and develop everyday practices of exchange (Hall, 2015b). Wessendorf (2013) introduces the notion of 'commonplace diversity' to characterise the urban habitus of co-living in (super)diverse neighbourhoods, whereby cultural diversity is perceived as a natural part of public social life, without necessarily being translated to private social connections.

In summary, neighbourhoods matter to integration processes as they are an important context for everyday interaction and social connections. Neighbourhoods are a place to socialise even for those who cannot participate in all structural elements of society (such as work, education) because of legal or other restrictions. (Urban) neighbourhoods are thus a central place for everyday integration practices and experiences.

Finally, the role of *transnational factors* for integration processes is considered in literature and policy and, in a time of global interconnection, can only be expected to become even more important. These factors can both refer to personal links in the countries of origin (e.g. house ownership, family links, media consumption) and their policies (e.g. free movement agreements between the country of origin and the host country; cf. Spencer & Charlsey, 2016). In addition, links to countries other than the country of origin through family links, diasporic links with compatriots across the world and business contacts abroad (Snel et al., 2006) are an integral part of migrants' (and non-migrants') lives.

As a concluding note on integration as a multilevel process, it should be added that integration is acknowledged to take different forms and have different outcomes across spatial levels (Spencer & Charlsey, 2016). Taking 'identity integration' as an example, migrants (and anyone else) might witness significant differences between feeling 'home'

and welcome in their neighbourhood or the city of residence, as opposed to identifying with and feeling welcome in the host society as a whole (Atto et al., 2020; Mulvey, 2013).

2.2.5 *Integration as an individual, context- and time-specific process*

The final, widely acknowledged set of characteristics of integration are a logical consequence of the concept's characteristics that were introduced up to here, but yet deserve a separate look.

Integration is widely acknowledged to constitute *individual* processes of finding a place and position in the receiving society that depends as much on individual characteristics (e.g. gender, age, length of stay, education) as on the characteristics of the receiving society, or the *integration context*. As the host country sets the structural framework for integration (also see Section 2.2.4), especially newly arriving migrants can only move – at least formally – within the frameworks set out for them based on their migration channel, the purpose of their migration, their country of origin and other characteristics defined by the receiving society. For instance, as outlined in Chapter 4, asylum seekers in Germany are granted or denied access to free and mandatory language courses depending on their country of origin, leading to different de facto rights among refugees to economic integration (Schultz, 2019).

As a consequence of these and other '*legal hierarchies*' (Könönen, 2018, p.53) in the receiving societies, some groups of migrants are seen as less desirable and more restricted in their agency than others. Within the '*spectrum of 'wantedness*'' (Strang & Ager, 2010, p.594) asylum seekers (in distinction from selected resettlement refugees) are typically positioned at the lower end as the least wanted migrant group. Their low degree of 'wantedness' is in turn reflected in a distinctive, constrained set of rights paired with greater responsibilities towards the host country (Diehl et al., 2016; Strang & Ager, 2010).

Pelinka et al. (2000) argue that individual integration efforts can only be assessed if the receiving society's structural barriers towards integration are considered or removed. However, even if all structural barriers are removed, and if the receiving society is open to welcoming newcomers, integration into the different domains of society is not

guaranteed. The extent and speed of integration are then not only determined by individual factors such as language skills or education and employment history, but also migrants' willingness to make use of the available structural opportunities (Phillimore, 2012, p.3, referring to Gans, 1992).

In the past, much research has focused on social integration, individuals' sense of belonging over time, and on individual or groups' quantitatively measurable integration outcomes (Phillimore, 2020). Thereby, the focus was typically set on migrants as groups or as individuals, and less on the receiving societies as the context that shapes integration processes and outcomes. Phillimore (2020) points out on this missing perspective and suggests looking at (refugee) integration through the lens of a 'Refugee-integration-opportunity structure' consisting of five domains: locality, relations, structure, initiatives and support and discourse (see Figure 6). Within these five domains, the perception of migrants on the one hand and the rules, regulations and requirements for migrants' participation on the other hand are anchored.

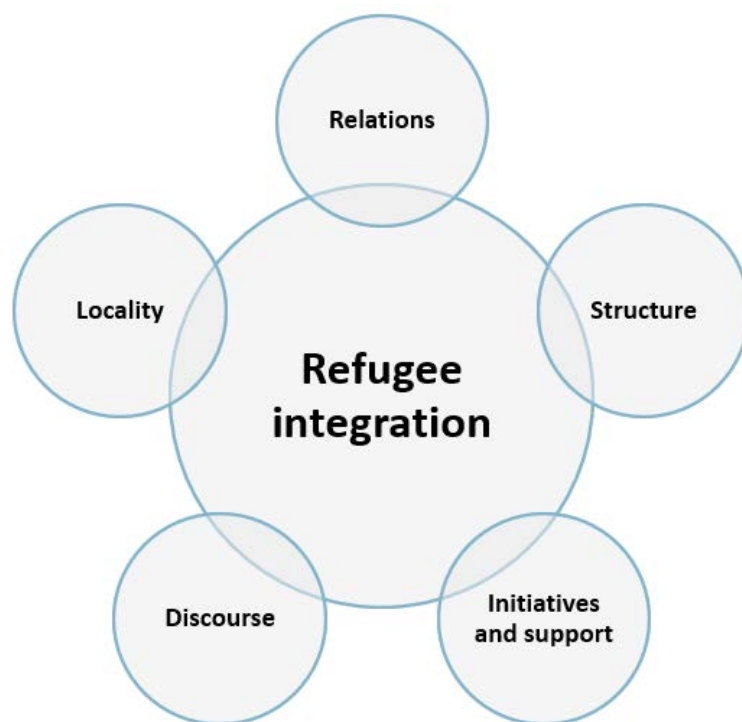


Figure 6: Refugee-integration-opportunity structure (Phillimore, 2020)

All aspects of the integration opportunity structure can and do change over time, both in relation to immigration in general and in relation to groups of migrants. Using the

example of the UK, an increasingly antagonistic discourse around migration could be observed in the 2010s, coinciding with increasing non-interventionism and little available funding to support integration processes of refugees and other new migrants (Atto et al., 2020; Darling, 2016). As a final note on the time aspect, it is a common ground that integration processes take time for both migrants (often those who have lived longer in a place have a stronger sense of connection to it; Lutz & Heckmann, 2010), and the receiving societies alike. As summarised by Heckmann (2005, p.17):

'Time is relevant for both migrants and the receiving society because integration is a learning process and learning takes time. For the persons who have migrated themselves, the so-called first generation, integration is a second socialization that takes a lot of intellectual and emotional effort. [...] The receiving society as well has to learn new ways of interacting with "foreign" people and adapt its institutions to their needs.'

2.2.6 What is known about entrepreneurship and integration?

So far, it has become clear that both the integration of migrants into host societies and their economic participation through entrepreneurship have received much scholarly attention in the past years. However, few studies have explicitly looked at the relation between entrepreneurship and integration. This missing link can be observed in both streams of literature covered by this review. On the one hand, entrepreneurship literature has rarely investigated the effects of entrepreneurship migrants' integration (e.g. Dheer, 2018; Shneikat & Alrawadieh, 2019; Zhou & Liu, 2015). Vice versa, entrepreneurship as a pathway to integration has nearly been absent in integration literature. This fact is surprising, considering that labour market participation is an important key factor for integration into other domains of society (Heckmann, 2005), and that work is even considered a form of structural integration in itself (Ager & Strang, 2008; Phillimore & Goodson, 2006).

Entrepreneurship as a supporting factor for integration, but very fragmented picture

Only a few peer-reviewed studies – mostly qualitative, stemming from recent entrepreneurship literature and related to refugees – address the relation between

entrepreneurship and integration (see Appendix 1). These studies almost exclusively point towards a positive relation between the two phenomena. Thereby the common causal direction is how entrepreneurship impacts on integration, rather than how integration levels impact on entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success.

For example, Alrawadieh et al. (2018) in their study with Syrian refugee-origin entrepreneurs in Turkey conclude that *'Analyzing and facilitating refugee entrepreneurship are not only important from a macroeconomic perspective but also significant for the integration of refugees to the host society.'* (p.2f.), a finding that resonates with research from Wauters & Lambrecht (2006) who – referring to the Belgian context – state that *'By promoting refugee entrepreneurship, both the integration of refugees in society can be aided and domestic entrepreneurship can be boosted.'* (p.509). Both studies, however, do not provide an encompassing definition or concept of 'integration'.

Mago's (2020) finding that entrepreneurship does *not* seem to promote social integration between locals and migrants, based on a literature review of studies on migrant-origin entrepreneurship Africa, is somewhat an outlier within the common tenor of a positive connection between the two phenomena. A two-fold assessment comes from Embiricos (2020) who describes an initial trade-off between socio-economic integration (or upward-mobility) and social integration among newly arrived refugee-origin entrepreneurs in Berlin: while *'entrepreneurship is not a 'fast track' to economic self-reliance'* (p.245), it is linked to social inclusion in the form of *'strong professional networks and social capital'* (p.246), which might however lead to a stronger socio-economic integration on the long term. A study of Iranian hospitality entrepreneurs in Scotland (Haghighi & Lynch, 2012) describes a reversed version of this trade-off. The authors find that entrepreneurship leads to positive economic integration outcomes, but equally *'acts as a barrier to [...] social and cultural integration.'* (p.4).

Taken together, the present literature indicates a rather positive relation between entrepreneurship and integration, but some studies highlight trade-offs between different integration domains.

Regarding the impact of existing integration levels on engagement in entrepreneurship, Beckers and Blumberg (2013) find in their study of first- and second-generation migrants in the Netherlands that integration prior to entrepreneurship facilitates entrepreneurial performance. Thereby integration is expressed as *'closer contact with the native population and higher levels of education and country-specific skills'* (p.686). As it takes time to form new social networks and gain country-specific education and skills, (successful) entrepreneurship is more likely to happen after having spent some time in the host country, similar to integration processes in general, and integration into employment (cf. Heckmann, 2005; Lutz & Heckmann, 2010; Phillimore, 2012). The finding that pre-existing social integration (expressed as contact between locals and migrants) supports entrepreneurship is also highlighted by Mago (2020).

According to some research, there is also a positive integrative impact on the wider community where migrant-origin entrepreneurs are located, coined by Lyon et al. (2007) in their study of refugee-origin entrepreneurship as *'positive multiplier effect'* (p.368) in deprived urban areas. In other words: entrepreneurship does not only have an effect on migrants' own integration processes, but also impacts on other newcomers and minority communities. Such a spill-over effect on the wider community is also implicitly addressed in the literature on 'refugee economies'. Thereby entrepreneurship is found to serve as a lynchpin for the community even in an unstable environment such as a refugee camp, and to impact positively on a wider feeling of togetherness and stability among the residing refugees (Heilbrunn, 2019; Shepherd et al., 2020).

As outlined in Section 2.2.1, integration is a complex term that requires clear definition. Overall, the few existing studies on entrepreneurship and integration have used very broad and vague concepts of 'integration', mostly without specifying what these concepts entail or providing a definition.

Instead, some have focused only on selected *domains* of integration, such as social (Mago, 2020) or socio-economic integration (Leicht, 2018), vocational integration (Freudenberg & Halberstadt, 2018; Harima et al., 2019) and structural integration (Obschonka et al., 2018). A few studies consider the relation between entrepreneurship

and integration in a particular sector, whereby the hospitality sector sticks out (Alrawadieh et al., 2018; Haghighi & Lynch, 2012; Shneikat & Alrawadieh, 2019). Finally, some recent studies highlight the role of support structures such as business incubators to reinforce participants' integration processes (Harima et al., 2019; Meister & Mauer, 2018). Particularly for newly arriving refugees and other migrants, according to these studies entrepreneurship training can help to gain an understanding of the prevailing regulations and business culture, which is hard to acquire via self-study especially in highly regulated business spheres such as Germany. In addition, incubators provide access to local networks and support social integration processes (Meister & Mauer, 2018).

Some insights on entrepreneurship and integration from alternative analytical angles

It should be noted that past research has looked at aspects of entrepreneurship that can be linked to the concept of integration, but from different analytical angles. For example, the relation between entrepreneurship and social embeddedness is a recurrent theme in migrant-origin entrepreneurship research (e.g. Barberis & Solano, 2018; Beckers & Blumberg, 2013; Schunck & Windzio, 2009). Thereby the prevailing direction proposed in the literature is that entrepreneurship increases social embeddedness. Studies have found positive effects of entrepreneurship on social inclusion and social recognition of migrants and refugees (Deakins et al., 2003; Harima & Freudenberg, 2019; Kontos, 2003; Ndofor & Priem, 2011), both within their respective migrant communities and beyond. Literature on 'ethnic enclaves' has traditionally provided a more critical or precautionary perspective as one main line of reasoning was that migrant-origin entrepreneurs tend to focus on their co-ethnic networks as customers, workers and suppliers. As such, social embeddedness through entrepreneurship was said to take place in relation to the co-ethnic community, but not in relation to the native-born population (see Section 2.1.2).

Another aspect frequently addressed in the literature is the relation between entrepreneurship and socio-economic mobility. On the one hand, entrepreneurship is said to offer an alternative pathway of utilising personal resources as opposed to wage employment, and thus represents a way to escape economic uncertainty (Kloosterman & van der Leun, 1999; Leicht et al., 2009; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). This positive

effect of entrepreneurship on upward mobility is particularly strong for those who find themselves in economically vulnerable positions such as long-term unemployment, as well as for low-skilled migrants, but is found to be less strong for highly skilled migrants (Fairlie & Lofstrom, 2015).

On the other hand, some provide a more critical view on entrepreneurship and social mobility especially in disadvantaged migrant communities. Barrett et al. (1996) point out that *'business ownership is no automatic social mobility ladder but may simply entail a horizontal shift in which disadvantage is perpetually in another guise'* (p.787), whereas Jones and Ram (2008) note that even though entrepreneurship has led to upward mobility for some 'ethnic minority groups', this is not the case for other groups. Others question if entrepreneurship is a suitable strategy for structural integration on the long term and refer to high mortality rates of migrant-origin businesses (Schunck & Windzio, 2009). The aforementioned authors thus question the claim traditionally found in the 'ethnic entrepreneurship' literature that entrepreneurship is to be seen as a pathway for minority groups to achieve *'better economic conditions'* (Indarti et al., 2020, p.14). There are however also indications that entrepreneurship might overall support socio-economic upward mobility, but not necessarily more than the upward mobility experienced by migrants in wage employment (Brzozowski & Lasek, 2019).

Taken together, entrepreneurship can, but does not always lead to socio-economic upward mobility. It should therefore not be seen as a one-size-fits-all solution for (disadvantaged) migrant-origin communities (Ram & Jones, 2008).

Finally, issues of entrepreneurship and identity formation processes are sometimes addressed in the literature on migrant-origin entrepreneurs. Linking back to findings on entrepreneurial aspirations among migrants (see Section 2.1.4), entrepreneurship is widely found to be a strong identity-forming factor and can be linked to a feeling of belonging and self-reliance (Else et al., 2003; Embiricos, 2020). For example, a study by Glinka and Brzozowska (2015) finds that migrant entrepreneurs' identities are influenced by multiple aspects of their migration experience, but that entrepreneurship *'is the most*

stable dimension of immigrants' self-definitions' (p.72), even when other dimensions of identity are perceived as unstable.

Overall, it can be stated that the linkage between entrepreneurship and integration is an underrepresented aspect in the large bodies of literature on migrant-origin entrepreneurship on the one hand and integration on the other hand. Existing insights suggest a rather positive relation between entrepreneurship and integration overall, but paint a fragmented picture on how exactly this relation looks like. Insights from other analytical angles help to paint a clearer picture, but still leave many open questions.

2.2.7 A basic conceptual model for entrepreneurship and integration

In this section, an encompassing conceptual model to explore refugee-origin entrepreneurship and integration is introduced (see Figure 7). The model is, first of all, based on the conceptual integration framework suggested by Spencer and Charsley (2016). It is complemented and further refined with the refugee-integration-opportunity structure concept suggested by Phillimore (2020).

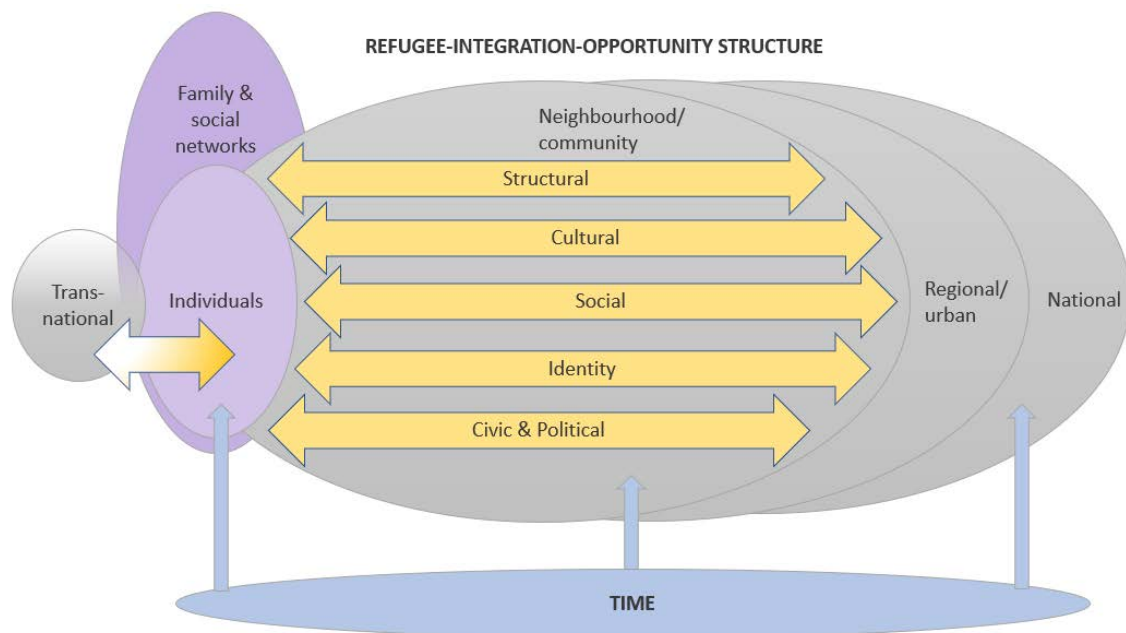


Figure 7: Conceptual model of integration processes and effectors (adapted from Spencer & Charsley, 2016 and Phillimore, 2020)

The conceptual model is suitable to explore refugee-origin entrepreneurship and integration in different contexts for the following reasons.

First, it allows to focus on integration processes in various spatial contexts, from the local to the transnational level. Two complementary levels of integration were added to the original model: the neighbourhood/community level, in which the most direct, everyday contact and integration (or exclusion) processes take place and where a sense of belonging can evolve (Hebbani et al., 2018; Peters, 2011; Wessendorf, 2013), and the regional/urban level, as cities and regions can have their own approaches to integration which can differ from the national approach to integration (Caponio & Borkert, 2010; Jorgensen, 2012).³⁰

Second, the model proposes several domains in relation to which integration processes can take place: structural, cultural, social, identity and civic/political integration. Resulting from these first two points, the model allows to set focal points when analysing the data, without losing sight of other factors that might influence integration processes (cf. Spencer & Charsley, 2016).

Third, the model allows for the flexibility needed to explore the previously underresearched topic of refugee-origin entrepreneurship and integration. It is applicable to various methodological approaches (quantitative/qualitative) and perspectives (migrant/host country), can be used for different points of reference (for instance entrepreneurship), allows for a comparative investigation of the same phenomenon in different contexts, and can be combined with other concepts rather than being a standalone theoretical lens. In this regard, the refugee-integration-opportunity structure concept (Phillimore, 2020) adds a refugee-specific lens to the generic model. Its main aspects are briefly introduced in the following.³¹

Structure refers to the immigration and integration regimes in a country, but also to the impact these structures might have on integration processes. For example, selected resettlement refugees from refugee camps in the global South are often treated differently in terms of reception and integration measures than asylum seekers (ibid.). In

³⁰ These two levels refine the broader 'local' level used in the original framework.

³¹ Furthermore, the concept is compatible with the other main theoretical lens used in this research, Kloosterman et al.'s (1999) mixed embeddedness concept (extended with Nee and Sander's (2001) forms-of-capital model). These lenses are later merged into an overarching conceptual framework of entrepreneurship and integration, and presented in the discussion section (Section 7.3.3).

that regard, in the UK resettlement refugees receive direct access to services such as language courses, health services, access to work and education, and receive practical support by the local authorities (or sub-contractors; Morrice et al., 2019; UNHCR, 2017). At the same time, asylum seekers (whose asylum application is yet to be processed) are unlikely to have access to work and receive only basic housing and financial support to avoid destitution (Strang et al., 2018).

Somewhat related to the integration structure, the *discourse* around refugees and refugee integration can impact on integration processes. The discourse – or: the public opinion (Phillimore, 2020) – is formed by media framing of immigration and integration on the one hand, and policy framing around these issues on the other hand (cf. Münch, 2018). Thereby the nationwide discourse might not be translated to the local level, so that some cities or regions are more ‘open’ towards newcomers than others (Dekker et al., 2015; Schiller & Çağlar, 2013).

Relations, or social connections, include different forms and roles of social capital around entrepreneurship. Social connections include social *bonds* to people with shared norms (Putnam, 1993, 2002), social *bridges* to people from different backgrounds (e.g. language, ethnicity, religion and sexuality; *ibid.*) and social *links* with formal institutions (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004).

Initiatives and support partly overlap with relations, as these structures can lead to social bonds, bridges and links that support entrepreneurship and/or integration. They are ‘*specific programmes and initiatives*’ (Phillimore, 2020, p.12) to support integration, either through state programmes or through other organisations.³²

Locality focuses on the resources and conditions in a local context, for example the availability of opportunities (access to health service, housing, work) within a locality. The level of deprivation versus wealth in a locality where refugees live (for example because they are relocated to a locality through dispersal policies) translates not only into day-to-

³² The original concept hereby refers to migrant and refugee community organisations (RCO), but for the purpose of this thesis, ‘organisations’ is seen broadly and also includes non-migrant community organisations.

day social contacts, but also into local economic opportunities. Translated to entrepreneurship, locality also represents the opportunity structure of local markets and their accessibility, as proposed in the mixed embeddedness concept (see Section 2.1.6).

Finally, similar to the extension to mixed embeddedness (see Section 2.1.7), 'time' is considered from an individual and contextual perspective: integration processes through entrepreneurship take place over time, but also the context (including the refugee-integration-opportunity structure) changes over time.

2.3 Summary and research questions

In the previous sections, the conceptual framework of this study was outlined. In Section 2.1, refugee-origin entrepreneurship as an emerging academic field was first mapped and positioned within the existing entrepreneurship research body. It became clear that lessons can be learned from research on entrepreneurship. In particular, refugee-origin entrepreneurship can build on insights and concepts from migrant-origin entrepreneurship research. At the same time, it was outlined that refugees are faced with a different set of group-specific mechanisms, leading to unique constraints and enablers towards entrepreneurship.

Although scholarly interest in refugee-origin entrepreneurship has sharply increased in the recent years, we know little about the mechanisms that lead some refugees to become entrepreneurs in their host countries. Furthermore, little is known about how nascent refugee-origin entrepreneurs access and use different forms of resources. As a result of this first pillar of the literature review, two research questions can be derived.

Research question 1: Which individual and contextual factors motivate refugee-origin entrepreneurs to engage in entrepreneurship?

Research question 2: How do refugees access and use different kinds of resources to become entrepreneurs in their host country?

Section 2.2 formed the second pillar of the literature review and looked at entrepreneurship and integration. A definition and understanding of integration (or rather: integration processes) was presented, and the status quo of research into entrepreneurship and integration was summarised. It became clear that the current state

of knowledge on the two phenomena is very limited and fragmented. Resulting from the second pillar of the literature review, the following research question can be derived.

Research question 3: How does entrepreneurship among refugees impact on their integration processes?

In the next chapter, the research methodology applied to explore these three research questions is outlined.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

As summarised by Rudestam and Newton (2014), the methodology chapter in a qualitative research study serves as a tool for the reader *'to understand what you did and how you thought about it in order to appreciate the links among the research problem, the method, and the results'* (p.105). In line with this argumentation, the purpose of this chapter is to outline my perspectives and motivations when choosing suitable methods to answer the research questions.

This chapter begins with the underlying philosophical stance of the study (Section 3.2), followed by insights into researcher positionality and reflexivity (Section 3.3) and ethical considerations (Section 3.4). Section 3.5 provides an overview of the research design and describes the research approach, the data collection process, the final sample and how data analysis was approached. Section 3.6 addresses methodological limitations in this study, followed by a conclusion in Section 3.7.

3.2 Interpretivist paradigm

The general philosophical standpoint from which this study is conducted is the interpretative paradigm, which seeks to reveal and understand the interpretations that humans ascribe to social events (Crotty, 1998; Gray, 2014; Willis, 2007). As opposed to a positivist approach, the underlying ontological assumption to the interpretivist paradigm is that no *one* reality exists, but that the structure of reality is constructed by social actors as multiple subjective realities. Within this ontological framework, the interpretivist researcher *'attempts to understand and explain human and social reality'* (Crotty, 1998, p.66 f.). Instead of assessing and discovering a single-reality world, where truth exists independent of our knowledge, interpretivists access the multiple realities *'created by the subject's interactions with the world'* (Gray, 2014, p.20) and act as translators of these realities. Thereby, the pathway to accessing realities is by listening to (or observing) research participants in an attempt to understand how they perceive the world (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017).

Since the process of interpreting and giving meaning is inherently subjective, it is broadly acknowledged that interpretive research is not only shaped by the realities of the research subjects, but also by the researcher's identity and experiences (Denscombe, 2017; Golombisky, 2006; Willis, 2007). Relatedly, interpretive research is often written in a narrative or literary style. Thereby the subjective stance is sometimes underlined by the use of the personal pronouns 'I' or 'we' (Creswell, 2012). For this research project, I decided to make use of this stylistic device throughout the methodology, findings, discussion and conclusion chapters.

As a researcher, I see myself located somewhere between the interpretivist and the pragmatist research paradigm, with a stronger affinity to the interpretivist paradigm. In the initial research draft, the methodology was guided by a mixed methods approach, consisting of a quantitative questionnaire among refugee-origin entrepreneurs in the two case study cities and followed by qualitative interviews with selected entrepreneurs. Such an approach would have fallen into the general guideline of the pragmatist's paradigm: to apply the procedure that works best to get the desired insights (Creswell, 2012; Gray, 2014) by employing '*as many available tools as possible*' (Bryman, 2008, p.8)³³. The goal would have been to identify generalisable patterns of how refugee-origin entrepreneurs navigate the entrepreneurship system in their host country (by means of a large-N study), and to underpin these patterns with concrete examples (by means of qualitative interviews), in order to derive '*practical consequences for society*' (Gray, 2014, p.28). In other words, this methodology would have combined 'best of both worlds' of quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis. The findings would have been suitable not only for theory development, but also to identify concrete solutions for policy and practice to support refugee-origin entrepreneurship.

However, as time passed and my research focus became clearer, I realised that my main research interest lies in *understanding* how refugee-origin entrepreneurs navigate the business system of their host country, and how they *experience* integration into the host

³³ To be sure, applying mixed methods is not the only methods pathway adapted by pragmatist researchers, but rather one typical means (among others, e.g. multiple methods) to explore a research problem within the pragmatist paradigm (Saunders et al., 2019).

society in their role as entrepreneurs. These main interests are also reflected in the three research questions (Chapter 2). In order to find the answers to these questions, my initial focus of collecting as much information as possible and producing quantifiable results shifted. A qualitative, multiple case study approach was selected as a suitable method as it allows to study social phenomena in-depth, from up close, and from different viewpoints (see Section 3.5.1).

Under different circumstances (i.e. working in a project team, having additional resources such as time and funding available), I would still consider the initial mixed-methods approach. However, in this particular project I wanted to hear different stories of refugee-origin entrepreneurs. Consequently, I decided to include participants with different demographic characteristics (different ages, gender, educational background) and experiences (migration trajectories, time of arrival in the UK or Germany). Their stories were complemented with the voices of 'key informants' who could illuminate refugee-origin entrepreneurship from additional perspectives. This variety of perspectives helped to gain a richer understanding of the social world around refugee-origin entrepreneurs in the two case sites (cf. Saunders et al., 2016, p.126).

Instead of learning from the anonymous results that a questionnaire would have given me, I preferred to speak to participants in a one-to-one conversation, where I would be able to get real insights into their interpretation of the world and to let them express what is meaningful for them (ibid., p.141). These research goals and underlying ideas are clearly linked to the interpretative paradigm.

3.3 Positionality and reflexivity

'Interpretivists acknowledge that value-free knowledge is not possible.'

(Scotland, 2012, p.12)

In this section, I position myself in my research. Thereby I acknowledge that my own background (e.g. being a PhD student, female, white, German, a migrant to the UK, in my thirties) and personal world view have an impact on the whole research process (Bourke, 2014; Denscombe, 2010; Foote & Bartell, 2011). Since I am not affiliated to any funder or

project, this research and all methodological decisions related to it were informed by my own interest in the topic.

3.3.1 Researchers' motivation

My interest in researching refugee-origin entrepreneurship goes back to the year 2015. Back then, I had just moved to Cologne to work in a project related to the labour market integration of migrants. The first few months of my new job at the German Economic Institute (IW) coincided with the arrival of hundreds of thousands of asylum seekers in Germany, of whom several thousand stepped out of the train in Cologne. The year 2015 became the year of the 'migration crisis', and the year when Chancellor Angela Merkel proclaimed: '*Wir schaffen das.*' (We can do this.) For me, this was the first time that I perceived my home country as a welcoming place for newcomers (although clearly not everyone agreed with this notion) and was fascinated with the amount of volunteer, policy and private sector engagement arising in the following months. The IW's work was one, however small, puzzle piece in these efforts. In the team where I worked, our goal was to get an understanding of newcomers' (educational, professional, cultural) backgrounds on the one hand and the needs of the labour market and policies for refugees' integration on the other hand, with the goal to support a matching between refugees and employers.

I noticed during that time that neither in the general public nor the policy discourse self-employment came up as an option for refugees' labour market integration. In addition, data showed that only two percent of those who had arrived as asylum seekers between January 2013 and January 2016 and were in employment by 2016 had entered self-employment, while 27 percent of the same group had previously been self-employed (Brücker et al., 2016b). Although there might be many reasons for this gap – not enough time had passed yet, focus on learning the language, getting attuned to the different (work) culture, no interest in self-employment in the new context etc. –, I suspected that there was also an additional structural element at play, namely that entrepreneurship was not part of the wider 'refugee integration package', so was perhaps overlooked as a viable option for refugees' labour market integration. This impression was underlined by stories from newcomers themselves.

One defining moment was when we interviewed some 20 refugee-origin language course participants about their perception of entering the labour market in Germany. During the interviews, I sensed a subtle frustration about the slow bureaucratic processes and the restricted options of entering the labour market especially for those who were in their mid-adult life, although these frustrations were barely outspoken. One woman noted that she had owned a pharmacy in Syria, but did not even consider returning to her profession, let alone business ownership. Another defining encounter was with a man from Syria who had been a successful entrepreneur in the telecommunication sector, but had to leave his company behind due to the war. A few months after his arrival in Germany, he was eager to start a small business and looked for ways to do so. A year later or so, his CV coincidentally ended up on my desk and I saw that he had spent the past months doing an internship in a restaurant, besides attending German language classes. Now he was applying to get his professional diplomas from the 1990s recognised, which would increase his chances of working in his actual profession. Self-employment seemed far away.

My motivation to dedicate my PhD research to refugee-origin entrepreneurship and integration thus originated from the sensation that ‘this does not make sense to me’. At that time I was not aware of the fields of migrant-origin entrepreneurship research, nor the emerging research on ‘refugee entrepreneurship’ – and the fact that refugee-origin self-employment can and should also be considered critically, rather than idealised. (The latter seems to happen in the growing world of ‘refugee entrepreneurship’ projects and funding, and I now have a critical stance towards that.) My initial research interest was of an exploratory nature, driven by the desire to understand the perspectives of those who arrive in Europe as refugees and seek to adjust their professional self (and, as I assume, their wider self-concept) to a new environment. Their stories are at the centre of this research.

I would summarise my underlying goal as follows: **to understand and improve trajectories of refugees (and other migrants) in European labour markets**. Thereby I consider it relevant to not only contribute to the realms of academia, but to also produce insights with relevance to policy and practice. I am aware that I am doing so from the rather

comfortable position of an observer, rather than a personally affected insider (see next section). Integration into the labour market should ideally be a 'fair' process, meaning that work is not just a quick fix to get newcomers out of the social welfare system as soon as possible, but a sustainable process and matched with the needs of the (local) economy as well as the education, experiences and aspirations of newcomers. This process might take time, require investment in further education, and certainly a readjustment of many professional pathways and initial expectations. But I believe it is a detour worth taking, even more so in times of skills shortage in many professions and countries. Self-employment is not a path for everyone. But *if* it is an option with positive outcomes for both some newcomers and the economy/society – *also 'beyond the economic dividend'* (Jones et al., 2019, p.960) – it is worth exploring and embedding it deeper into the portfolio of the 'refugee-integration-opportunity structures' (Phillimore, 2020).

3.3.2 Role of the researcher

During data collection, which took place in two different cultural contexts and involved groups of research participants from diverse cultural backgrounds, I adopted various roles. In relation to the refugee-origin research participants, I was an '*external-outsider*' (Banks, 1998, p.7) looking at their experiences through the lens of someone from a different cultural background and who had never experienced forced migration. In fact, throughout my adult life, I have enjoyed the freedom to choose where I live and what I do. In 2017, I chose to become a temporary migrant and move to the UK for my PhD. In that regard, I know what it can feel like to be new to a country, but my experiences as a voluntary migrant who could benefit from free movement within the EU (at the time Brexit had not been realised) are clearly different to those of someone who has left their country forcibly and had to go through an asylum application procedure in order to stay in the new country.

For most of the key informant participants in Germany, I was an '*indigenous-insider*' (ibid.) or simply '*insider*' with a shared interest in refugee-origin entrepreneurship and an overlapping cultural background. For the key informant participants in Birmingham, as a migrant I was rather an '*external-insider*' (ibid.) from a different country, but with a shared interest in refugee-origin entrepreneurship. Finally, in my role as a sole PhD

researcher, I can also be classified as an 'outsider', or an observer who was allowed a glimpse in the experiences and world views of their research participants.

Furthermore, during data collection I changed between my role as an interviewer and observer. At times, I also took over the role as a participant, for example when attending business workshops in Birmingham (see Section 3.5.4). Each role implied different dynamics between myself and my counterparts, although they are hard to pin down. My gender certainly had an impact on how the different interview situations were co-constructed (Golombisky, 2006), as did my status as an academic researcher who represented a structural privilege of academia as '*centers of power, privilege, and status*' (Muhammad et al., 2015, p.2).

Being aware and constantly reminding myself of the differences between myself and my participants, as well as my changing perspectives, was an important element of my researcher reflexivity. This endeavour is also reflected in the ethical considerations (see next section). Furthermore, I used multiple data sources, recorded the data collection process and obtained external feedback as additional measures to minimise the influence of my own perspective (see Section 3.5.1). Differences between myself and the research participants cannot be changed or undone. However, I acknowledge the complexity of my positioning in a cross-cultural and cross-country research project with different participant groups, as well as my position of privilege. By expressing these observations, I hope to adhere to what Creswell (2012) refers to as '*Ethical reporting and writing*' of research results (p.279).

3.4 Ethics, informed consent and data protection

Before data collection started, I sought and received ethical approval from the University of Birmingham. The ethical review process included questions about recruitment, consent, participant feedback, withdrawal, confidentiality, data storage, access and disposal, as well as benefits and potential risks of the research. However, as argued by Mason (2018), ethically considerate research goes far beyond receiving ethical approval. Rather, the researcher should practise '*situated ethical judgement*' (p.86) throughout the research. In this regard, Marshall and Rossman (2011) mention three moral principles

that any ethical research practice should adhere to: respect for persons, beneficence and justice. 'Respect for persons' refers to the principle *'that we do not use the people who participate in our studies as a means to an end [...] and that we do respect their privacy, their anonymity, and their right to participate.'* (p.47). In other words, 'respect for persons' refers to the autonomy of research participants. 'Beneficence' refers to making sure that the research does no harm to participants, and is also known as the principle of 'nonmaleficence' (Draucker et al., 2009). The principal of 'justice' asks researchers to ensure that they are transparent on the beneficiaries of the study and mention potential burdens.

These three principles were brought to the forefront in this research in that I constantly reflected how I approached and addressed my participants and their reactions to the study. For example, it emerged that some of my participants did not consider themselves as 'refugees', especially since some of them had already lived in their host country for a long time. A few had gained British or German citizenship. Subsequently, I rather used the terms 'entrepreneurs', 'migrants' and 'someone who is new to the country' to address them or to speak about fellow entrepreneurs, while making it clear in the introduction that it is important for me to speak to *refugee-origin* entrepreneurs because of their distinctive migration and integration experiences. These experiences during data collection led me to use the term 'refugee-origin' entrepreneur(ship) throughout the PhD thesis, instead of the more common term 'refugee entrepreneur(ship)' (see Section 1.2).

Some participants were sceptical about their participation in my research, for example because they were involved in informal business activities. In one case, interview participation caused distress for a participant who ran an unregistered café in Birmingham, so we decided to stop the interview and delete the data. Some participants ascribed me (decision-making) powers I did not possess. In that regard, some participants expected me to have a positive or negative influence on their residence title, or that I could help them to get funding for their business. In such cases I paused the interview to explain my role and mission. If a gatekeeper was present in the interview situation, they would occasionally assist me (see Section 3.5.4).

Prior to the interviews, participants were informed about the research project, the process of data collection and data usage. They received a participant information form with detailed information about the research project and its background, the interview content and its expected duration, as well as contact details of myself and my supervisors. Right before the interview, I gave participants an oral and written explanation (a consent form) regarding their involvement in the project. The form included information about confidentiality, their right to withdraw, as well as information on data processing, storage, usage and deletion. Only if they gave their explicit, voluntary and written consent (i.e. signed consent form) to participate under these conditions, were they interviewed. Discussing the interview process and participants' rights also helped to establish trust between myself and participants (Saunders, 2012). A copy of the consent form was given to participants, together with my contact details, so that they had the option to withdraw their participation until up to one month after the interview (see Appendix 2).

Finally, personal and sensitive data collected during my research was processed and stored according to the University of Birmingham's University's Code of Practice for Research³⁴. Accordingly, all personal data was stored on the University's encrypted storage platform in an anonymised manner (i.e. using pseudonyms for each participant). The plan is to delete all data ten years after the completion of this research. I intend to shred all paper data no later than six months after the completion of this project (final submission date).

3.5 Research design

The research design of a study illuminates how the researcher goes about the research process (data collection, data analysis and report writing), depending on their choice of methods (Creswell, 2012). The overarching research design chosen for this study is a qualitative approach, since the goal of data collection was to derive '*thick descriptions*' (Gray, 2014, p.34) of the social world, rather than measuring a specific phenomenon and generalising the results. In comparison to quantitative research design, which typically follows a predefined set of rules and sequences, qualitative research design can be

³⁴ See <https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/university/legal/research.pdf> [accessed: 07-07-2021].

described as an ongoing process that includes design, data collection, analysis and re-design (Gray, 2009). These different activities don't occur as a linear and consecutive processes, but often happen simultaneously in an interlinked manner (Maxwell, 2009). The same was true during my data collection and analysis process in that both processes took place iteratively, with data collection building on emerging insights from data analysis and vice versa (see Sections 3.5.4 and 3.5.5).

While the goal of quantitative research is to analyse specific variables and to study them in relation to selected variables, qualitative research is associated with a holistic perspective and the complex interrelation between multiple factors in one context (Denscombe, 2010). In this research, a qualitative approach was favoured as it allowed me to include different perspectives and therefore to '*convey the complexity of the phenomenon or process*' (Creswell, 2012, p.18) through different kinds of data. Related to the choice of a qualitative research design, data collection and data analysis were guided by an inductive approach of inference (cf. Charmaz, 2006). Unlike the deductive approach on the other side of the 'modes of inquiry' continuum, which starts with an existing theory or a hypothesis and aims to test (i.e. confirm/reject) these (Gray, 2014), a strictly inductive mode of inference would start solely with the data and aim to generate theory (ibid.). However, as Bryman (2012) describes, the association of the inductive strategy with qualitative research is '*not entirely straightforward: not only does much qualitative research **not** generate theory, but also theory is often used at the very least as a background to qualitative investigations*' (p.27). Similarly, in this research the inductive and data-driven approach was complemented with theory-driven elements in that I reviewed existing theoretical concepts on migrant-origin entrepreneurship (e.g. mixed embeddedness) and integration (e.g. conceptual frameworks of integration) prior to designing the study. These theoretical concepts served as my '*points of departure*' (Charmaz, 2006, p.17) and informed the way I collected, looked at and analysed my data (ibid.). They are not only reflected in the content of the interview schedules, but also provided elements of the data analysis framework (see Section 3.5.5).

The following Table 2 gives an overview of the key elements of this research design, which are described more detailed in the following sections.

Table 2: Summary of the research design

<i>Level of decision</i>	<i>Key element(s)</i>
Research design	Qualitative, inductive
Research approach	Multiple case study, the cases being refugee-origin entrepreneurship in Birmingham and in Cologne (Section 3.5.1)
Data sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Main data source: semi-structured interviews with <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Refugee-origin entrepreneurs (n=42) b) Key informants (n=13) • Other data sources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ secondary data from media and policy reports, statistics, information from web pages and flyers; ○ additional primary sources: on-site observations, written and spoken field notes and reflections, as well as e-mails from gatekeepers (Section 3.5.2)
Sampling	Non-probability, purposive sampling strategy, using chain-referral sampling as a tool <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Refugee-origin entrepreneurs: maximum variation sample • Key informants: expert sample (Section 3.5.3)
Data collection	Interviews with refugee-origin entrepreneurs and key informants (Section 3.5.4)

3.5.1 Multiple case study approach

The research approach in this study is a multiple case study. Case studies are characterised by some distinctive features (cf. Creswell, 2007), which are presented in the subsequent paragraphs and related to the present research.

Case studies as a research method

Generally, case studies are a suitable method for research that seeks to understand ‘how’ and ‘why’ social phenomena occur (Mills & Birks, 2014; Yin, 2014). The case under investigation is bounded by a time or place (Yin, 2014) and includes one or more units of analysis, which is ‘*the phenomenon for which evidence is collected*’ (Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007, p.81). These ‘units of analysis’ can comprise individuals, but also events or other activities (Stake, 1995). In this research, I investigate the case of refugee-origin entrepreneurship and integration in different contexts. The two case sites can be regarded as *instances* (cf. Smith, 1978) for refugee-origin entrepreneurship and integration in European societies, and how this phenomenon is linked to the local, but also the broader national contexts.

Stake (1995) distinguishes between intrinsic, instrumental and collective case studies, whereby intrinsic case studies are driven by the interest in understanding a particular case and instrumental case studies seek to understand a broader context than the specific case. Collective case studies are instrumental case studies that extend to more than one instance. Instrumental and collective case studies, unlike intrinsic case studies, are therefore a gateway to analytical generalisations.

The investigation in this research is driven by an instrumental interest in understanding why and how refugees enact entrepreneurship in different contexts. The insights from the two locally bounded cases lay the ground for further theory building as described by Eisenhardt (1989).

There are multiple understandings in the social behavioural sciences of what constitutes a case study (Schwandt & Gates, 2018). Since case studies are not strictly allocated to one particular research paradigm or method (Birks & Mills, 2011), the term can imply different meanings and research designs. Generally speaking, case studies can be considered positivist, interpretivist or critical realist, depending on the underlying epistemological and ontological assumptions. For instance, Stake considers case studies from an interpretivist perspective, while Yin's and Eisenhardt's work represent a qualitative positivist view on case study research. From the interpretivist perspective, case studies first and foremost aim to contribute to a better understanding of social matters (Stake, 1978). Although Stake agrees that case studies can and do contribute to theory building, he argues that their best use are to *'add to existing experience and humanistic understanding'* (ibid., p.7). From the positivist perspective, on the other hand, the main purpose of case studies is to contribute to theory building (Eisenhardt, 1989) and to derive analytic generalisations, or insights that can be transferred to other cases (Yin, 2013).

In this interpretivist research, my aim was to enhance context-bound understanding of refugee-origin entrepreneurship. However, I also sought to contribute to theory construction on the relation between entrepreneurship and integration. I therefore believe that, despite its interpretative nature, this study could benefit from structural

elements of the positivist approach to case study, such as the '*rigorous methodological path*' emphasised by Yin (2014, p.3) and the process of inducing theory from case study research suggested by Eisenhardt (1989).

Why Birmingham and Cologne?

Choosing the research context(s) is an important and wide-reaching decision (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Strictly speaking, the selection of case sites where a social phenomenon is investigated is the first step of the sampling process (Bryman & Bell, 2015; Merriam, 2009). The first element of case site selection in this study was to identify sites with clear geographical or other boundaries (cf. Smith, 1978) and of a manageable size to research them as a sole researcher. Being cities and thus having clear geographical borders, Birmingham and Cologne fulfilled these criteria. Furthermore, cities are suitable for research topics related to migration and integration since the majority of refugees and other migrants are located in urban regions (Marchand & Siegel, 2014; UNHCR, 2018a). As such, cities are frequently used as contexts in research on migrant- and refugee-origin entrepreneurship, whether explicitly as cases/case sites (Bagwell, 2017; Liu, 2020; Pécoud, 2004; Rath & Swagerman, 2015; Sepulveda et al., 2011) or implicitly as the locations for data collection (Alrawadie et al., 2018; Edwards et al., 2016; Schiller & Çağlar, 2013).

Birmingham and Cologne were chosen because of their distinguishing commonalities and differences as places of refugee integration and entrepreneurship. The cities' commonalities are related to their status as global, international cities³⁵ with comparable populations of slightly more than 1 million people. Both Birmingham and Cologne are located in important economic regions of the respective country, and both cities are popular locations for entrepreneurship. In the Cologne-Bonn region, business registration rates per capita are both above the regional and national average (Günterberg & Kay, 2018; NRW.BANK.Research, 2020). In Birmingham, the self-employment level is lower

³⁵ See Globalization and World Cities Research Network Ranking 2016, <https://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/world2016t.html> [accessed: 07-07-2021].

than the national average (GBCC, 2018a, 2020b), but the city has one of the highest UK start-up rates outside London³⁶.

Another distinct commonality is that both cities have a long history of welcoming newcomers, and an above national average share of inhabitants from diverse ethnic backgrounds (cf. Stadt Köln, 2020b; Wessendorf, 2018). Both cities take a pride in being tolerant and culturally diverse cities with distinct, positive cultures towards newcomers, including refugees (City of Birmingham, 2018; Stadt Köln, 2010). In that context, Birmingham declared itself a 'City of Sanctuary' in 2015 and became part of a '*national movement to build a culture of hospitality for people seeking sanctuary in the UK*'³⁷. In terms of refugee populations, both the regions North-Rhine Westphalia (including Cologne) and the West Midlands (including Birmingham) stand out as major asylum seeker dispersal areas due to each country's dispersal logic³⁸, and thus host large numbers of people who have arrived as refugees (cf. Alonso & Andrews, 2020; BAMF, 2019; Deutscher Bundestag, 2017).

Taken together, and within the opportunities and limitations of each country context, Birmingham and Cologne are not only culturally diverse places, but can also be seen as *positive examples* of welcoming newcomers and supporting their integration. Furthermore, the cities are examples for popular entrepreneurship locations within each country. In terms of case site selection, these elements make Birmingham and Cologne similar cases regarding the relevant dimensions of this study (cf. Lijphart, 1971; Seawright & Gerring, 2008). However, some important differences exist between the two cities in relation to refugee populations, integration policies and entrepreneurship.

³⁶ In 2019, Birmingham was ranked 49 out of 382 local authorities in terms of business foundations per capita and ranked 5/382 in terms of total business foundations in 2019. Source: Centre for Entrepreneurs, 2020, see <https://centreforentrepreneurs.org/cfe-research/business-startup-index/> [accessed 07-07-2021].

³⁷ Source: <https://birmingham.cityofsanctuary.org/what-is-a-city-of-sanctuary> [accessed 07-07-2021].

³⁸ In Germany, newly arriving asylum seekers are dispersed across the 16 federate states according to the so-called Königsteiner Schlüssel quota. The distribution is based on the amount of tax revenue (2/3 share in the assessment) and the size of the population (1/3 share in the assessment; Deutscher Bundestag, 2017). In the UK, asylum seekers have been deliberately dispersed across the regions following the Asylum and Integration Act 1999, '*to reduce the numbers of migrants claiming welfare benefits and living and working in London and the South East of England*' (Alonso & Andrews, 2020, p.2).

One distinction is that the refugee-origin populations in Birmingham and Cologne differ in terms of their country of origin, with only a few countries of origin overlapping, namely Syria, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan (see Chapter 4 for a detailed outline).

Further relevant differences between the case sites are linked to the country level. Birmingham and Cologne are embedded in European countries with contrasting forms of welfare state regimes – with a liberal welfare regime in the UK and a continental (or corporatist) welfare regime in Germany (Burkhardt et al., 2011; Esping-Andersen, 1990; Gough, 2008) – that represent different discourses around integration (Münch, 2018) and follow distinct policy approaches to refugees’ (labour market) integration (cf. Martín et al., 2016). The latter two have also changed over the last decades, with the UK having introduced increasingly restrictive immigration and integration policies after decades of net migration rates and Germany having overall lifted restrictions and improved the policy-based conditions for integration (cf. Huddleston et al., 2015). Each countries’ policies for refugee integration and their changes over time also impact on possibilities and obstacles for refugees’ integration at the city level.

Another distinguishing element between Germany and the UK is linked to entrepreneurship itself. Most importantly, the levels of entrepreneurship (i.e. businesses per capita), general attitudes around entrepreneurship and conditions for entrepreneurship (e.g. the policy framework and the ease of ‘doing business’) differ substantially in the two countries.

First, the level of entrepreneurship in Germany is stable and relatively low in a European comparison (Verheul et al., 2001), whereas the level of entrepreneurship in the UK has risen since the 2007-2009 Great Recession and is slightly above the EU average.³⁹ Second, different general attitudes around entrepreneurship are reflected in different levels of entrepreneurial attitudes and especially risk acceptance, which are significantly higher in the UK than in Germany (cf. Ács et al., 2019). Third, and leading back to the above-mentioned contrasting welfare state regimes, the UK and Germany each represent

³⁹ Also see OECD, 2020, self-employment rates across OECD member states, <https://data.oecd.org/emp/self-employment-rate.htm> [accessed: 07-07-2021].

particular regulatory frameworks around entrepreneurship which impact on (refugee-origin) entrepreneurship in different ways. For instance, similar to other continental European states such as the Netherlands, Germany maintains stricter regulations in terms of working hours and employment protection than the UK (cf. OECD, 2019)⁴⁰ and comparatively high minimum wages ‘*which choke off the growth of low-value added activities*’ (Kloosterman et al., 1999, p.9). These regulations impede the entry of newcomers even at the lower ends of the opportunity structure (ibid.) to a higher extent than in the UK, where the regulatory load is lighter.

Finally, my personal connection to the two places played a role when identifying the two case sites. I have worked and lived in Cologne for several years, and I am linked to Birmingham through my PhD studies at the University of Birmingham. Being familiar with both case cities supported my in-depth understanding of the contexts, and also facilitated access to gatekeepers and participants (cf. Blatter & Blume, 2008).

In summary, Birmingham and Cologne were chosen because they are *similar* in terms of their status as global cities of migration (especially as relevant refugee dispersal areas in each country), their high entrepreneurial dynamic, and their positive cultures towards welcoming newcomers. At the same time, the cities *differ* in other dimensions such as their welfare systems, the regulations and wider cultures around entrepreneurship and in their national structures for refugee integration and entrepreneurship. Taken together, these aspects provide a reason to expect stimulating insights from researching Birmingham and Cologne as locations of refugee-origin entrepreneurship and integration.

A detailed description of Birmingham and Cologne as case study sites is presented in Chapter 4.

Rigour and trustworthiness in this study

The strength of case studies in social research is that they allow for an in-depth investigation of a social phenomenon, permitting the researcher to consider different

⁴⁰ See https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=EPL_T for a direct comparison of different “Strictness of employment protection” indicators in the OECD countries [accessed 07-07-2020].

perspectives on one phenomenon through the use of multiple data sources and triangulation (Yin, 2014). However, a limitation of case studies is their focus, or even dependence, on a single case which can potentially lead to investigator subjectivity and limited generalisability of the results (Tellis, 1997).

Besides including two case sites, three measures were adopted to take account of these limitations of case study research and increase rigour and trustworthiness.

First, as typical for case studies, multiple data sources were used as a means to validate and challenge information that was derived from one source (Gillham, 2000; Gray, 2014; Smith, 1978). Drawing on multiple sources of evidence allowed me to look for commonalities and differences of information across sources (to triangulate the data) and to increase data validity (Yin, 2014). The different data sources are outlined in-depth in Section 3.5.2. Second, a record of data collection, or '*audit trail*' (Rudestam & Newton, 2014, p.114), was kept in order to make the research and data analysis process transparent to others. Specifically, I kept a research diary and some audio recordings about the data collection process. I also saved copies of the interim stages of data collection and analysis using the backup function of MAXQDA, the software package for qualitative data analysis software I used for this research. Third, after data analysis, a neutral person (an experienced researcher in the field of migrant entrepreneurship) reviewed the consistency of findings, a process that is also known as an 'external audit' (Creswell, 2012; Rudestam & Newton, 2014).

3.5.2 Data sources

*'[...] you must be alert to the need for **multiple sources of evidence** ⁴¹. This doesn't just mean talking to a lot of different people [...], but that you should look for different **kinds** of evidence: what people **say**, what you see them **doing**, what they **make** or **produce**, what documents and records **show**.'* (Gillham, 2000, p.20)

The main data collection method adopted in this research were qualitative semi-structured interviews with refugee-origin entrepreneurs. The second important source

⁴¹ Highlighted in the original text.

were interviews with key informants as experts who could provide background information about refugee-origin entrepreneurship and integration in Birmingham and Cologne. I opted for interviews as the main data collection method as they are a suitable tool to *'get into the heads of the subject being studied'* (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017, p.33) and hence to getting a step closer to understanding their perspectives. In addition to interviews, primary data sources from my fieldwork (e.g. on-site observations and reflections) and secondary sources were used. Similar to Sepulveda et al. (2011), who conducted research on refugee- and migrant-origin entrepreneurship in inner London boroughs, I included multiple primary and secondary sources to enable *'a degree of cross-checking the data'* (p.478), and thus enhance data validity.

Secondary data as a starting point

Publicly available secondary data formed the starting point of my desk research phase prior to the interviews. I used secondary data from media and policy reports, statistics, flyers and information from web pages. More specifically, I reviewed web pages related to the local entrepreneurship ecosystem, including those from the business chambers, from migrant business incubators and from the local councils.

The main sources for statistical data about migration and integration were the Office for National Statistics (ONS) and the Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF – Federal Office for Migration and Refugees) for data on the national level, as well as Birmingham City Council (BCC) and Stadt Köln (Cologne City Council) on the local level. Data on the regional levels (i.e. the West Midlands and the federate state of North Rhine Westphalia) came from various reports from institutions such as the Greater Birmingham Chambers of Commerce (GBCC), Chancen NRW (Ministry of Integration in North Rhine Westphalia) and Institut für Mittelstandsforschung (IfM – Institute for Research in Mittelstand) Bonn.

The data from these different sources was a valuable source of information on the key topics related to this research. They also provided important starting points for the sampling process.

Interviews with refugee-origin entrepreneurs

To be included in the interview sample, participants needed to have arrived in Europe⁴² as asylum seekers or refugees, be located in or around Birmingham or Cologne and either be engaged in entrepreneurship ('active entrepreneurs') or have concrete plans to do so ('aspiring entrepreneurs'). Aspiring entrepreneurs had taken first steps towards self-employment, for example by joining a business incubator. Furthermore, participants had to be at least 18 years old. Their English or German language skills had to be sufficient to be interviewed in either of these two languages. The latter was the case for almost all participants. Only during one interview in Cologne⁴³, the interviewee's teenage son joined to help us with interpretation between German and Arabic whenever necessary.

Using a biographic approach (Harding, 2006; Rosenthal, 2004), the interview schedule for refugee-origin entrepreneurs (see Appendix 2) included questions about individuals' migration and job histories, their motivation to start a business in the UK/Germany, general questions about the businesses, their business networks, the city as a business location, entrepreneurship and integration, as well as their future plans.

The interviews lasted between 30 and 180 minutes, but on average around 60 minutes. After each interview, participants completed a questionnaire which included questions about their demographic characteristics, their migration, education and job history and their (planned) business in pencil-and-paper form.

Interviews with key informants

Key informants included in the sample had knowledge about refugee-origin entrepreneurship, refugees' labour market integration and/or the entrepreneurship systems in Birmingham and Cologne. Their role was to provide contextual information (cf. Yin, 2014) and to complement the narratives of refugee-origin entrepreneurs, in order to get a comprehensive picture of refugee-origin entrepreneurship in Birmingham and Cologne.

⁴² Respondents who had arrived as asylum seekers in a European country other than Germany or the UK were included in the call for participants to achieve maximum variation of respondents' experiences.

⁴³ Walid (COLOGNE-ENT14) from Syria, aspiring owner of a cookie factory.

All seven interviews with key informants in Cologne were undertaken with formal representatives of an institution or project, either related to refugee- and migrant-origin entrepreneurship (e.g. business advisor Joachim (COLOGNE-KI3)) or refugees' labour market integration more widely (e.g. Esin (COLOGNE-KI7), Jobcenter consultant for refugees). In Birmingham, four key informant interviewees were representatives of formal institutions working with refugees and other migrant communities in Birmingham. Furthermore, two key informants (social entrepreneur Asad (BHAM-KI1) and entrepreneur Yasmiin (BHAM-KI5)) were included as insiders of neighbourhoods with large numbers of refugee-origin businesses on the one hand and the role of businesses within these neighbourhoods on the other hand. Comparable neighbourhoods (and thus, comparable roles) were not represented in Cologne⁴⁴, hence no informal insider key informants were part of the Cologne sample.

The interview schedule (see Appendix 2) included questions about the organisation's and the interviewee's work, refugee-origin entrepreneurs and their businesses in Birmingham/Cologne, the social networks of refugee-origin entrepreneurs, the city as a business location, barriers and enablers for refugee-origin entrepreneurship and respondents' view on entrepreneurship and integration.

The interviews lasted between 45 and 120 minutes, but typically around 45 minutes. Depending on the role of the key informant (e.g. linked to a formal institution or not) and their knowledge base (e.g. community insider/outsider), the emphasis of the interview was shifted. For example, key informants from formal institutions could rather give an overview of refugee-origin entrepreneurship on the local level, whereas the two 'informal' key informants rather provided contextual information about refugee-run businesses, social network structures and dynamics on the neighbourhood level.

⁴⁴ In that regard, Berwing (2019) finds that businesses run by foreign-born entrepreneurs in Cologne (including refugees) are not clustered in areas with a high proportion of foreign-born people, but are rather spread across the city.

Other primary data sources

Besides the interviews, I included on-site observations, written and spoken field notes and reflections, as well as e-mails from gatekeepers as complementary primary data sources (see Section 3.5.5).

3.5.3 Sampling

Finding research subjects, i.e. participants who have access to the information or experiences that are in the focus of inquiry, is a key element of research design (Marshall & Rossman, 1995, p.51). Therefore, this section describes the sampling goals, strategies, tools and processes implemented in this study. The key sampling aspects are summarised in Table 3.

Table 3: Summary of sampling strategies

<i>Participant group</i>	<i>Sampling strategy</i>	<i>Sampling tool</i>	<i>Sampling goal</i>	<i>Sample characteristics</i>
<i>Refugee-origin entrepreneurs</i>	Purposive sampling	Chain-referral sampling	Maximum variation sample, i.e. identify diverse participants with the common experience of being a refugee-origin entrepreneur in Birmingham/Cologne, cover a large variety of experiences (Patton, 2002a)	Maximum variation within relevant dimensions, e.g. country of origin, time of arrival in the host country and business sector
<i>Key informants</i>	Purposive sampling	Chain-referral sampling	Expert sample, i.e. identify selected local experts on refugee-origin entrepreneurship in Birmingham/Cologne)	Formal or informal expert knowledge about refugee-origin entrepreneurship in Birmingham and Cologne

Through the sampling applied, the study seeks to achieve analytical, rather than statistical, generalisation (Vershina et al., 2011) and to investigate processes and dynamics within each case site (Jones et al., 2010).

Purposive, chain referral sampling strategy

Purposive sampling was chosen as a suitable strategy to reach out to ‘*information-rich*’ cases (Patton, 2002b, p.273), and to identify a ‘*a sample from which most can be learned*’ (Merriam, 2009. p.77). In other words, and typical for non-probabilistic sampling strategies, participants were chosen according to their relevance for the research

questions rather than their statistical representativeness of the population in question (Saunders et al., 2016). This meant that data collection consisted of several sampling and data collection waves, whereby the population was purposefully explored and readjusted (Palys, 2008). For example, while I had initially focused on interviewing recently arrived refugee-origin entrepreneurs, I soon realised that including respondents who had arrived in the 1990s and 2000s would contribute to understanding the ‘bigger picture’ of refugee-origin entrepreneurship in Birmingham and Cologne over the course of time.

As neither in Birmingham nor in Cologne official figures of refugee-origin business registrations exist or are summarised in a database, the relevant population for my research can be characterised as ‘hidden’ (cf. Morgan, 2008). Members of hidden populations or communities have a low social visibility, which makes it difficult to access individuals or draw random samples (Heckathorn, 1997; Penrod et al., 2003). In addition, it is known that ‘*a significant proportion*’ (Sepulveda et al., 2011, p.476) of migrant- and refugee-run businesses in the UK stay “*informal*’ or ‘*undeclared*’⁴⁵ (ibid., also see Ram et al., 2007). As some key informants were selected due to their informal knowledge and not linked to formal (and thus identifiable) institutions, their social visibility was limited too. To overcome this challenge, I used chain referral sampling – an ‘*enhanced snowball approach*’ (Jones et al., 2010, p.570) – as a tool to reach out to respondents.

‘Snowball sampling’ is a summary term for sampling strategies that use initial, easily accessible research participants as starting points for the sampling process (Saunders, 2012). The snowball sampling process consists of several stages, or ‘waves’, and the sample size grows – like a snowball rolling down a hill (Heckathorn & Cameron, 2017). The respondents of each wave can suggest further participants who meet the sampling criteria, which are then contacted and included in the sample (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981; Heckathorn, 1997). In comparison to snowball sampling, the advantage of chain referral sampling is that multiple starting points are selected and accessed in order to reach out to a wider scope of participants and break out of initial participants’ social networks

⁴⁵ These ‘informal’ or ‘undeclared’ businesses include those run by asylum seekers, who are not legally entitled to engage in self-employment.

(Penrod et al., 2003). The multiple starting points of the first wave are typically 'gatekeepers' who are '*leaders or members within each setting*' (ibid., p.104).

Despite the advantages of reaching out to hidden populations with chain referral sampling, a few challenges need to be overcome. Biernacki and Waldorf (1981) name five limitations of chain-referral and snowball sampling techniques.

'The specific problem areas are:

-finding respondents and starting referral chains

-verifying the eligibility of potential respondents

-engaging respondents as research assistants

-controlling the types of chains and number of cases in any chain

-pacing and monitoring referral chains and data quality.' (p.144)

An additional limitation of chain referral sampling, as mentioned by Platt et al. (2015) is that it bears the risk of oversampling group members with a large social network and who are well-embedded in the community. On the other hand, group members who are less connected to others might be overseen in the sampling process.

For the purpose of this study, I decided that the advantages of chain-referral sampling outweigh its limitations. First, chain referral sampling is a suitable strategy to deal with a lack of databases of potential participants to draw a sample from (Penrod et al., 2003). Taking the detour of going through gatekeepers as intermediaries who were able to link me to potential participants facilitated the access to a population with low social visibility. Second, by combining chain referral with maximum variation sampling, I actively had to look for participants with diverse characteristics. This strategy minimised the risk of relying too much on a small selection of networks and thus maximised the chance to outbreak social networks.

Sampling goals and characteristics

The sampling goal for refugee-origin entrepreneurs was to create a maximum variation sample regarding relevant dimensions (cf. Palys, 2008) such as their country of origin, time of arrival in the host country, age, gender, business sector and business location. According to Creswell and Poth (2018), maximum variation sampling is a popular

approach in qualitative inquiry because ‘it increases the likelihood that the findings will reflect differences or different perspectives – an ideal in qualitative research’ (p.158). In other words, maximum variation sampling allows to include participants who represent the whole range of different experience and can include ‘typical’ as well as extreme cases, or any other variation in between these two (Palys, 2008; Saunders et al., 2016). The reasoning behind maximum variation sampling is to identify shared patterns across participants, despite their heterogeneity (Palinkas et al., 2015). Furthermore, more than most other non-probabilistic and purposeful sampling strategies, the strength of maximum variation sampling is that it allows for a degree of representativeness (Magnusson & Marecek, 2015).⁴⁶

As key informants were chosen according to their knowledge about refugee-origin entrepreneurship in Birmingham and Cologne, the sampling goal was to create an expert sample (cf. Frey, 2018). As common in research that involves hidden populations such as refugees, I used key informant sampling to get an overview about key issues in relation to this target group (cf. Simich et al., 2003). The key informants included were not restricted to formal or even visible networks and organisations but were also chosen due to their informal knowledge about refugee-origin entrepreneurship populations.⁴⁷

3.5.4 Data collection

Data collection started in January 2019, after I had received ethical approval from the University of Birmingham, and was concluded in October 2019. In total, I interviewed 42 entrepreneurs and 13 key informants (see Table 4).

Table 4: Overview of study participants (qualitative interviews)

Location	Groups and number of participants			Total
	Active entrepreneurs	Aspiring entrepreneurs	Key informants	
Birmingham	15	5	6	26
Cologne	13	9	7	29
Total	28	14	13	55

⁴⁶ ‘Representativeness’ hereby refers to the diversity of research participants (and thus a large variety of included experiences; Patton, 1990), but not to the statistical representativeness of a total population.

⁴⁷ In that regard, Kisooson (2006) points out how important informal networks were key to the success of her study about the meaning of accommodation and home for asylum seekers in the UK.

Exploring the contexts and piloting phase

Before starting my data collection, I undertook a desk research phase on the themes of 'refugee-origin entrepreneurship' in Birmingham and Cologne. The first goal of this phase was to reach a better understanding of the respective entrepreneurial ecosystems, particularly for refugee-origin entrepreneurs. As a result of this sense-making exercise I had gained a rough understanding of the formal actors relevant for my research and was able to identify some potential gatekeepers and key informants.

In practical terms, I created an Excel table with a list of organisations and individuals in Birmingham and Cologne with links to the (refugee-origin) entrepreneurship system, as well as persons I knew had a good network and/or knowledge of refugee-origin entrepreneurs in either of the cities. Whenever I came across a person or organisation that was in line with these sampling criteria, I added them to the list. Furthermore, I attended local events for and about migrant- and refugee-origin entrepreneurs in both cities, where I met additional potential gatekeepers and key informants. The second goal was to get an overview of the legal frameworks regarding self-employment and access to self-employment for refugees in Germany and the UK, since the local entrepreneurship ecosystems are in turn informed by the rules, regulations and cultural realities of the country (Rath & Swagerman, 2015).

Before data collection, the interview schedules were piloted at four occasions in January 2019 and subsequently slightly amended. First, I test-interviewed a researcher who had experience in fieldwork with migrant-origin entrepreneurs in superdiverse communities in Birmingham, going through both the interview schedules for refugee-origin entrepreneurs and key informants (English versions). Second, the German versions of both interviews were scrutinised by two researchers with experience in qualitative social research and interview design. Third, the schedules for refugee-origin entrepreneurs (German versions) were proof-read by a colleague and her husband who had both recently received refugee status in Germany. Finally, I test-interviewed a refugee-origin

entrepreneur in Birmingham.⁴⁸ The feedback from piloting was included in the final interview schedules. However, no unexpected insights arose during the piloting phase and feedback was mostly related to simplifying the interview questions with no major changes necessary.

Identifying and getting access to initial participants

The next step was to reach out to initial gatekeepers and potential interviewees. As suggested by Heckathorn and Cameron (2017), the snowball or chain referral sampling process started with a convenience sample, whereby I contacted a mix of formal (e.g. business incubators) and informal starting points (e.g. informal gatekeepers to communities) from my initial list.

Since the response rate of initially contacted refugee-origin participants was relatively low, especially in the UK, I added phone and WhatsApp as contact methods, which resulted in a higher response rate. An advantage of these recruitment methods was that participants had the possibility to ask questions and get to know me prior to the interviews. In addition, I attended several business-incubator events targeted at migrant communities in Birmingham, where I presented my research and called for participants.

It is noteworthy that the sampling processes in Birmingham and Cologne differed remarkably. As it turned out, the best way to approach initial participants in Cologne was through gatekeepers from formal institutions, while I found it easier to access participants in Birmingham through gatekeepers in communities and/or neighbourhoods. For example, one of the key gatekeepers in Birmingham was a young British-Somali woman who was well-embedded within the neighbourhood through her mother's business. We met several times to go for a walk in the area around the business. During these 'exploration walks', she introduced me to different business owners. In Cologne, two important gatekeepers were the project leader of a government-funded business incubator for refugees and the director of a local language school. As it turned out later during my data analysis, these different pathways of recruiting entrepreneurs reflected

⁴⁸ Since the amendments following the piloting phase were only marginal, the interview could be included in the final sample (interviewee BHAM-ENT1).

the ways in which refugee-origin entrepreneurs are structurally embedded in each of the cities.⁴⁹

In some cases, the gatekeepers were present during the interviews. The presence of *informal* gatekeepers/community insiders overall seemed to ease the interview situation. When gatekeepers from *formal* institutions were present, I sometimes noted a shift of the dynamics (and interview contents), especially when the interview location was at a formal institution. In any case, I recorded my observations on different dynamics in my field notes and sought to take them into account during data analysis.

Initiating, pacing, monitoring and discontinuing referral chains

The main stage of data collection consisted of pacing, monitoring and eventually ceasing the different referral chains, in order to reach a balanced sample and to avoid overrepresenting one group (e.g. entrepreneurs from the same country of origin) or place (e.g. one neighbourhood in Birmingham; cf. Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). Throughout the early interviews, in both case sites participants (refugee-origin entrepreneurs and key informants) were asked if they knew further potential participants of either group, and several referral chains were initiated (cf. Penrod et al., 2003). Since this approach did not always lead to success, and to increase the amount of entry points into different communities, I continued to identify further gatekeepers. At the same time, I stayed in contact with existing gatekeepers, for example from business incubators in both cities, who continued to link me to further entrepreneurs.

The data collection phase stretched over almost one year. As typical for qualitative studies (Denscombe, 2010; Marshall & Rossman, 2011), data collection and analysis went hand in hand, and I went back and forth between the two phases. For example, whilst transcribing a set of interviews from Birmingham I realised that two of the ad-hoc interviews with Somali-born entrepreneurs in Birmingham were not information-rich enough (cf. Patton, 1990) to understand all aspects of interest. Therefore, I returned to the research site to interview additional participants with similar characteristics. As such, data generation and analysis were treated as dynamic processes, allowing me to learn

⁴⁹ See Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

from the data throughout the process and to adjust my sampling decisions accordingly (cf. Mason, 2018). Data collection was ceased when no new information emerged from the interviews, i.e. data saturation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007) was reached.

Figure 8 and Figure 9 depict the chain referral sampling of refugee-origin entrepreneurs in Birmingham and Cologne.

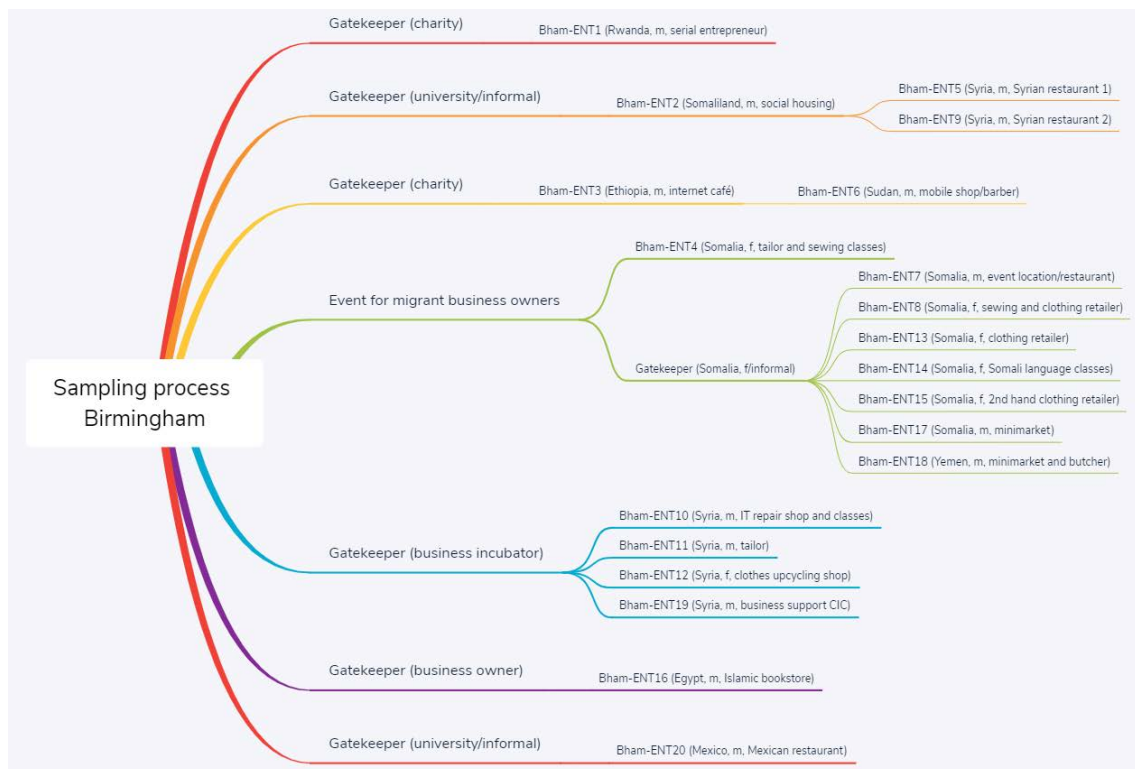


Figure 8: The sampling process in Birmingham (only entrepreneurs)

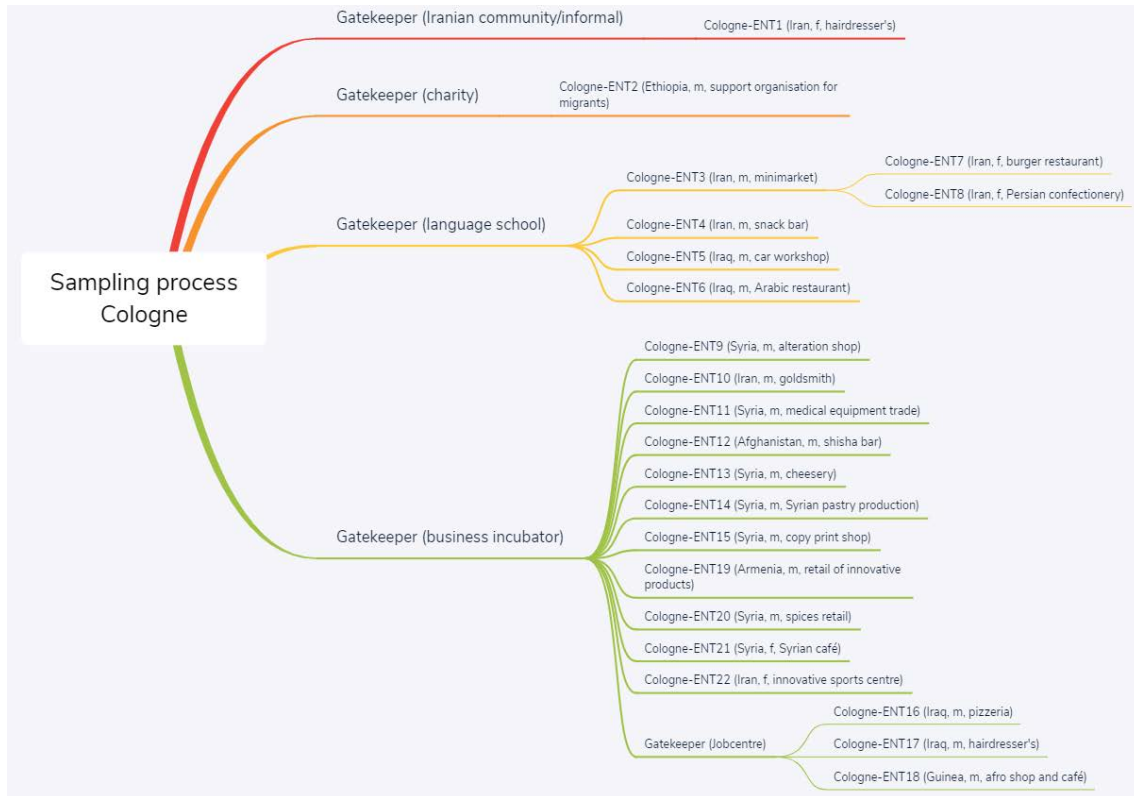


Figure 9: The sampling process in Cologne (only entrepreneurs)

The final sample

As mentioned above, 55 persons were interviewed in total, of whom 42 were refugee-origin entrepreneurs and thirteen were key informants. A detailed list of all participants and their main characteristics can be found in Appendix 4. Key informants (see Table 5) were mostly linked to a formal institution (n=11), whereby the majority worked as an entrepreneurship trainer or consultant (n=8), and three key informants in Birmingham were community workers. Furthermore, two respondents in Birmingham can be classified as ‘informal’ key informants. They were not linked to a particular organisation, but were entrepreneurs with personal links to (and insights into) local migrant/refugee communities.

Table 5: Characteristics of key informant respondents (gender, linked to formal organisation yes/no, role; n=13)

<i>Respondents' characteristics</i>		<i>Absolute number Cologne</i>	<i>Absolute number Birmingham</i>	<i>Total number</i>
<i>Gender</i>	Male	1	4	5
	Female	6	2	8
<i>Linked to formal organisation</i>	Yes	7	4	11
	No	-	2	2
<i>Role</i>	Entrepreneurship consultant/trainer	5	1	6
	Integration consultant	2	-	2
	Community worker	-	3	3
	Entrepreneur	-	2	2
	<i>Total number of respondents</i>	7	6	13

Maximum variation was reached in the 'refugee-origin entrepreneurs'⁵⁰ sample by including individuals and businesses representing both typical and untypical characteristics of refugee-origin entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship, as well as variations between the two extremes (cf. Palys, 2008; Patton, 1990). Including heterogeneous perspectives and experiences later allowed me to identify shared patterns in the data that are relevant for a larger group of refugee-origin entrepreneurs than, for instance, a 'typical case' sample would have allowed (cf. Palinkas et al., 2015).

Specifically, the sample included large variations in terms of age, countries of origin, times of arrival, education levels and prior professional experience, business sectors, entrepreneurship status⁵¹, as well as the legal form and the number of employees in established businesses. Furthermore, the sample included both male and female entrepreneurs.

⁵⁰ It is important to note that the final sample did not include asylum seekers, i.e. individuals whose asylum application had not been processed yet, and who are not legally entitled to engage in self-employment in the UK and Germany. However, for the case of Birmingham their narratives are indirectly included in this research. On the one hand, several key informants and refugee-origin entrepreneurs referred to businesses run by asylum seekers in Birmingham. On the other hand, two respondents described their own experience of engaging in self-employment as asylum seekers (BHAM-ENT1 and BHAM-ENT7).

⁵¹ i.e. aspiring entrepreneurs and those with long-established businesses as extremes, as well as any status in between.

28 respondents had established businesses ('active entrepreneurs') and 14 had the concrete intention to start a business ('aspiring entrepreneurs'; see Table 6). In both locations, the majority were male (total n=31) and only eleven respondents were female. Respondents covered an age range from 20 to 60 years, with almost half (n=19) aged 35 to 44, and ten respondents aged 45 to 54 years. Respondents covered 14 countries of origin, including the most common countries of origin of refugees in Germany and the UK respectively. For example, seven respondents in Birmingham were of Somali-origin and seven respondents in Cologne were Iran-origin. Syria was the most represented country of origin overall, with six participants in Cologne and seven participants in Birmingham. However, as a result of the maximum variation sampling strategy also participants from less common countries of origin in terms of asylum applications were represented in the sample (for example one participant from Guinea, Armenia and Egypt respectively).

Furthermore, respondents had arrived in the UK or Germany between the early 1990s and as late as 2018, thus covering a wide range of experiences with different policies and narratives around refugees in their host country. In line with the arrival times of most refugees in each country⁵², most respondents in Birmingham had arrived in the 2000s, and the majority of respondents in Cologne had arrived between 2011 and 2015.

⁵² See Chapter 4.

Table 6: Characteristics of refugee-origin respondents (gender, age, country of origin, time of arrival; n=42)

<i>Respondents' characteristics</i>		<i>Absolute number Cologne</i>	<i>Absolute number Birmingham</i>	<i>Total number</i>
<i>Entrepreneurship status</i>	Active entrepreneur	13	15	28
	Aspiring entrepreneur	9	5	14
<i>Gender</i>	Male	17	14	31
	Female	5	6	11
<i>Age group</i>	18-24	2	-	2
	25-34	3	4	7
	35-44	11	8	19
	45-54	5	5	10
	55-60	1	3	4
<i>Country of origin</i>	Syria	7	6	13
	Iran	7	-	7
	Somalia	-	7	7
	Iraq	4	-	4
	Ethiopia	1	1	2
	Afghanistan	1	-	1
	Armenia	1	-	1
	Egypt	-	1	1
	Guinea	1	-	1
	Mexico	-	1	1
	Rwanda	-	1	1
	Somaliland	-	1	1
	Sudan	-	1	1
Yemen	-	1	1	
<i>Time of arrival</i>	1991-1995	3	1	4
	1996-2000	1	4	5
	2001-2005	4	6	10
	2006-2010	2	2	4
	2011-2015	11	3	14
	After 2015	1	4	5
	Total number of respondents	22	20	42

In terms of education, all respondents stated that they had at least attended compulsory schooling (see Table 7), which lasted between six and nine years, depending on the country. 25 out of the 42 respondents (14 in Cologne and 11 in Birmingham) had participated in professional education, either formal vocational training or college/university studies. Eight entrepreneurs (six in Birmingham and two in Cologne) had studied business administration or management. While most of their professional degrees were attained abroad, six respondents in Birmingham and four respondents in

Cologne completed their highest degree after resettlement. These respondents had all arrived in their host country below the age of 25.

In terms of work experience, 17 out of 42 respondents had experiences as entrepreneurs in a different country, typically their home or a neighbouring country, whereas nine respondents stated that their main occupation had been in wage employment. The remaining sixteen respondents had been housewives (n=3) or students (n=13), whereby the latter had often also held part-time jobs or helped out in their families' businesses. In addition to work experiences from abroad, many respondents gained work experience after migration, often in the same sector as their later business.

Table 7: Educational levels and professional experiences among refugee-origin respondents

<i>Element of human-cultural capital</i>	<i>Absolute number Cologne</i>	<i>Absolute number Birmingham</i>	<i>Total number</i>
<i>Educational levels</i>			
Compulsory schooling	4	3	7
High school	4	6	10
Vocational education	5	3	8
College/university	9	8	17
Total	22	20	42
<i>Field of studies or vocational education (if applicable)</i>			
Business administration/management	2	6	8
Teacher	3	1	4
Other (incl. tailor, hair dresser, engineering)	9	5	14
Total	14	11	25
<i>Main occupation abroad</i>			
Self-employed/entrepreneurship	10	7	17
Wage employment	5	4	9
Student	6	7	13
Housewife	-	3	3
Total	22	20	42

Considering the market sectors that respondents eventually entered it is evident that the majority entered a sector below their original education level.

According to a typology of the opportunity structure suggested by Kloosterman (2010), businesses can generally be allocated into a 2 x 2 matrix according to the human capital

requirements to open a business in the respective market space (low versus high threshold), and their growth potential (stagnating versus expanding markets; see Figure 10). Since high threshold, low-growth businesses are an unlikely combination in reality, three main openings are left in the opportunity structure: vacancy-chain openings and low-skilled service activities at the lower part of the opportunity structure, and post-industrial, high-skilled activities on the upper end of the opportunity structure.

		< Growth potential >	
		Stagnating	Expanding
< Human capital >	High threshold		Post-industrial high-skilled activities
	Low threshold	Vacancy-chain openings	Low-skilled service activities

Figure 10: Typology of the opportunity structure: accessibility and growth potential of markets (based on Kloosterman, 2010)

Typically, the majority of migrant-run businesses are allocated in the two low-threshold market openings, which are characterised by low entry requirements with regards to human and financial capital, but are usually highly competitive fields (Kloosterman et al., 2016). In this sample, 35 out of 42 businesses were allocated within these openings. Only seven businesses were located in a ‘high threshold’ opening, which is characterized by high cultural capital entry-thresholds and high growth potential (see Table 8).

Table 8: The businesses of (active and aspiring) refugee-origin entrepreneurs by type of opportunity and sector

<i>Type of opportunity</i>	<i>Sector</i>	<i>Absolute number Cologne</i>	<i>Absolute number Birmingham</i>	<i>Total number</i>
<i>Vacancy-chain openings</i>	Food retail	4	2	
	Clothes retail	-	1	
	Other retail	-	1	
		4	4	8
<i>Composite (vacancy-chain opening and service activity)</i>	'Ethnic' shop and café	1	-	
	Tailor/clothes retail	-	4	
	Hairdresser's and retail	-	2	
		1	6	7
<i>Service activities</i>	Hospitality sector (restaurants, cafés, catering)	7	5	
	IT repair	-	1	
	Tailor	1	-	
	Hairdresser's	2	-	
	Car service station	1	-	
	Goldsmith	1	-	
	Printing service	1	-	
	Gym	1	-	
		14	6	20
<i>Post-industrial, high-skilled activities</i>	Digital marketing, IT	-	1	
	Social enterprise	1	3	
	Retail (online, transnational)	2	-	
		3	4	7
<i>Total</i>		22	20	42

More concretely, almost half of the entrepreneurs (n=20) were active in the 'low-skilled service' segment, which first and foremost comprised hospitality businesses such as restaurants and cafés (n=12), but also other service activities such as Yusuf's (COLOGNE-ENT15) printing shop and Saif's (BHAM-ENT10) IT repair shop. Despite the low entry requirements in terms of human and financial capital, these services have potential to thrive at the back of a 'cash-rich time-poor professional clientele' (Edwards et al., 2016, referring to Sassen, 1996), especially in urban areas. In comparison, the businesses in 'vacancy-chain openings' (n=8) consisted of small retailing businesses that mostly operated on a low-margin and hyperlocal scale, while facing fierce competition within their sector and/or location. The minimarkets run by Abdirahim (BHAM-ENT17) and Nadheer (BHAM-ENT-18) and his brother are examples for such businesses.

A further set of businesses (n=7) were composites of the two low-threshold market openings, such as Omer's (BHAM-ENT6) business, who combines a mobile phone retail shop with a barber shop, simply in order to make better use of the available space, or the sewing businesses of Hani (BHAM-ENT4) and Hodan (BHAM-ENT8), which both produce and sell clothing. These 'composite businesses' appeared more often in Birmingham (n=6) than in Cologne (n=1). The owners experienced economic challenges similar to their peers who occupied vacancy-chain openings. The seven businesses located in 'post-industrial high-skilled' sectors included four social enterprises, one digital marketing business and two online retailers with a transnational outreach. The owners of these businesses all had in common that they possessed vocational or higher education degrees and – confirming the mixed embeddedness logic – had relevant 'mixed' social networks which helped them to access expanding markets (Kloosterman et al., 2016; also see Section 5.3). The steadily-growing, transnational social enterprise run by Ephrem (COLOGNE-ENT2), a former refugee from Ethiopia with a chemistry degree from Germany, is an example for such a business.

In close relation to the overall present low-threshold market sectors, the majority of the 22 entrepreneurs in Cologne stated that they were (planning to) register their business as sole traders (n=18), whereas only three businesses were classified as limited companies and one business was registered as a social enterprise (see Table 9). In comparison, the 20 entrepreneurs in Birmingham were almost evenly classified as sole traders (n=7) and limited companies (n=8). Four Birmingham-based businesses were social enterprises, and one (non-registered) business could not be classified at the time of the interview. All active businesses, except for the social enterprise run by Ephrem (COLOGNE-ENT2), can be categorised as 'micro-enterprises' with 0 to 9 employees, which corresponds with the literature on migrant-run businesses in Europe (e.g. Rath & Swagerman, 2015; Wang & Altinay, 2010).

Table 9: Business characteristics (businesses by legal form of business, number of formal employees)⁵³

<i>Business characteristics</i>		<i>Absolute number Cologne</i>	<i>Absolute number Birmingham</i>	<i>Total number</i>
<i>Legal form of business</i>				
	Sole trader	18	7	25
	Limited company	3	8	11
	Social enterprise	1	4	5
	Other	-	1	1
	Total	22	20	42*
<i>Number of formal employees</i>				
	0-4	10	10	20
	5-9	2	5	7
	>20	1	-	1
	Total	13	15	28**

3.5.5 Data analysis

In order to achieve transparency and replicability, the following section illustrates the process of data analysis in this research. I start with an overview of how interview transcription took place and how I organised the different kinds of data. I consider these two elements the first steps towards data analysis, or the ‘pre-data analysis’. This is followed by a step-by-step description of the actual data analysis.

The overarching analysis method used in this research was thematic analysis. It was considered a suitable method for a study with multiple locations as it facilitates comparisons both within and across cases (Gibbs, 2007). Thematic analysis allowed me to find commonalities, differences and linkages in the data and to present them – as the name suggests – within aggregated themes (Gibson & Brown, 2009, emphasis added).

Transcribing interviews and organising the data

All interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed anonymising any personal information. I created most of the interview transcriptions manually and by using the transcription mode in MAXQDA. Using the software allowed me to play and pause the audio file during transcription, adjust the playback speed and set timestamps. In addition

⁵³ *=all businesses, including aspiring entrepreneurs, **=only active businesses

to manually produced transcripts, for a selection of recordings I used the AI transcription applications Otter.ai (for interviews in English) and audiotranskription.de (for interviews in German) to produce a first transcript version. However, the software was only suitable for interviews with a very good sound quality or accent-free English/German, and could only be used for a small selection of the interviews. In the cases where those applications were used, the initial transcripts produced by the software required a thorough review to eliminate the mistakes.

All transcripts were produced in the original interview language, i.e. German or English, and later analysed in their original language. Due to time and resource constraints, I only translated selected information from the German-language interviews to English, mainly the parts that were used as direct quotes in the findings chapters. All in all, the process of transcribing all 55 interviews stretched over 12 months' time, from January 2019 to December 2019 and overlapped with data collection.

The transcription process is an interpretive act and can be considered the first step towards data analysis (Gibbs, 2007; Harding, 2006). Depending on the research question and the aim of data analysis, researchers can choose between various levels of details in the transcription, i.e. from purely descriptive (or 'unfocused') records of what happened to detailed (or 'focused') descriptions (Gibson & Brown, 2009). In this research, I created detailed interview transcripts. Detailed interview transcripts represent not only *what* was said, but also *how* it was said (ibid.). For example, the final interview transcripts indicate pauses ('...') and emphasis made by the speakers, verbal expressions (e.g. 'chuckles'; 'sighs'; 'laughing'), unfinished sentences ('—') and crosstalk. This form of transcription seemed to be the best way to understand nuances in participants' reports of their experiences and to indicate sentiments related to their narratives. One example to illustrate the importance of what is said 'between the lines' is the following (short) answer provided by Yusuf (COLOGNE-ENT15), an aspiring copy shop owner from Syria, when asked about where he planned to obtain the financial resources to start a business: [...]
'well... [sighs] I don't know. [chuckles quietly]'.

These ‘between the lines’ sentiments such as ‘enthusiasm’, ‘pride’ or ‘shame’ played an important role when exploring how the entrepreneurs go about starting and running a business. Often, these sentiments are transported or emphasised by (non-)verbal expressions rather than what is said. However, interpreting non-verbal statements is a very subjective undertaking (Harding, 2013). Therefore, I was careful not to overrate these sorts of statements and to interpret them in the context of the interview, as well as in relation to the participants’ story and their language skills.

The different kinds of primary and secondary data were stored in one encrypted ‘data analysis’ folder. This would later allow me to access all information at a glance and increase transparency of the analysis process (Richards, 2014). After removing all personal identifiers, all interviews (the audio files and the corresponding transcripts) were stored in the qualitative data analysis software MAXQDA, which was also used to code and analyse the data. The interviews were sorted chronologically and divided between interview location, as well as participant groups (entrepreneurs and key informants). The anonymised data from the paper-and-pencil questionnaires about the entrepreneurs’ demographic information, migration, education and job history, and their (planned) businesses were transferred to an Excel table.

Finally, I kept a data analysis diary where I kept my thoughts, reflections and ideas on different aspects of the research as they came up before and during data analysis. The diary entries were used during later stages of the data analysis and interpretation as an ‘*aide-mémoire*’ (Bryman, 2012, p.240) to set myself back to my initial thoughts and ideas about the data.

Applying thematic analysis

Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest six steps to thematic analysis: (1) familiarising yourself with the data, (2) generating initial codes, (3) searching for themes, (4) reviewing themes, (5) defining and naming themes, (6) producing the report. These steps were roughly followed during data analysis and repeated for each of the three research questions, although the exact process was adapted to this research project and its goals. Throughout the data analysis, I moved back and forth between data and theoretical constructs (cf.

Gibbs, 2007; Marshall & Rossman, 1995). As typical for qualitative research, data collection and analysis were overlapping processes, so that I still collected data until no new or unexpected information appeared (cf. Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

The following paragraphs guide the reader through the process of data analysis used in this study. While thematic analysis was used as the umbrella strategy for data analysis, template analysis as a specific thematic analysis style which allows to use hierarchical coding in a flexible way (Brooks & King, 2014; King, 2012) was used as a complementary tool.

Step 1: Familiarising myself with the data

Already during the transcription process, I started to take reflecting notes in a diary and wrote memos in MAXQDA. These initial memos were a mix of summarising memos of each interview and analytical memos. While the former included factual information about the interview *location*, any *distinctive features* of the interview situation (e.g. that several participants were interviewed at the same time or that an interpreter was present) and *what was distinctive* about the participant and his or her story, the latter served the purpose *'to discover and explore ideas'* (Charmaz, 2006, p.84). For example, I took note of aspects that struck me and highlighted topics that arose in one interview but not in others.

After all of the interviews I had conducted at this stage had been transcribed, I familiarised myself with the data, a process also known as *'immersion in the data'* (Green et al., 2007, p.546). I started to read and re-read the transcripts, listened to some of the corresponding audio files and revisited my written and recorded field notes. In addition, I marked 'significant' and information-rich sections (Saldaña, 2015) in relation to the three research questions, and thus entered the phase of pre-coding (Layder, 1998).

The goal of the 'familiarising' phase was to get an overview of the large amounts of data, but also to identify starting points and strategies for the following steps of my data analysis.

Step 2.1: Generating initial codes

Following Braun and Clarke (2006), the next step was to generate an initial coding template. In this phase, I worked myself through a selection of interviews and labelled all relevant sections with regards to the respective research question. Using open coding and applying constant comparison of data within and across interviews (cf. Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967), I created an initial set of data-driven, first-order codes that were formulated close to the interview transcripts (cf. Gioia et al., 2013). Some of the agglomerated code labels were very broad (e.g. 'relevant information'; 'the interviewee's story'), while others were more specific and directly related to the research questions (e.g. 'reason to start a business: experience').

The initial analysis was based on a selection of interviews. Rather than coding the interviews in the order that they had been held, I sought to include interviews from both case sites and the extreme cases of my maximum variation sample from the beginning. This approach allowed me to identify cross-case themes that applied to the whole sample. I also included interviews with key informants at this stage, in order to provide an alternative perspective to entrepreneurs' experiences.

At this point of the analysis, the codes were sorted into a first version of the later codebook, structured alongside the research questions, but without using categories and hierarchical layers. A list of more than 70, partially overlapping, first-order codes was the result. As Gioia et al. (2013, p.20) emphasise: *'it is important to get lost at this stage'*.

During the next steps, the initial codes were iteratively disentangled and sorted into overarching themes.

Step 2.2: Compiling individual summaries

In addition to coding the interview data, I created content summaries of each interview with an entrepreneur (cf. Harding, 2013). Thereby I focused on each individual's story from 'home/leaving home' to 'finding a business opportunity'. This summarising exercise provided me with a bigger picture of each individual's story and their decision mechanisms towards entrepreneurship. Relatedly, this step helped me to get an

overview of the different cases and facilitated cross-case comparison (Lapadat, 2010) by highlighting similarities and differences in the stories.

Step 3: Searching for themes

At this point of the data analysis, open coding and category-building was complemented with concept-driven coding (Gioia et al., 2013). More concretely, I identified the two overarching frameworks that became important components of the final analysis template, namely mixed embeddedness (Kloosterman et al., 1999)⁵⁴ and a conceptual model of integration (Spencer and Charsley, 2016)⁵⁵. These frameworks were chosen as they matched with emerging patterns in the data and were considered relevant to answer the research questions.

I sorted the coded interview data into a hierarchical structure (King, 2012). The resulting template consisted of aggregated, descriptive first-order codes, which were merged into analytical second-order codes, aggregated into categories and finally into themes (see Figure 11 for an example)⁵⁶. While the *codes* and most *categories* emerged from the data, most *themes* were equivalent with existing theoretical concepts related to the previously identified theoretical frameworks (e.g. 'human capital' and the five domains of integration according to Spencer and Charsley (2016)). Existing theoretical concepts, or 'a priori themes' (Brooks & King, 2014), were thus an important part of the 'data structure scaffold', but consisting of codes and categories grounded in the data.

In practical terms, I first revisited the coded transcripts and then applied the initial template to the remaining interviews, whereby further new codes and categories emerged. What followed was a time-consuming process of going back and forth between coded transcripts and theories, modifying the categories and themes, sorting data until the overall structure was created, writing down findings iteratively and interviewing additional participants until no new information came up, i.e. until theoretical saturation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was reached. While the starting point of data analysis were the interviews with entrepreneurs and key informants, field notes, reflections and secondary

⁵⁴ Used for research questions 1 and 2.

⁵⁵ Used for research question 3.

⁵⁶ The full codebook can be found in Appendix 3.

data were now also included in the data analysis. These sources brought in additional perspectives and served as a tool for cross-data validity checks (Patton, 1999).

As a result of this phase, data collection was finished, all interviews were transcribed and coded and a preliminary set of themes was developed.

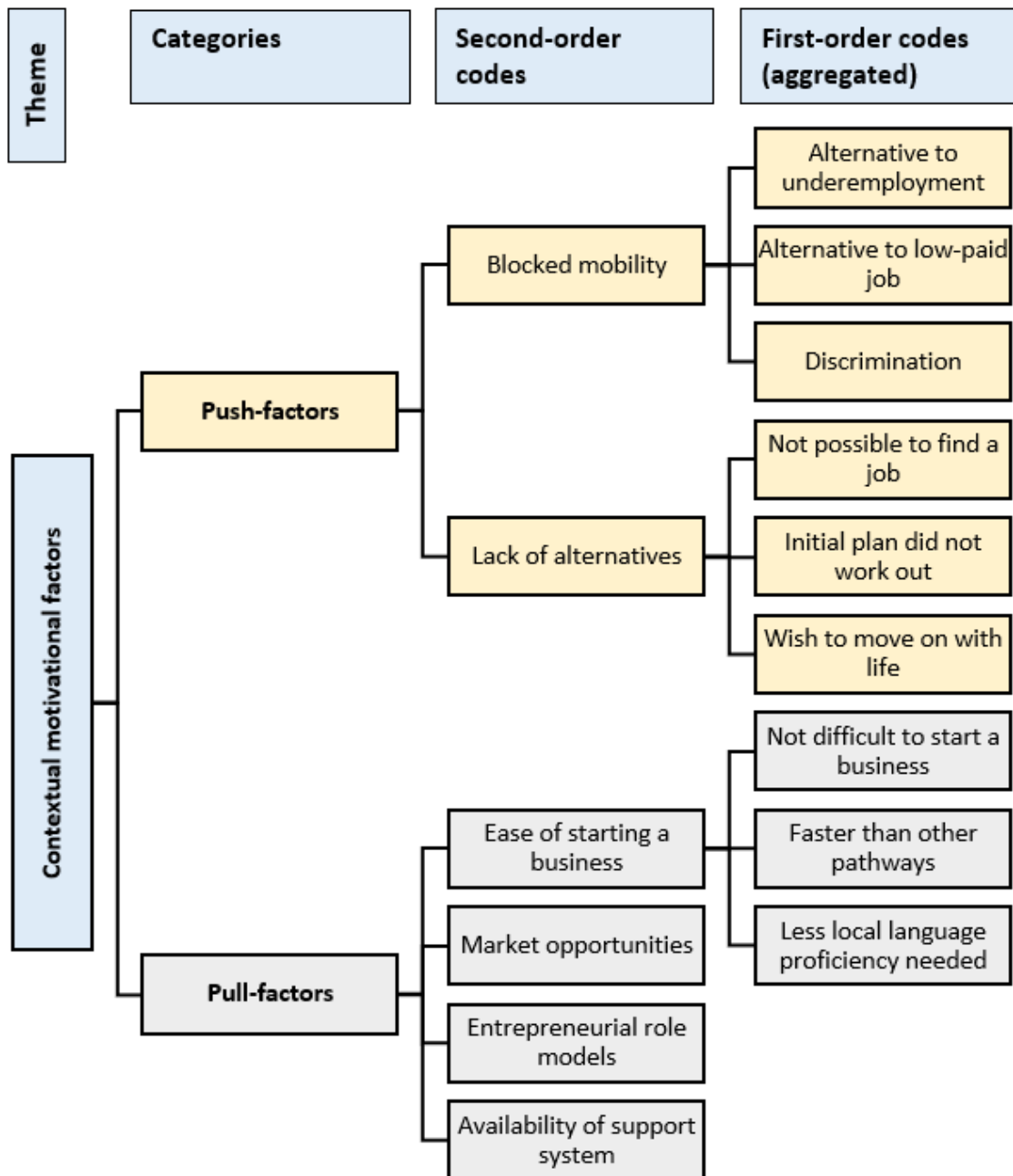


Figure 11: Extract from the final coding template related to the theme 'contextual motivational factors'

Steps 4 to 6: Reviewing and defining final themes, writing down findings

The next step was to refine the themes by means of several iterations, and to add a comparative perspective to data analysis.

Until this point, I had focused on overlapping and diverging patterns between participants. Now a comparative analysis between locations (i.e. participants in Cologne versus participants in Birmingham), time-related aspects (time of arrival, amount of time having spent in the host country) and sub-groups of entrepreneurs (e.g. with and without previous entrepreneurship experience) were added as additional perspectives to investigate the data and define the final themes. Among other measures, I used the lexical search function in MAXQDA for a comparative investigation between contexts, for example to get insights into how frequently respondents referred to different formal institutions (e.g. the local Job Centre/Jobcenter).

The approach to identifying themes by gradually adding more perspectives is also reflected in the structure of the findings chapters, where I first focus on similarities and overarching patterns and then address differences between the case sites and different sub-groups of entrepreneurs.

Besides adding a comparative perspective, at this stage I reviewed every element of the template regarding its relevance to answer the research questions. Codes or categories that were not relevant to the research questions altogether were removed from the template, while overlapping codes were merged. Furthermore, codes that included interesting background information but had marginal relevance for the research questions were stored in a separate folder in MAXQDA. In consultation with my doctoral supervisors, it was decided that the template was encompassing and thorough enough to stop making adjustments. The template finally consisted of 11 themes, 15 categories, 15 second-order codes and 37 aggregated first-order codes related to the three research questions. Furthermore, seven overarching descriptive themes and eight categories which held information about respondents' life stories and businesses (e.g. 'The interviewee's story – pre-business', 'The business – Workers/co-owners') were identified.

The final step of data analysis was to write and update the findings chapters.

3.6 Limitations of methods

While the methods described seemed suitable to approach the three research questions, they also have certain limitations. Some were linked to me as the researcher and others to external factors such as funding and time constraints.

The first limitation is related to my status as a sole researcher. As typical for (self-funded) PhD studies, the whole process of collecting, transcribing, coding and analysing the data was undertaken by one person. As a consequence, the results mainly take into account a single perspective on the phenomenon. While I sought to increase rigour and trustworthiness by discussing the results of analysis with my supervisors, and asked an experienced researcher in the field of migrant-origin entrepreneurship to review the consistency of findings (see Section 3.5.1), these steps could not replace the process of working in a team throughout the research process.

The second limitation relates to the interview languages. Since I was only able to offer German or English as options to conduct the interviews, entrepreneurs who spoke neither of those two languages could only participate in this research if someone assisted with interpretations.⁵⁷ The most important implication of only interviewing in the local language was that a share of refugee-origin entrepreneurs was by default excluded from the sample.

Particularly in some neighbourhoods in Birmingham, I was aware that some local, refugee-origin businesses were fully operated in languages other than English, and that some entrepreneurs had very limited or no command of English. Ideally, I would have cooperated with intermediaries from refugee-origin communities as additional interviewers, as for example done in a study by Villares-Varela et al. (2018) with migrant-origin business owners in the West Midlands (UK). However, key informants and the entrepreneurs interviewed could at least provide an external perspective on entrepreneurship by non-English speaking entrepreneurs in the neighbourhoods, so that their presence was not excluded from the data analysis and interpretation altogether.

⁵⁷ This was only the case during one interview which, with the help of the participant's teenage son as a translator, took place in German and Arabic (see Section 3.5.2).

Third, some potential participants might have been overlooked for their lower social visibility in comparison to the respondents included in the sample. In other words, I cannot finally say if the maximum variation sample covered all facets of refugee-origin entrepreneurship in the two locations. The results are therefore not representative for all local forms of refugee-origin entrepreneurship. In that regard, the majority of participants in Cologne were recruited through formal institutions and were engaged in formal business ownership. This way of sampling refugee-origin entrepreneurs was suitable to find participants with different characteristics (e.g. age, country of origin, kind of business) and is in line with other studies with refugee-origin entrepreneurs in Germany (Embiricos, 2020; Harima & Freudenberg, 2019; Meister & Mauer, 2018). However, there might be entrepreneurs with less links to formal institutions or who operate ‘under the radar’ of the authorities that I unknowingly excluded from the sample.

In Birmingham, I was aware that some refugee-origin entrepreneurs engaged in informal business activities from the literature (Edwards et al., 2016) and from my field work, and that some entrepreneurs even operate ‘*entirely hidden*⁵⁸ *from the state*’ (Sepulveda et al., 2011, p.487), for example by running unregistered businesses. As I found it difficult to access the latter, their voices are underrepresented in this research. By cooperating with community-insider gatekeepers in Birmingham and applying chain referral sampling I was still able to include some respondents with very low social visibility. However, had time allowed it, it might have been beneficial to seek access through a wider variety of community (and neighbourhood) intermediaries.

Finally, a limitation of the method is the consideration of only two case sites. Birmingham and Cologne can be considered ‘*individual exemplars*’ (Haase et al., 2016, p.91) of locations where refugee-origin entrepreneurship takes place, rather than a rigorously selected and ‘*methodologically controlled sample*’ (ibid.).

⁵⁸ Highlighted in the original text.

3.7 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have presented the research methodology which was developed in light of the research questions derived from the literature review. The main sources of data were qualitative, semi-structured interviews with refugee-origin entrepreneurs and key informants. The approach to data analysis was template analysis as a specific style of thematic analysis. In the next Chapter 4 I will address the contexts in which data collection took place. Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 are dedicated to examining the three research questions, followed by a discussion of the results in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 4: THE RESEARCH CONTEXTS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of Birmingham and Cologne as locations of (refugee) migration, integration and entrepreneurship. Section 4.2 summarises patterns of migration to the cities over time, with a focus on refugees. The city contexts can only be understood against the backdrop of wider migration and integration structures in the two countries. Therefore Section 4.3 addresses the national approaches towards refugee integration in Germany and the UK. The timeline starts in the 1990s, but focuses on the 2000s and 2010s as most respondents in this study arrived during this timeframe. Section 4.4 summarises the entrepreneurship contexts on the national and local levels. Finally, Section 4.5 provides an overview of the main insights and how these are relevant to interpret the findings.

4.2 Global cities with changing patterns of migration

Birmingham and Cologne are global, European cities that are home to people from all over the world. Birmingham is located in the West Midlands region of England and counts around 1.1 million inhabitants, making it the UK's 'second city' after London (BCC, 2020; GBCC, 2018b). The city of Cologne is Germany's fourth largest city after Berlin, Hamburg and Munich with around 1.1 million inhabitants, and is located in Germany's most populous federate state of North Rhine Westphalia.

Within each country, the two cities have an above average share of inhabitants from diverse ethnic backgrounds (cf. Stadt Köln, 2020b; Wessendorf, 2018), including many refugee-origin inhabitants.

4.2.1 Birmingham: from diverse to superdiverse

Like many other UK cities, as a former hub of manufacturing Birmingham has become home to large and established communities from South Asia (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka) and the Caribbean for many decades. Over the past two decades, however, Birmingham has hosted new and more diverse groups of migrants from all over the world, including many newcomers from Eastern Europe, Africa and the Middle East (BCC, 2013)

and has slowly turned into a '*multi-cultural global city*' (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008, p.305). In some areas of Birmingham, for example in Handsworth and Lozells in the Northwest inner city or Small Heath in the East of the city, less than 10% of the inhabitants are white British and more than 90% represent other ethnic backgrounds (Wessendorf & Phillimore, 2018)⁵⁹. Birmingham can be considered a 'super-diverse' (Vertovec, 2007) city as there is an increasing immigration-related diversity in the neighbourhoods and the city as a whole.

In terms of refugee populations, in the early 2000s Birmingham and the wider West Midlands region became the second largest receiving locations in the UK after London, partly due to the amount of available, low-cost housing where asylum seekers were dispersed (Phillimore & Goodson, 2008).⁶⁰ Although no formal statistics about asylum seekers and the refugee-origin population in Birmingham exist, analysis of the 2001 and 2011 Census show that new migrants since the early 2000s include many individuals born in countries known to be major refugee sending countries. The city continues to be a dispersal area for asylum seekers who arrive in the UK spontaneously and are sent, on a non-choice basis, to private sector housing. Many of these individuals remain in the city after they gain in-country refugee status.

According to the 2011 Census, there were large populations from Somalia (7,765), Nigeria (3,399), Zimbabwe (3,300) and Iran (3,005 residents) among the top 20 countries of birth in Birmingham (BCC, 2013). Census-based data from 2001 and other data sets (e.g. '2001-2008 Births by Mother's Country of Birth'; M.E.L Research & BCC, 2010) depicts several new migrant communities including high proportions of people from asylum seeker generating countries such as Iraq, Yemen and Afghanistan (M.E.L Research & BCC, 2010). Since not all individuals have come to the UK as asylum seekers or refugees, these numbers allow only a rough impression of the size of refugee communities in Birmingham. Furthermore, given that the 2011 Census was undertaken a decade ago it

⁵⁹ Also see Birmingham City Council, '2018 Birmingham Ward Profiles': <https://public.tableau.com/app/profile/bcc.ck/viz/2018BirminghamWardProfiles/2018BirminghamWardProfiles> [accessed 08-07-2021].

⁶⁰ Most asylum seekers in the 1980s and 1990s had settled in London and the South-East (Zetter & Pearl, 2000).

does not reflect recent population changes such as the arrival of Syrian refugees into Birmingham, as asylum seekers and via pathways such as the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme⁶¹. Furthermore, Kurdish-origin individuals form another group of considerable size in Birmingham and are not represented in the Census data (Zalme, 2017).

Finally, at least before Brexit Birmingham was a destination for secondary migration from individuals who have received refugee status elsewhere in Europe. Somali-origin newcomers coming from the Netherlands and Sweden are frequently mentioned in this context (e.g. Carlson & Galvao Andersson, 2019).

4.2.2 Cologne: multicultural with changing countries of origin

Being the destination of various migration movements for more than 2,000 years, Cologne has a long history as a multi-ethnic city (Schmidt-Fink, 2006). In the decades following World War II, (West) Germany including Cologne were the destination for refugees and returnees from Europe, Asia and Africa. Between the 1950s and early 1980s, Cologne attracted thousands of the so-called guest-workers, who mainly came from Turkey, Italy, Greece and Spain (Foerster, 2017). In 1961, more than 20,000 foreign workers were registered in the city, of whom most were working in heavy industry, construction and manufacturing (ibid.). At the present time, many former guest workers and their descendants continue to live in and around the city. Until today, the biggest migrant-origin community in Cologne is from Turkey with more than 93,000 individuals (Stadt Köln, 2019).

However, Cologne's foreign population has diversified with the arrival of new migrants from Eastern Europe, the Balkans, the Middle East, North Africa and the Horn of Africa (Stadt Köln, 2018). In 2018, 39% of the population had a migration background (first or second generation; Stadt Köln, 2019), making Cologne one of Germany's most multicultural cities.

⁶¹ See https://www.birmingham.gov.uk/info/20057/about_birmingham/2011/city_of_sanctuary/3 [accessed 08-07-2021].

Although no database of refugee-origin individuals exists for Cologne, it is evident in population statistics that individuals from (former) refugee sending countries and regions such as the Balkans, Iraq, Turkey and Afghanistan form communities of considerable size in Cologne (ibid.). During the ‘migration crisis’, in 2015 and 2016, thousands of newly arrived asylum seekers who mainly came from war-torn Syria, Iraq, Iran, Albania and Afghanistan arrived in the city via the national dispersal system for asylum seekers (cf. ibid.). Between 2014 and 2015 alone, in-migration to Cologne increased by 201% for Syrian citizens, by 245% for Iraqi citizens and by 299% for Afghan citizens (Stadt Köln, 2016). At the end of 2016, more than 12,000 asylum seekers were accommodated by the city (Ottersbach & Wiedemann, 2017).

In summary, both cities have a long history of hosting newcomers from all over the world, and are marked by increasingly diverse constellations of inhabitants of whom many have come to the country as refugees. Table 10 provides an overview of the population in both cities based on the respective data availability.⁶²

Table 10: Overview of population and migration in Birmingham and Cologne

	Birmingham	Cologne	Comparability
<i>Population</i>	Mid-2019: 1,141,800 inhabitants (BCC, 2020) 2011: 1,073,045 (BCC, 2013)	End-2018: 1,089,984 inhabitants (Stadt Köln, 2019)	Applicable
<i>Inhabitants born abroad (foreigners)</i>	2011: 22.2% (238,313) were non-UK born residents (ibid.)	End-2018: approx. 19% (212,191) were non-German born residents (ibid.)	Limited
<i>Migrant-origin inhabitants</i>	2011: 46.9% (503,045) of the population were not of White British ethnicity (ibid.)	End-2018: approx. 39% (426,646) of the population had a migration background (1 st or 2 nd generation; ibid.)	Limited
<i>Refugees’ main countries of origin (as of today)</i>	Migrant communities (including many refugees) from Afghanistan, Eritrea, Iran, Iraq, Nigeria, Somalia, Syria, Zimbabwe	Migrant communities (including many refugees) from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey	Limited

⁶² The City of Cologne provides annual population statistics. Figures from Birmingham are based on the 2011 Census and population estimates for 2019.

4.3 National approaches to refugee integration

Both Germany and the UK have experienced an increase of in-migration in the past decades, including the arrival of many refugees.

In the UK, refugee in-migration started to rise in the late 1980s with refugees fleeing war and persecution in countries including Sri Lanka and Vietnam since the late 1980s, and the Balkans and Somalia in the 1990s (Spencer, 2011; Sturge, 2021). Asylum migration of the 21st century peaked already in the early 2000s with more than 100,000 new arrivals and 84,000 asylum applications in the year 2002 (Sturge, 2021; Vertovec, 2007). The years following 2002 were marked by a decline of asylum applications. During the years of the European ‘migration crisis’, a comparably small number of asylum seekers arrived in the UK, with 32,733 asylum applications in the year 2015 (Sturge, 2021). According to figures for 2017, the UK population included around 374,000 foreign-born individuals who originally arrived in the country as refugees (Kone et al., 2019), with some of them being naturalised as British citizens.

In Germany, asylum applications began to rise sharply in early 1990s. Asylum in-migration then peaked in 1992, with around 438,000 asylum applications mostly from refugees from the Balkan War (BAMF, 2020). In the years between 2000 and 2012, most refugees migrating to Germany came from Iraq, Turkey and Afghanistan (BAMF, 2013), albeit at smaller numbers. Application numbers started to increase again after 2007 when less than 20,000 asylum applications were submitted throughout the year. In 2015, at the peak of the ‘migration crisis’, almost 1.1 million asylum seekers were registered in Germany, and more than 441,000 individuals applied for asylum in the same year (BAMF, 2020). By the end of 2017 around 1.7 million individuals who originally arrived as refugees and had not been naturalised at the point of the census lived in Germany.⁶³

In both the UK and Germany, the increase in in-migration during the past decades – and especially spontaneous asylum migration – has raised political debates. However, there

⁶³ See Destatis press release from 23 November 2018: https://www.destatis.de/DE/Presse/Pressemitteilungen/2018/11/PD18_457_12521.html [accessed 20-06-2021].

are differences between the two countries in terms of refugee integration policies and the framing of refugee integration.⁶⁴

While the UK has imposed increasingly strict policies for asylum seekers in particular, during the 2010s Germany has lifted several barriers for (some) asylum seekers, such as earlier access to language classes and work. These national changes over time have also affected refugees in Birmingham and Cologne.

4.3.1 UK: dual and increasingly restrictive

The approach to asylum migration in the UK can be described as 'dual' (Bakker et al., 2016), with recognised refugees having significantly more opportunities for participation than asylum seekers. While integration policies for recognised refugees are inclusive and comprise access to work, health, education and language classes, asylum seekers are de facto excluded from most integration measures, and from interaction with '*mainstream society*' (Phillimore & Goodson, 2006, p.1715).

The UK Governments' approach to differentiate between recognised refugees and asylum seekers goes back to the 1990s (Galandini et al., 2019). With the 1993 Housing Act, many legal and welfare entitlements were ceased for asylum seekers. The 1996 Asylum and Immigration Act reduced benefits for asylum applicants to 70% of the Income Support for British citizens (Allsopp et al., 2014). Following the 1999 Asylum and Integration Act asylum seekers have been dispersed across the UK in order to move away from the concentration on London and the South-East of England (Alonso & Andrews, 2020). As a result, many asylum seekers were and still are allocated to low-cost areas in urban conglomerations such as Birmingham or Manchester for an indefinite time.

In the early 2000s, integration of recognised refugees was promoted by the English New Labour government as a policy goal (Phillimore, 2011). During the following years, several

⁶⁴ It should be noted that because of Germany's past as a refugee generator during World War II, the country has a unique position in the debate on asylum. The fundamental right of asylum is enshrined in Article 16a of the Basic Law (the German constitution) and has '*high priority and expresses Germany's willingness to fulfil its historical and humanitarian obligation to admit refugees.*' (see German Federal Ministry of the Interior (BMI), 2014: https://www.bmi.bund.de/EN/topics/migration/asylum-refugee-protection/asylum-refugee-policy-germany/asylum-refugee-policy.html;jsessionid=03D91C573629F73E8FF2ADB7741C21BC.2_cid364 [accessed 08-07-2021]).

national programmes were implemented. In 2000, the National Refugee Integration Forum (NRIF) was founded as a multi-agency association with governmental and non-governmental actors to serve as *'the essential link between national, regional and local problem solving'*⁶⁵ related to the integration of recognised refugees. Between 2005 and 2011, the government-funded projects 'Strategic Upgrade of National Refugee Integration' (Sunrise) and from 2008 onwards 'Refugee Integration and Employment Service' (RIES) were implemented across the UK to support new refugees' integration into the British society and especially into work (Mulvey, 2015). However, in the light of the UK austerity programme following the Great Recession of 2007-2009, these projects were not continued nor replaced under the 2010 Coalition Government (ibid.). Government funding for integration measures including English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classes decreased significantly from 2010 onwards, resulting in *'longer waiting lists, a decline in teaching hours and a lack of classes that meet the needs of refugees'* (Debbonnaire et al., 2017, p.6).

During the 2010s the UK government shifted the policy approach in England from national integration policies to focusing on local integration strategies (Phillimore, 2020). At the same time, as of today there are few publicly funded integration measures and no national integration strategy or programme exists. Integration is considered a local matter and closely linked to the overall goal of 'integrated communities', as for example the Government's 2018 Strategy Green Paper for England suggests (HM Government, 2018). On the national level, the Home Office and the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government⁶⁶ have strategic responsibility for recognised refugees' integration, while integration support measures where they exist are implemented by local governments and non-governmental actors such as charities, often with the support of volunteers (Debbonnaire et al., 2017).

The recent UK Government discourse around (asylum) migration is for example reflected in the 2014 and 2016 Immigration Acts. The 2014 Immigration Act was implemented to *'tackle the number of illegal immigrants in the UK'* (Taylor, 2018, p.3) and was amended

⁶⁵ Source: <https://www.nrif.org.uk/> [accessed: 08-07-2021].

⁶⁶ Formerly the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG).

two years later in the 2016 Immigration Act which aimed to reinforce measures *'related to 'illegal working''* (ibid., p.4). The Acts include strategies to restrict the access to housing, driving, bank accounts, benefits and free health care for 'illegal immigrants'. Both Acts must be considered in relation to the so-called UK hostile environment (later rebranded by the government as 'compliant environment' policy), aiming to render the lives for these individuals difficult (Galandini et al., 2019).

A figurative counterbalance to the increasingly antagonist discourse towards 'illegal' asylum seekers, and the decreasing support for these groups (cf. Atto et al., 2020) are the Government's official refugee resettlement programmes. In 2019, these included the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme (VPRS), which resettled around 20,000 Syrian-origin refugees to the UK between 2015 and until 2020/21⁶⁷, the Gateway Protection Programme⁶⁸, which was the UK quota refugee scheme from 2004 to 2019, and the Community Sponsorship scheme⁶⁹. Refugees that arrive via any official resettlement scheme do not have to go through the asylum process. Those arriving through the VPRS and the Gateway Protection Programme received caseworker support to find employment, get access to health, education and welfare services, and were provided with housing (Debbonnaire et al., 2017).⁷⁰ Refugees arriving on the Community Sponsorship scheme are instead supported by volunteers (Phillimore et al., 2020).

Overall, it can be stated that at the time of writing the UK integration policy is not underpinned by an overarching integration strategy for refugees and other migrants (cf. Martín et al., 2016). This observation led Galandini et al. (2019) to conclude that *'integration (when it happens and however it is measured) currently happens despite rather than because of UK Government policy'* (p.689). Integration efforts rather take

⁶⁷ See <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/5a0ae9e84.pdf> [accessed 08-07-2021].

⁶⁸ See <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/gateway-protection-programme-information-for-organisations/gateway-protection-programme> [accessed 08-07-2021].

⁶⁹ See <https://resetuk.org/community-sponsorship> [accessed 08-07-2021].

⁷⁰ In 2019, the government announced a new, encompassing *'global resettlement scheme for the most vulnerable refugees'*, see <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-global-resettlement-scheme-for-the-most-vulnerable-refugees-announced> [accessed 08-07-2021]. Related to the COVID-19 pandemic, these plans were put on hold in 2020.

place on the local level and are realised by actors such as the local governments, charities (e.g. migrant and refugee community organisations), social enterprises and universities.

Dual, localised approach to labour market integration

Similar to the UK's overall approach towards refugee integration, labour market integration policies for refugees can be described as a 'dual'. Only prior to August 2002, asylum seekers could apply for permission to work after six months in Britain (Bloch, 2002). However, the 1996 Asylum and Immigration Act introduced penalty fines for employers hiring staff without the appropriate documentation, posing an indirect structural barrier to asylum seekers and recognised refugees to participate in the formal labour market (ibid.). To date, asylum seekers only have access to a limited list of professions from the Shortage Occupation List 12 months⁷¹ after submitting their asylum application (Martín et al., 2016). Furthermore, asylum seekers can generally not engage in self-employment activities. With these strict regulations, which de facto exclude most asylum seekers from the (formal) labour market, the UK policy is amongst the most restrictive ones in Europe (ibid.).

At the same time, recognised refugees can access the labour market without any restrictions and are also entitled to engage in self-employment (Bontenbal & Lillie, 2019). In the void of a national strategy towards refugees' labour market integration (Spencer, 2011) and a lack of governmental funding for this purpose (Phillimore, 2012), non-governmental actors act as stand-ins to fill this gap. Two examples of organisations supporting refugees' labour market integration, including self-employment, are the social enterprises 'The Entrepreneurial Refugees Network' (TERN) in London and Bristol-based refugee integration service provider 'ACH'⁷², which also has a branch in Birmingham. As of 2016, there were more than 100 Refugee Community Organisations (RCO) in the Greater Birmingham area (Walsh, 2016), many of them supporting refugees' integration into employment, education and training besides other forms of support.

⁷¹ The UK did not opt in to the European Parliament's 2013 Reception Conditions Directive (2013/33/EU), which included the right for asylum seekers to access the labour market no later than nine months from the date on which their asylum application was made (Article 15(1); cf. Martín et al., 2016).

⁷² Formerly 'Ashley Community Housing'.

4.3.2 Germany: decreasing restrictions for some

In Germany, the integration structure for asylum seekers and recognised refugees has overall become more facilitating in the past decades, although not for all. For a long time, there has been a differentiation between asylum seekers and those with a refugee status in terms of rights and access to different resources and work, similar to the dual approach in the UK. This differentiation has somewhat blurred in recent years, with some asylum seekers now having earlier and wider access to different measures.

In the 1990s and 2000s, asylum seekers did not have access to language classes or work, and between 1993 and 2012 received reduced social benefits under the Asylum Seekers' Benefits Act ('Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz'; Bünte, 2014). During the 1990s and 2000s, tens of thousands of asylum seekers waited for the outcome of their application, some over the course of more than ten years (Müller, 2010). Many were granted consecutive short-term 'suspension of deportation status' (also: 'tolerated status', 'Duldungsstatus'). This in-between status meant that they were still widely denied access to work and received reduced social benefits under the Asylum Seekers' Benefits Act. Recognised refugees in comparison had access to regular benefits and work, but depending on their status had to wait for a period of time before they could exercise this right (Velling, 1996). In 2005, the Immigration Act ('Zuwanderungsgesetz') was passed, which included access to integration and language courses for recognised refugees, but not for asylum seekers and those with tolerated status (Bünte, 2014). Only since 2015, some asylum seekers and those with tolerated status have access to integration and language classes, as outlined below.

A complicating factor for refugees' integration is the differentiation between groups of asylum seekers which leads to a variety of rights and duties. In 1993, the 'safe country of origin' ('sicheres Herkunftsland') category was introduced to limit the possibilities to successfully invoke the fundamental right to asylum for individuals from a list of countries that were deemed safe to return (Müller, 2010). Until today, asylum seekers from a 'safe

country of origin⁷³ neither have access to integration/language courses and other measures nor are they permitted to engage in any form of formal employment (Schultz, 2019).⁷⁴

The 2015 Asylum Procedure Acceleration Act ('Asylverfahrensbeschleunigungsgesetz') introduced a new category, the 'prospect of staying', which differentiates '1) those assumed to have a 'good prospect of staying'⁷⁵ from 2) those from a 'safe country of origin' (designated by law), and 3) all other asylum seekers (hybrid group)' (ibid, p.9). The (indirect) assignment to one of these groups has implications for participation in integration and language classes, but also in relation to other integration measures. Unlike those from a 'safe country of origin', asylum seekers from a country with a good prospect of staying have privileged access to civic integration and language classes, and can even be obliged to participate (SVR-Forschungsbereich, 2018). Asylum seekers from a safe country of origin and the 'hybrid group' are not only excluded from these measures, but also experience longer waiting times for the result of their asylum application, which in turn leads to even longer exclusion from integration measures (Schultz, 2019).

Another complicating factor in the German asylum system is that responsibilities for refugees' integration are scattered across different actors in a complex and at times inscrutable manner (SVR-Forschungsbereich, 2017). For instance, on the national level, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF – 'Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge') processes asylum applications. Different other ministries and representatives are in charge of matters around refugees' (labour market) integration.

⁷³ In summer 2021, these were the EU states, the Western Balkan countries, Senegal and Ghana, see <https://www.bamf.de/DE/Themen/AsylFluechtlingsschutz/Sonderverfahren/SichereHerkunftsstaaten/sichereherkunftsstaaten-node.html> [accessed 08-07-2021].

⁷⁴ The 'safe country of origin' category goes back to the 1993 Constitution amendment, which was introduced in the light of increasing asylum migration to Germany and as a part of an 'asylum compromise' ('Asylkompromiss') between the government and the opposition (Müller, 2010). Its goal was to limit the possibilities to successfully invoke the fundamental right to asylum for individuals from a list of countries that were deemed safe to return.

⁷⁵ I.e. asylum seekers who come from countries with average recognition rates of more than 50% of all asylum applications. In summer 2021, these were Syria, Eritrea and Somalia, see <https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/FAQ/DE/IntegrationskurseAsylbewerber/001-bleibeperspektive.html?nn=282388> [accessed: 08-07-2021].

On the supra-regional level, four out of the 16 federate states have their own integration acts.⁷⁶ At the local level, the respective integration acts are put into practice, whereby responsibilities are spread across a variety of governmental and non-governmental labour market actors (Kiziak et al., 2019).

At the same time, policy makers in Germany emphasise the importance of the individual's *social* integration (Münch, 2018). By doing so, the integration process is framed as an individual responsibility and plainly expressed by the principle of 'promoting and demanding' ('Fördern und Fordern') of the Government's 2016 Integration Act (Dahlstedt & Neergaard, 2015). The 2016 Integration Act was implemented as a reaction to the high number of asylum seekers during the 2015 'migration crisis', and includes *measures to support refugees' integration* into the labour market (e.g. extended integration and language courses, apprenticeship support) and *duties for refugees* to actively contribute to their integration into society, understood as acquiring German language skills and reaching economic self-sufficiency (Deutscher Bundestag, 2016; emphasis added).

Another noteworthy element of refugee integration since 2015 is the unprecedented network of volunteers supporting new refugees' arrival in Germany. According to a study by the Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach (IfD) in 2017, 55 per cent of the total population aged 16 and over had done something to support refugees since 2015 or were currently involved in supporting refugees (e.g. active help or making donations; BMFSFJ, 2017). In Cologne alone, at the time of writing there are still almost 50 volunteer-run initiatives on the neighbourhood and city level⁷⁷, in addition to the various governmental and non-governmental actors supporting refugee integration.

All in all, the structural conditions for refugees' integration in Germany have improved over time, especially with the 2005 Immigration Act and the policy changes following the 2015 'migration crisis'. The Government promotes integration of refugees more than it had previously been the case, albeit with a clear emphasis on demanding an active

⁷⁶ Including North Rhine-Westphalia, where this study is conducted [see <https://www.mkffi.nrw/integrationsgesetz>; accessed: 08-07-2021].

⁷⁷ See <https://www.wiku-koeln.de/> [accessed: 08-07-2021].

contribution from newcomers. At the same time, some asylum seekers are excluded from most measures as their application is likely to be rejected. Furthermore, many refugees face bureaucratic obstacles towards integration, in parts due to a complex structure of responsibilities.

Conditional approach to refugees' labour market integration

The German policy approach to refugees' labour market integration can be described as 'conditional', depending on the country of origin and the legal status. All recognised refugees have access to the labour market since the 2005 Immigration Act ('Zuwanderungsgesetz') came into force (Schmidt, 2014). Before the adoption of the European Parliament's 2013 Reception Conditions Directive, asylum seekers could only apply for a work permit after 12 months and under additional preconditions. These included passing a 'priority review' ('Vorrangprüfung') for their job to make sure no 'prioritised' person (e.g. from Germany or the EU) could be found for the respective post, a measure that was only lifted in many regions in 2016, and finally for all regions in 2019⁷⁸. In practice, for decades asylum seekers were widely banned from the labour market (Martín et al., 2016). Since 2013, asylum seekers could enter the labour market after nine months. Since 2014, most asylum seekers can get access to the labour market only three months after submitting their asylum application (excluding individuals from a 'safe country of origin'), making the current framework one of the least restrictive ones in Europe (ibid.).

However, labour market access for asylum seekers excludes any form of self-employment, which is only allowed for some recognised refugees. Thereby some groups with a short-term status can only engage in self-employment under the premise that the local Foreigners' Registration Office' ('Ausländerbehörde') grants an individualised permission (Leicht et al., 2021b).

⁷⁸ See Bundesgesetzblatt Jahrgang 2019 Teil I Nummer 28: https://www.bgbl.de/xaver/bgbl/start.xav?startbk=Bundesanzeiger_BGBl&start=//%5B@attr_id=%27bgbl119s1109.pdf%27%5D#_bgbl_%2F%2F%5B%40attr_id%3D%27bgbl119s1109.pdf%27%5D_1624363856277 [accessed: 08-07-2021].

While there is wide government-funded support available for refugees' integration into the labour market, self-employment only plays a marginal role in the national integration strategies and policies. For example, in the 2016 Integration Act self-employment is absent as a mode of labour market integration (cf. Deutscher Bundestag, 2016). Most of the government-funded projects and initiatives rather focus on refugees' integration into wage employment and apprenticeships⁷⁹. However, a few government-funded projects offering entrepreneurship training have been launched since 2015. One example is the project 'ActNow'⁸⁰ in Cologne, which offers entrepreneurship training and support to refugees and other migrants since 2016.

4.4 Entrepreneurship contexts

In the following sections I give a brief overview of entrepreneurship in the UK and Germany, with a focus on entrepreneurship cultures and conditions (Section 4.4.1). Secondly, I take a look at the local market opportunity structures of Birmingham and Cologne (Section 4.4.2). This mapping approach is in line with the main idea of mixed embeddedness: that migrants' entrepreneurial activity is always influenced by the wider political and institutional context they enter, as well as the presence of local markets (Kloosterman et al., 1999).

4.4.1 National level

It is widely acknowledged in entrepreneurship research that the social, cultural and political context of a society is decisive for individual decisions to engage in entrepreneurship (Bosma et al., 2020; Hjorth et al., 2008; Sarason et al., 2006; Thomas & Mueller, 2000). Several cross-country studies regularly assess these and other structural conditions for entrepreneurship around the world. Although these studies include

⁷⁹ See for example the overview on measures and initiatives to support refugee's labour market integration provided by the Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy, as of 2019: https://www.bmwi.de/Redaktion/DE/Downloads/C-D/darstellung-der-massnahmen-der-bundesregierung-fuer-die-sprachfoerderung-und-integration-von-fluechtlingen.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=6 [accessed: 08-07-2021].

⁸⁰ See <https://www.migrafrica.org/2020/01/09/actnow-unternehmerisches-denken-und-handeln/> [accessed: 08-07-2021].

different countries and indicators, together they give insights into trends of entrepreneurship conditions across countries.

As introduced in Section 3.5.1 on case site selection, Germany and the UK represent countries with different entrepreneurial attitudes and entrepreneurship levels. Based on three major comparative studies – the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM), the Global Entrepreneurship Index (GEI) and the World Bank’s ‘Doing Business’ – some conditions around starting a business in the UK and Germany are depicted in Table 11. Overall, these figures emphasise a stronger inclination towards entrepreneurship in the UK as compared to Germany (cf. Ács et al., 2019), coupled with a higher ease of starting a business, both measured (cf. World Bank, 2019)⁸¹ and perceived in the population (cf. Bosma et al., 2020).

Table 11: Conditions for starting a business in Germany and the UK.⁸²

	UK	Germany	Source/inventory
<i>Entrepreneurial attitudes in the society (0-100), including:</i>	73.5 (rank 8/137)	57.8 (rank 19/137)	Ács et al., 2019 (GEI)
- <i>Opportunity perception (0-1)</i>	0.84	0.76	
- <i>Start-up skills (0-1)</i>	0.58	0.57	
- <i>Risk acceptance (0-1)</i>	0.84	0.62	
- <i>Networking (0-1)</i>	0.51	0.38	
- <i>Cultural support (0-1)</i>	0.91	0.83	
<i>Ease of starting a business (0-100)</i>	94.6 (rank 18/190)	83.7 (rank 125/190)	World Bank, 2019 (Doing Business 2020)
<i>Self-assessment: ‘In my country, it is easy to start a business’ (% of surveyed adults aged 18-64)</i>	82.4% (rank 4/50)	47.6% (rank 25/50)	Bosma et al., 2020 (GEM Adult Population Survey, 2019)

The contrast in (perceived) ease of starting a business reflects the distinct economic-structural contexts in the UK and Germany, which are also echoed in the wider entrepreneurship literature. For example, studies have highlighted some cultural and structural aspects such as uncertainty avoidance and a static bureaucratic system as

⁸¹ The ‘Ease of starting a business’ indicator (cf. World Bank, 2019) compares the time, cost, paid-in minimum capital and number of procedures to start a local Limited Liability Company (LLC).

⁸² Selected indicators; sources: Global Entrepreneurship Index (GEI); World Bank ‘Doing Business’ Index; Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM).

hampering factors for entrepreneurship in Germany (Aly & Galal-Edeen, 2020; Fritsch & Wyrwich, 2014; Verheul et al., 2001). Ram & Jones (2008) summarise the situation for migrant-origin entrepreneurs in the UK versus mainland Europe as follows: ‘The comparatively neo-liberal UK regime generally is less subject to interventionist state control than is the case in most of mainland Europe, where EMB⁸³ is often seen as hampered by stifling restrictiveness’ (p.61). In other words, in direct comparison to mainland Europe the UK sticks out as the more business-friendly location (not only) for migrants, including refugees. This difference might explain at least in part the diverging self-employment rates of first generation migrants and refugees in both countries, as depicted in Figure 12 and Figure 13.

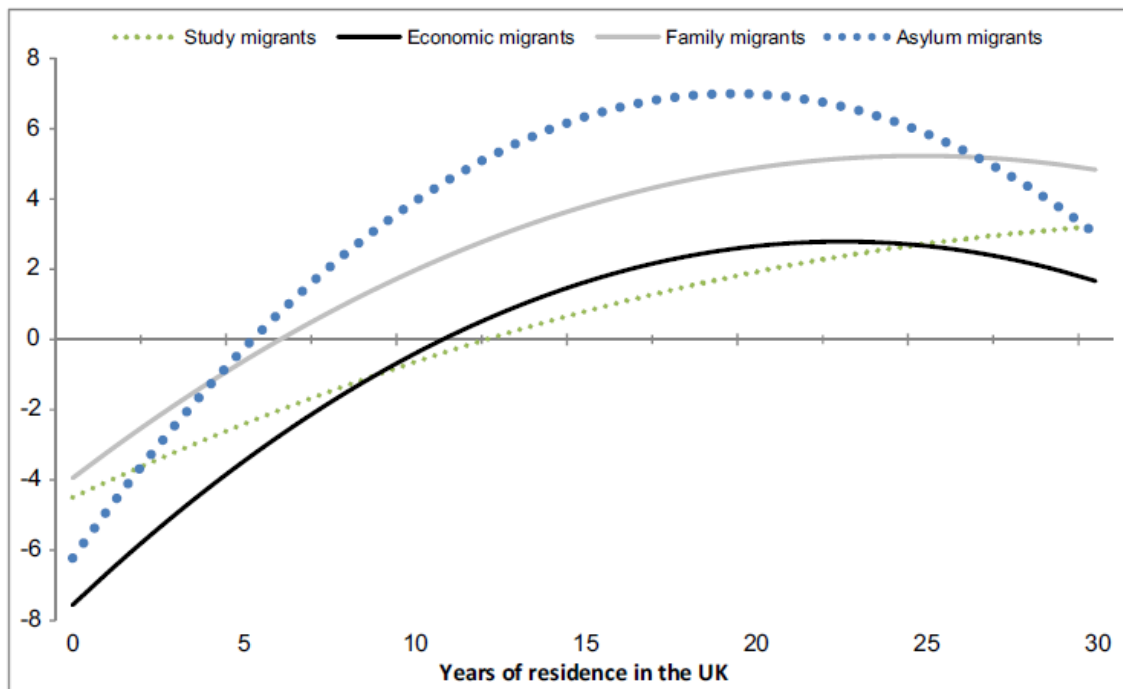


Figure 12: Self-employment rates of migrant groups in the UK (study migrants, economic migrants, family migrants, asylum migrants)⁸⁴

⁸³ Ethnic minority businesses

⁸⁴ The y-axis represents percentage points; 0 = 14% self-employment rate among the UK-born population. Source: Kone et al., 2020, p.11.

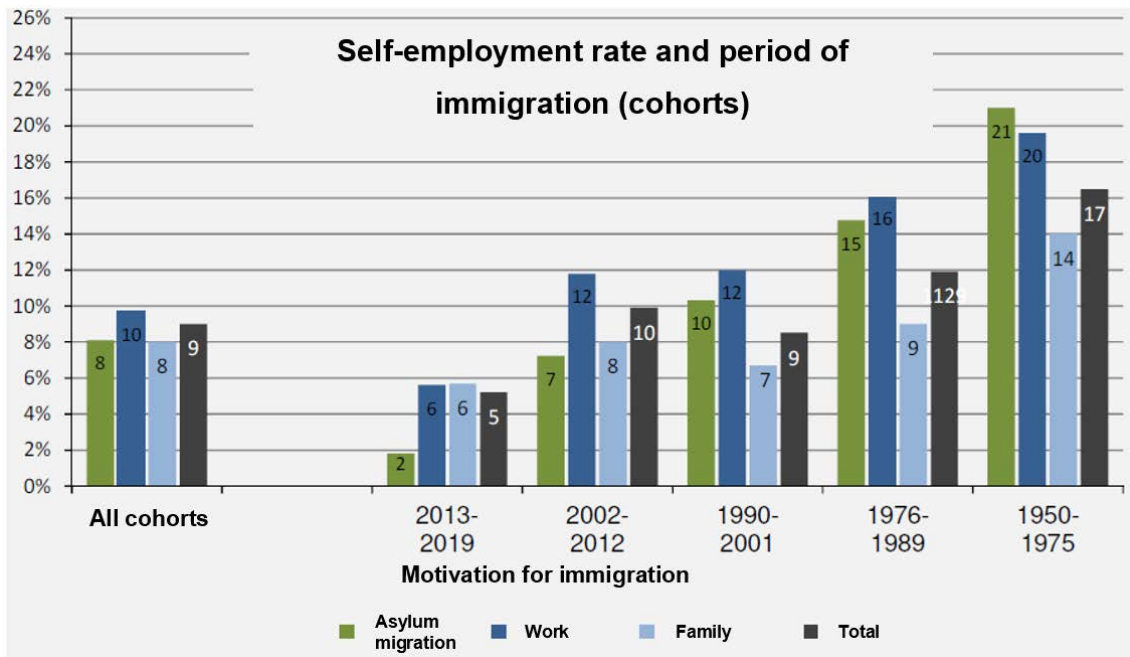


Figure 13: Self-employment rates of migrant groups (asylum migration, work, family migration) in Germany as of 2019⁸⁵

Although the comparability of data is limited as it is based on different sources and different sub-groups of migrants, three aspects related to these depictions can be highlighted.

First, ‘asylum migrants’ are the most likely to engage in self-employment in the UK, more than other groups of migrants and the UK-born (Kone et al., 2020)⁸⁶. In total, an estimated 22.8% of all asylum migrants in employment were self-employed between 2007 and 2018, which is eight percentage points above the comparable UK-born population (ibid.).

Second, in Germany, asylum migrants’ overall propensity to engage in entrepreneurship (measured as self-employment rates) is substantially lower than in the UK. As depicted in

⁸⁵ Source: Leicht et al. (2021b), based on microcensus (‘Mikrozensus’) data; legend translated from German by the author.

⁸⁶ The analysis is based on the UK Labour Force Survey (LFS) data, which is the largest household survey in the UK, and representative of the population. The analysis covers the period from Q2 2007 to Q1 2018 (44 quarters) and includes individuals between the age of 25 and 64.

Figure 13, the self-employment rate across all ‘asylum migrant’ cohorts between 1950 and 2019 is 8% (Leicht et al., 2021b)⁸⁷.

Third, the longer asylum migrants have spent in the host country, the more likely they are to engage in entrepreneurship. This observation is true for both the UK and Germany, although the pace of the transition into entrepreneurship varies. In the UK, ‘asylum migrants’ reach the same self-employment rates as the UK-born only five years after arrival (Kone et al., 2020). In Germany, overall ‘asylum migrants’ reach similar self-employment rates to the native-born and other migrant groups, but a look at different cohorts reveals that this convergence is driven by those from former cohorts: Only those that arrived in a cohort before 2001 had a comparable propensity of starting a business to Germans without a migration background in 2019, which was 9.7% according to microcensus data (Leicht et al., 2021b). At the same time, of those who had arrived between 2013 and 2019, only an estimated 2% of those in employment were self-employed in 2019.⁸⁸

In summary, Germany and the UK represent different cultures, attitudes and state regimes, or in other words, different conditions around entrepreneurship. These conditions lead to different self-employment rates and trajectories among the refugee-origin population in both countries.

4.4.2 Local level

In this section the focus is on local markets and entrepreneurship activities, focused on the time before the COVID-19 pandemic as this is when the research took place. The local opportunity structure for refugee-origin entrepreneurs will be addressed as a part of the findings in Chapter 6.

⁸⁷ Leicht et al. (2021b): The analysis is based on microcensus data, which is the largest household survey in Germany, and representative of the population. The analysis covers the period from 1950 to 2019.

⁸⁸ The authors name more and higher institutional barriers towards self-employment for refugees in comparison to other migrant groups and the native-born in Germany as a reason for the low initial engagement in entrepreneurship, and that refugees tend to be less embedded in society and social networks (also see Leicht et al., 2021a).

Local markets and entrepreneurship: Birmingham

Birmingham is the second largest city economy in the UK after London. The city is famous as one of the centre stages during industrialisation and has a long history in manufacturing. In line with the worldwide trend, today the city has a primarily service-based economy. In 2015, most employees per year worked in the wholesale and retail trade, as well as the health and social work sectors, followed by education (GBCC, 2017a). These leading sectors reflect the city's high population and the presence of several large hospitals and universities. However, in total numbers most employees were working in a wide range of service sectors, of which some had experienced an increase of employees in the recent years (e.g. financial and insurance; transportation and storage; construction; *ibid.*).

As of 2019, the five key sectors by Gross Value Added (GVA) in Greater Birmingham and Solihull were '1) *Business, professional and financial services, (BPFS)* 2) *Advanced manufacturing*, 3) *Retail*, 4) *Public sector including education and* 5) *Life sciences and healthcare*' (GBCC, 2020a, p.5). These sectors (except the public sector) were also among those with the highest enterprise stock in the urban conglomerate in the same year: The 'Business, professional and financial services' sector accounted for more than a third (33.8%) of the enterprise stock in 2019, followed by retail (16.7%; *ibid.*). More than four out of five businesses in Birmingham are micro businesses, i.e. businesses with 0 to 9 employees (BCC, 2019).

According to the Centre for Entrepreneurship's (CfE) Business start-up index Birmingham had the fifth-highest start-up rate of all local authorities in the UK in 2019 in absolute numbers, or the second-highest start-up rate outside London⁸⁹. In terms of new businesses per capita, Birmingham ranked 34th among the 379 local authorities (*ibid.*). In line with the wider economic recovery after the 2007-2009 Great Recession, Birmingham recorded a strong growth in business numbers from 2010 onwards, with an increase of

⁸⁹ See <https://centreforentrepreneurs.org/cfe-research/business-startup-index/> and <https://centreforentrepreneurs.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/2020.zip> [accessed 08-07-2021]; the analysis is based on data from the Companies House's 'Free Company Data Product', a database of live and registered UK limited companies.

35% businesses between 2010 and 2019 (BCC, 2019). In the European comparison, the 2013 Regional Entrepreneurship and Development Index (REDI) ranked the West Midlands Region (which includes Birmingham) 33rd out of 125 European regions based on an assessment of entrepreneurial attitudes, abilities and aspirations (Szerb et al., 2013).

Local markets and entrepreneurship: Cologne

Similar to Birmingham, Cologne has a long manufacturing history with a focus on the automotive industry and has transformed into a service sector economy during the last decades. In 2018, almost nine out of ten persons (86%) of the working population were employed in the service sector (Stadt Köln, 2020a), which accounted for 84% of the urban GVA (NRW.BANK.Research, 2020). While the service sector in Cologne is highly diversified, in 2019 most employees worked in the public service sector (e.g. education, health and social work), followed by services predominantly for businesses (e.g. management consulting) and information and communication. The latter is the city's fastest growing sector with +9.4% additional employees between 2018 and 2019 alone (Stadt Köln, 2020a). Important branches in Cologne's economy today include the automotive industry, the insurance industry and broadcasting.

According to a survey from 2016, 12% of all employees in Cologne listed self-employment or working for a family business as their main occupation (ibid.). A regional comparison of business registrations in North Rhine-Westphalia shows that the Cologne-Bonn region had one of the highest yearly rate of business registrations per capita in the period from 2015 to 2017 (Günterberg & Kay, 2018). Thereby solo self-employment is the most common form of entrepreneurship in the region: In 2018, more than four out five (82%) of the newly registered businesses had no employees (ibid.). Compared with 124 other regions in Europe, the whole federate state of North Rhine-Westphalia was ranked 43rd in the 2013 REDI in terms of entrepreneurial attitudes, abilities and aspirations (Szerb et al., 2013).

In summary, both Birmingham and Cologne are cities similar-sized cities with a strong past in manufacturing, and diversified service-oriented economies today. Both cities

register high business start-up rates per capita and are located in regions with relatively high entrepreneurship activities in the European comparison. These aspects indicate that Birmingham and Cologne are attractive locations to engage in entrepreneurship.

Migrant- and refugee-origin entrepreneurship

For neither of the cities, detailed analysis about the activities of refugee-origin entrepreneurs exist. However, some local and regional assessments provide impressions of migrants' entrepreneurial activities in the cities.

In Birmingham, research on migrant-origin entrepreneurship has long focused on entrepreneurs from South Asia (Pakistan, India, Bangladesh), who also form largest non-White British ethnic groups in Birmingham until today and represent above-average self-employment rates (cf. Bradnam, 2014). Several sources suggest that with a changing constellation of migrants in the city since the late 1990s, Birmingham's migrant-origin economy has changed and diversified too (Bradnam, 2014; Edwards et al., 2016; GBCC, 2017b). Both the 2004 EU enlargement and refugee migration including secondary migration within the EU⁹⁰ is reflected in new entrepreneurs' countries of origin. Edwards et al. (2016) describe that new migrants' businesses in Birmingham are similar to those from their predecessors as they mostly operate in '*economic positions on the margins of the economy*' (p.1605). But they also differ from previous migrant cohorts as new migrants' businesses serve new sectors, including IT, and some also serve a different clientele outside 'ethnic niches' (ibid.).

No data could be found on the spatial distribution of migrant-origin businesses in Birmingham. However, already in 2006 a Birmingham City Council report suggests that migrant-run businesses are present across the whole city, but clustered in a few socioeconomically less well positioned areas (cf. BCC, 2006). A decade later, Hall (2017) in her study on urban 'super-diversity' refers to Birmingham's '*migrant economies and spaces*' located in '*categorically "diverse" and "deprived" parts of Birmingham*' (p.1569). This assessment is underlined, for instance, by a recent project to support migrant-origin

⁹⁰ For example Somali-origin secondary migrants from mainland Europe (cf. Carlson & Galvao Andersson, 2019).

business owners 'overlooked by 'mainstream' bodies'⁹¹ and in 'areas of extreme disadvantage' which focused on three such areas, namely Lozells, Small Heath and Sparkhill.

In Cologne, the share of foreign-born entrepreneurs increased steeply between 2003 and 2018, and faster than the share of migrant-origin individuals in the city increased during this timeframe. While the foreign-born accounted for only 14.1% of the businesses in 2005 and 28.4% in 2008, in 2013 and 2018 respectively, around 42% of all new business formations were from foreign-born nationals (Kay & Nielen, 2018). Thereby the majority (between 81 and 90%) of all entrepreneurs came from EU states and other European Free Trade Association (EFTA) states, with only 10 to 19% coming from 'third countries' (ibid.). The latter group included refugee-origin entrepreneurs, for whom however no separate analysis exists.

In terms of business locations and customers, Berwing (2019) finds that migrant-origin businesses are overrepresented in some areas of Cologne, including Mühlheim and Kalk on the right bank of the Rhine, where there are also high shares of migrant-origin population⁹². However, contrary to the widespread idea of ethnic enclaves in (primarily Anglo-Saxon) migrant-origin entrepreneurship literature, the analysis finds that migrant-origin businesses in Cologne are spread across the whole city with almost half of the businesses located in wards with a low share of migrant-origin inhabitants. Another ill-fitting finding into the literature is the low share of 'co-ethnic' customers in migrant-origin businesses in Cologne. According to Berwing's (ibid.) analysis, in four out of five migrant-origin businesses, 'co-ethnic' customers only make up a small share of less than 25% of the total client base, regardless their business location.

In summary, both cities do not only stick out as places with high entrepreneurship activity in general, but are also locations where many migrant-origin individuals engage in entrepreneurship. Insights from Birmingham indicate that many migrant-run businesses are clustered in a few areas categorised as 'diverse' and 'deprived'⁹³. On the contrary,

⁹¹ See <https://www.monderram.com/blog-2/uo7qtzperqubshahggzglrxuamav9> [accessed 08-07-2021].

⁹² Also see Aver (2013).

⁹³ Although migrant-origin businesses are not confined to these areas.

some data indicates that Cologne's 'migrant economy' ('Migrantenökonomie') is characterised by more spatial diversity.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented Birmingham/the UK and Cologne/Germany as locations for refugee integration and entrepreneurship. The similarities and differences between the contexts, but also the changes over time are crucial to interpret the findings.

Some structural factors have changed over time, including changes in scale and diversity of in-migration over the past decades and changes for refugees on the macro policy level. The changing policy landscapes for refugee integration directly affect those who arrive via asylum migration pathways and impact on their labour market trajectories on the long term.

Other structural factors in the city and countries have a long history and are relatively stable over time. First, both cities have a long history of hosting newcomers, including refugees. Within each country, the two cities can be considered positive examples of welcoming newcomers and supporting their integration.

Second, the cities are embedded in countries with distinct conditions for entrepreneurship. The differences in the ease of starting a business and entrepreneurial cultures in Germany and the UK are important to interpret the findings. For example, the lower ease of starting a business in Germany might indicate that a higher level of integration might be required as a *prerequisite* to start a business than in the UK. In addition, with less refugees starting businesses in Germany in relative terms than in the UK (and those who do engage in entrepreneurship typically starting many years after arrival), it can be expected that those who become entrepreneurs have different characteristics in the two countries, i.e. the basic populations of 'refugee-origin entrepreneurs' are likely to differ.

Third, despite differences in the details and changes over time, both Germany and the UK represent restrictive refugee integration models, whereby refugees occupy a subordinate position in the migration regime (cf. Leicht et al., 2021b; Lillie & Ndomo,

2021). In addition, both migration regimes make a differentiation between groups of refugees who are more or less 'deserving' of access to integration measures, leading to an accumulation of disadvantages among those who are excluded from integration measures in the first place, but are eventually granted refugee status. For instance, in Germany asylum seekers from 'safe countries of origin' such as Macedonia and Albania are highly unlikely to receive refugee status and are excluded from most integration measures. Consequently, individuals from these countries are by definition invisible in this research, at least in terms of formal entrepreneurship.

Against the backdrop of these two distinct research contexts, the next two chapters present the study findings.

CHAPTER 5: BECOMING AN ENTREPRENEUR

5.1 Introduction

This findings chapter is dedicated to the first two research questions and seeks to explore *why* and *how* refugee-origin entrepreneurs start their entrepreneurial journey in their host countries.

The aim of the chapter is to gain a better understanding on how refugee-origin entrepreneurs operate within the given opportunity structure, using different forms of individual and social resources, and their agency. Thereby, the goal is to identify common and divergent patterns across the whole sample, as well as for each case site and sub-groups of entrepreneurs. The theoretical lens I applied throughout is based on the extended concept of mixed embeddedness, which was introduced in Chapter 2.

Each of the following sections places different aspects of mixed embeddedness and ‘becoming an entrepreneur’ at the forefront. In Section 5.2, I take a close look at the entrepreneurial motivations of refugees (research question 1). Based on the thematic analysis and the themes derived from this process, I find that entrepreneurship among refugees is motivated by factors related to the entrepreneurs’ past (individual resources), the present (self-concept) and the future (future self; together forming ‘individual factors’), as well as contextual push and pull factors.

In Section 5.3 I explore how the entrepreneurs went about starting a business. I illuminate the interaction between individual and contextual factors at the time of business start-up, whereby individual factors are defined broadly as *‘the entrepreneurs and their resources’* (Kloosterman, 2010, p.28) and contextual factors include *‘the opportunity structures framework’* (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001, p.189) and the markets. I take a closer look at the social, financial and human-cultural capital of refugee-origin entrepreneurs through the lens of Nee and Sander’s (2001) ‘forms-of-capital model’. Furthermore, I investigate their personal attributes and how they access and use resources to navigate the local opportunity structure.

In writing this chapter I begin with the entrepreneurs' perspective on 'becoming an entrepreneur', complemented by that of key informants who provide an additional, outsiders' perspective on the related processes.

5.2 Entrepreneurial motivations

In this section I look at the motivational factors that lead refugees to become entrepreneurs, by asking:

Which individual and contextual factors motivate refugee-origin entrepreneurs to engage in entrepreneurship?

The idea to become an entrepreneur generally emerged from the starting point that respondents' current life situation was not considered ideal. Some respondents were unemployed while others were dissatisfied with their current job. Several experienced different forms of instability in their lives, such as an insecure legal status, recent changes and disruptions in their family structure or frequent changes of location. Furthermore, some – especially newcomers – were still affected by their personal losses and often traumatic experiences, and were looking for a way to move on with their lives. Becoming an entrepreneur was seen by respondents as a way to take matters into their own hands and to improve the situation not only for themselves, but often also for others around them – for example their family or their local ethnic/religious community.

Overall, respondents' motivational factors on the *individual's side* were grounded in their past (their individual resources), the present (their self-concept) and the future (an expected positive future self through entrepreneurship). Motivators on the *contextual* side related to external push and pull factors that could both produce or enforce entrepreneurial aspirations. In the following sections, I illuminate these different motivational factors.

While the motivational factors on the individual side were similar across the two locations Birmingham and Cologne, the influence of the different (institutional) contexts – a central argument of mixed embeddedness (Kloosterman et al., 1999; Kloosterman & Rath, 2001) – were brought to light in the motivation factors on the contextual side.

5.2.1 Individual resources – motivations concerning the past

Motivational factors related to individual resources were rooted in respondents' past and often linked to their previous work experience. While some respondents had experiences as business owners or other managerial experiences abroad, others had work experience in the sector they wanted to enter. A third, smaller group of respondents had experiences both as entrepreneurs *and* in their sector.

For respondents with entrepreneurship experience in a different country becoming an entrepreneur in their new context was often in line with their self-perception as entrepreneurs, and seemed a logical step. This was particularly the case for middle-aged respondents, who often had been entrepreneurs for several years or even decades and had never been employed by someone else. Having to leave their business behind and restarting their lives in a new environment, and in most cases not knowing the local language, meant a sudden shift from being the family's breadwinner to being dependent on the welfare system. One example is Walid⁹⁴ (COLOGNE-ENT14), an experienced food entrepreneur from Syria who used to own a transnationally operating cookie factory with 20 employees, before fleeing from the civil war together with his family. Having worked since he was 12 years old, and not holding any formal qualifications beyond six years of compulsory schooling, becoming an entrepreneur in Germany was an obvious choice.

„I used to have a business in Syria until – for 15 years. ... Now I am in Germany, for three years [...] – now I have learned [how to become an entrepreneur; referring to the business incubator he joined], now I want to make the same company, here in Germany.“ – Walid (COLOGNE-ENT14), former and aspiring owner of a cookie factory, from Syria

In addition to those respondents with entrepreneurship experience, several respondents mentioned having a family business background. This often meant that they had gained their first working and entrepreneurship experiences at a young age, often alongside school and studying.

⁹⁴ Pseudonyms are used throughout the findings chapters.

,[...] my father used to have a chicken farm, 45,000 chickens, in three stalls. ... I also worked there, helped him to organise, that was also very nice. I worked there for three years, from [the age of] 17 to 20. So I went to school and also worked.’ – Amin (COLOGNE-ENT3), kiosk/bakery owner, from Iran

‘[...] already, when I was 14, 15, my brother he have a restaurant [sic], so we know how to work in the restaurant. And our restaurant is Arabic food. So we sell Shawarma, grill, and houmous, Fattoush – [...] So we know how to – we work in the restaurant, we manage the business [sic], and everything. ... When I was young. So I studied, studied and worked. Together.’ – Ali (BHAM-ENT5), restaurant owner, from Syria

Another recurring motivational factor was the wish to share their home country culture, especially among (aspiring) entrepreneurs in the food sector.

‘I want to produce something new for the German people here in Germany. Do something new, contribute something from my culture.’ – Rima (COLOGNE-ENT21), aspiring owner of a Syrian-style café, from Syria

Respondents also referred to the culture of ‘doing business’ in their home countries.⁹⁵ Having grown up in an environment where entrepreneurship was the norm rather than an exception, some expressed that becoming an entrepreneur is in line with their personal experiences of entrepreneurship. This link between home-country entrepreneurial culture and aspirations to become an entrepreneur in the host country was also underlined by some key informants.

,And with refugees, they have more of a will to do that because they know it from their home countries to be self-employed rather than employed. Because – as for wage employment, from what I see – they were clerks, or worked for the civil service, but otherwise they were

⁹⁵ It is worth mentioning that most respondents in this sample come from countries with above-average self-employment rates such as Syria, Somalia, Iran and Afghanistan. The World Bank provides an overview of self-employment rates as the percentage of total employment, see <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.EMP.SELF.ZS> [accessed 08-07-2021].

generally self-employed.' – Esra (COLOGNE-KI6), consultant for self-employment at the Jobcenter

In summary, different kinds of individual resources strongly shaped respondents' intentions to become entrepreneurs, whereby these resources could be rooted in experiences from their home country, their host country or elsewhere.

5.2.2 Self-concept – motivations concerning the present

Respondents also raised motivational factors that pointed to their current or enduring self-concept in relation to being an entrepreneur, although these factors were mentioned less frequently than factors related to their individual resources or future self. Self-concept factors relate to how the respondents *felt* about themselves becoming entrepreneurs and what becoming an entrepreneur *meant* for them, in comparison to not engaging in entrepreneurship. As outlined in Section 2.1.4, the self-concept is the totality of an individual's identities (Oyserman et al., 2012), is created and adapted in exchange with the context, past experiences, the present, and generates versions of possible future selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986).

Two overarching themes can be derived from participants' responses: positive emotions towards entrepreneurship and an entrepreneurial self-image. Thereby the entrepreneurial self-image represents individuals' *'identity fulfilment motivations'* (Baker & Welter, 2017, p.171) to engage in entrepreneurship, as being an entrepreneur matched respondents' current self-assessment and experiences from the past.

Respondents who had positive emotions towards entrepreneurship were either passionate about entrepreneurship in general, for the profession related to their business, or for developing ideas more widely. Those who were passionate about entrepreneurship in general said that running a business made them happy, or at least happier than working for someone else:

'[...] working for someone else is... – I'm not happy. [...] I like to work my own, my business.' – Sahra (BHAM-ENT15), owner of a hair dressing and clothing shop, from Somalia

Others had discovered their passion for their area of entrepreneurship during previous employment in the same sector. Working for themselves was seen as a way to gain more freedom within the same profession (also see 'future self'), to freely implement their own ideas, to be more responsible for their entrepreneurial success and to benefit financially. One example is Zamir (COLOGNE-ENT17), a mid-aged man from Iraq, who had completed an informal apprenticeship as a hair dresser in Iraq. Employed as a hairdresser in Germany, his career development opportunities and financial gains were scant (*'[...] first always mini-job, mini-job, mini-job, then part-time, always increasing, then – in the end full-time [...].'*). He decided to start his own hair salon to have more control over his income and increase his financial security.

Some respondents were passionate about developing ideas in general, such as Joseph (BHAM-ENT1) from Rwanda. Having started his first small delivery business in 2007 after feeling *'bored, completely bored'* in his previous job, at the time of the interview he had been working on nearly 20 different entrepreneurial projects with diverse focal points, from digital marketing to acting groups.

'I always have, when I have a company, something aside, that I just own by myself, so that I can put in all these small crazy things that I get in my head. So, if they are out, I think – I will put them in here [knocking on a notebook], I write in it every day, then I know that, yeah – in case I get enough funds, good money, I just develop it.' – Joseph (BHAM-ENT1), serial entrepreneur, from Rwanda

Furthermore, and somewhat overlapping with the positive emotions outlined above, some entrepreneurs' responses related to their entrepreneurial self-image. Starting a business was a means to bring their new lives back in line with their self-perception. Respondents with an entrepreneurial self-image described themselves as an active person, emphasised their self-belief in the ability to become entrepreneurs, or expressed that they were willing to take risks related to starting a business.

Sheri's story (see Box 1) exemplifies a strong self-image as an active person. For her and other respondents engaged in a variety of activities in their 'old' lives, sitting at home

strongly contradicted their self-perception and can-do mentality, and led them to start something (anew).

Box 1: Entrepreneurial self-image. Sheri's story.

Sheri (COLOGNE-ENT22) was born and grew up in Iran. In 2018, she and her transgender partner were forced to leave their home country. They came to Germany as asylum seekers. At the time of the interview – in late 2019, and only one year after their arrival – they were planning to raise funds for an innovative sports centre in Cologne.

Sheri had graduated from university with a Master's degree in sports management. After her studies, she started studying for a doctorate degree in India and worked as a university lecturer for more than 10 years. She published several papers and books in her field. In addition, she had worked as an instructor at a local swimming pool since her teenage time. Later, Sheri started working as a consultant in a sports centre and managed her family's business – a food business with half a dozen employees – at the same time.

'And I – I also worked as a saleswoman. [...] In the afternoon, I worked in the sports centre and then I went back home and worked in the bakery as a saleswoman, until 11 o'clock at night. [...] I was so active. [...] My whole life, I have worked.'

Similarly, some respondents felt or knew from their past experiences that they were *able* to be entrepreneurs, even if it meant to act against all odds. Putting this self-belief into action meant they could prove to themselves and to others that they were (still) capable of action and becoming entrepreneurs, even after several years dependent on welfare. For example, limaan (BHAM-ENT7) from Somalia arrived in the UK in the early 2000s and did not receive refugee status until 2010. During this time, he worked casually or accessed welfare benefits, before eventually starting his own business in 2018.

'When I get Jobseeker's Allowance, few years, I think [sic] about 'why are you doing this? You can do something.' [...] – you have good ideas, you are healthy, you have everything, you can do something your own.'
– limaan (BHAM-ENT7), owner of an event venue/restaurant, from Somalia

The third subset of responses referred to the willingness to take risks. In this case, respondents balanced the pros and cons of entrepreneurship in comparison with

employment or unemployment and came to the conclusion that it was worth taking the risk for the sake of a potential positive future (see next section).

'I: But of course it is a risk to become self-employed.

P: It [self-employment] isn't suicide. Either it works or it doesn't – that is my attitude, that's how it is. You have to take a bit of a risk. Otherwise [life] always stays the same.' – Ammar (COLOGNE-ENT16), future owner of an already established pizzeria, from Iraq

The entrepreneurial self-image expressed by some of the respondents was also reflected in the narratives of three key respondents (BHAM-KI6, COLOGNE-KI1 and -KI2) who ran business workshops with refugee-origin entrepreneurs. Lina (COLOGNE-KI2), trainer in a business incubator for refugees, described one sub-group of their workshop participants as follows:

'But those are people..., they simply are entrepreneurs. They were born as entrepreneurs, and you can feel that immediately. And with the few resources they find here, they still build their company.'

Thus, becoming an entrepreneur was seen by some respondents as a way to act in line with their self-concept.

5.2.3 Future self – motivations concerning the future

Finally, respondents' narratives raised motivational factors concerning their aspired 'future self', or the '*interplay between context and accessible identity*' (Oyserman et al., 2015, p.174). Acknowledging that 'the' future self is merely a fluid and transient idea comprising an endless number of possible variations, Markus and Nurius (1986) introduce the notion of 'possible selves'.

Factors related to the possible future self *as an entrepreneur* can be categorised into six thematic categories: hope, expected socio-economic mobility, independence, flexibility, contribution to society and control. While respondent's ideas concerning the future were the most diversified set of factors, they related to how respondents would *feel* and what their lives would *be* like in their future as entrepreneurs, as opposed to not becoming

entrepreneurs. Moreover, respondents were united by their overarching perception that starting a business would lead to a *positive* future self and an improvement of their lives, regardless of their individual starting point. All motivational factors pointing towards the future hence must be seen in relation to the present situation, as well as the past. Some future-related motivational factors are closely related. In the following paragraphs I mainly focus on the factors that require explanation and create links between those factors that regularly came up together.

‘Hope’ as an incentive to start a business was a common motivational factor among respondents, that pointed either both to their future *and* their past (hoping to recreate the situation at home), or only to the future (hope for a better future through business). Especially mid-aged respondents with longstanding entrepreneurship experiences regularly referred back to their old selves as breadwinners, as business men and women with a high reputation and large customer base or as important members of their local community. Returning to entrepreneurship was a logical step to take, or even their only hope to recreate this past self in their new context. Responses regarding the ‘hope for a better future through business’, on the other hand, were pointed towards the future and were often mentioned together with the expectation of socio-economic upward mobility through entrepreneurship.

‘ – I want to start a business, and work and work, and I... – I hope to success in my work, and I see myself the manager [of] a big company. [chuckles] And... I have many staff and employees.’ – Saif (BHAME10), aspiring owner of an IT repair shop, from Syria

Two motivational factors that are interlinked are independence and flexibility. While both factors are based on the freedom to make your own choices, ‘independence’ was described on a more abstract level, and ‘flexibility’ related to the concrete changes the respondents hoped for after starting a business.

Respondents who mentioned independence referred to two different forms of dependencies that they wanted to avoid: dependency on the benefit system or on an employer. By contrast, they anticipated that being entrepreneurs would allow them to

be either independent *from* the benefit system (i.e. generating their own income), or to be independent *within* the benefit system (i.e. starting a business whilst receiving a partial payment of the Jobseekers' allowance, and without having to unveil their job application efforts to the Jobcentre).⁹⁶ Some respondents declared that working for someone else was no option for them, usually because they had been entrepreneurs before. For example, Mehdi, an experienced goldsmith from Iran, reported on his experiences during an unpaid internship in his field, which clearly contradicted with his self-image as an entrepreneur and confident decision maker and eventually reinforced his business start-up plans.

'But no – for me, that's different. For example, I have [sic] a big company in Iran and now I cannot work for other people. Because, for example, during the internship ... once the woman [the owner] said "no, that's wrong, you have to do it differently". I said "no, I'm a master craftsman!" The woman said "I am a master craftswoman, too!" ...' – Mehdi (COLOGNE-ENT10), owner of a goldsmith's workshop, from Iran

In relation to 'flexibility', some respondents mentioned that they would attain higher degrees of freedom through entrepreneurship, than through employment. Those (male and female respondents) who had to take care of their families appreciated flexibility to combine work and family obligations that they had either in their host country, their country of origin, or elsewhere. Finally, for some having their own business meant creating a 'safe space' for themselves, both physically (i.e. having their own workspace) and mentally (i.e. immersing themselves in a self-chosen task). Farid (COLOGNE-ENT20), a young family father from Syria and aspiring owner of a spices wholesale business, referred to all three kinds of flexibility (see Box 2).

⁹⁶ Independence within the benefit system was more often mentioned by respondents in Cologne, where in addition to a partial payment of their Jobseekers' allowance for up to 12 months, welfare recipients can – under certain circumstances – receive a start-up grant of up to 5,000€.

Box 2: Flexibility and having control. Farid's story.

Farid was born and grew up in Syria. Since his boyhood, he had always helped his father with his business alongside school, and later ran several businesses himself. In 2014, he left Syria with his wife and his baby child, after the militia had detained him and taken away all of his belongings.

'The militia detained me for one day. I only stayed there for one day. It took one day to turn my life upside down life. [...] You understand? [...] Everything lost. Everything lost.'

At the time of the interview, Farid was unemployed and working towards his advanced German certificate, whilst trying to cope with a challenging family situation:

'I have done the [language level] B2 [course], but I failed [the exam]. I had way too many problems. At home, my wife was also... sick. And she is pregnant. That has been difficult. I didn't go to school regularly, that's why I failed.' [...] – at the moment, I have three families. My family, my sister and my parents. My sister and my parents in Syria, my brother in Egypt. He is also in a difficult position there, also economically.'

Since his arrival to Cologne he did not have the time yet to do an internship or to look for a job, partially because he had to learn German first. At the time of the interview, he shared his monthly jobseekers' allowance with his family members abroad.

'The help from the Jobcentre, I also use it to... send cash [to my family]. [...] I am not keeping any of that money. I have way too many things to do here, way too much to do. And, yes, little money.'

In this distressing life situation, setting up a small business seemed to be the best option for him to make efficient use of his limited time, and to structure his days around other (family) obligations. At the same time, it would allow him to clear his mind and immerse himself into something he had known since his boyhood.

Similar to independence and flexibility as motivators, 'having control over income' and 'having control over life' were seen as reasons to start a business by refugee-origin respondents and reinforced by one of the key informants (BHAM-KI4) who worked as a community worker with refugees: *'[...] so there's a lot of reasons to start a business, a lot of it is around being in control.'*

Finally, some respondents stated that they considered being entrepreneurs as a way to contribute to society, either referring to society as a whole, or to a sub-group within their host society (e.g. other migrants or the community). Their motivational factors to start a business reached from 'being an active and useful citizen' and 'being part of the

community' to 'helping other migrants' and were mostly (but not only) linked to businesses with a social or community aspect.

In summary, the findings in this section show how entrepreneurship is perceived as a means for refugees to change their lives for good, and to pave the way towards a positive future self.

5.2.4 Contextual push factors

The push factors that motivated former refugees to engage in entrepreneurship can be categorised into two main themes: entrepreneurship as a means to overcome or avoid 'blocked mobility' in the labour market and entrepreneurship as a means to compensate a lack of (current) alternatives.

Study respondents who referred to experiences of blocked mobility had typically spent several years in their new country, sometimes acquiring educational and professional degrees in the meantime. Furthermore, they had already achieved a certain degree of integration into the labour market⁹⁷, or had at least tried some alternatives to entrepreneurship. However, they experienced contextual limitations to further career development. Entrepreneurship was then seen as a strategy for economic and/or social upward mobility, whether on the short term or on the long term.

One example of experienced blocked mobility is Neda (COLOGNE-ENT7), a 60+ year-old woman from Iran who runs a burger restaurant in Cologne (see Box 3).

Box 3: Blocked mobility. Neda's story.

Neda (COLOGNE-ENT7) had worked in her home country Iran as a secretary for a government official and later as an independent camerawoman, before she had to leave her country in the 2000s due to political persecution. Several years after her arrival in Germany she was granted refugee status and started working as a shop assistant. Not having had access to German classes during her first years in the country, she realised that her language skills were not sufficient to move beyond an unskilled job, nor to build on her former work experience. Eventually, she decided to start her first own business: a kiosk, known in Cologne as 'Büdchen'. At the time of the interview, she was already

⁹⁷ See Zimmermann's (2016) broad definition of blocked mobility: 'In the case of blocked mobility, a certain degree of integration into the labour market has already been achieved and giving up this economic stability includes considerable opportunity costs and risks.' (p.40).

running her third successive business, a burger restaurant, and had moved away from the idea to return to wage employment.

'Because I thought, here – I cannot work in my job, camerawoman or secretary, because the – my German isn't good, and because I cannot write well – and I thought here – as a self-employed person I can be better. [...] Yes. Um, I cannot clean [i.e. work as a cleaning lady] – because for 20 years [I] had a different job, and I thought that is... – [being] self-employed is better.'

Neda and other respondents who had made similar experiences, in Cologne and Birmingham alike, considered entrepreneurship as an alternative to underemployment (in relation to their educational degree or work experience) or to a low-paid job, with these two factors often overlapping. Inevitably, respondents with a higher professional degree were more prone to underemployment, especially when their foreign degree was not formally recognised in their new context. Those with lower level qualifications were prone to being stuck in low-paid jobs.

Furthermore, one entrepreneur referred to discrimination at the workplace (a form of blocked mobility) as a push-factor to start a business.⁹⁸

'Then I resigned myself. Because, firstly, it was stressful, and secondly, at work – again, discrimination was always there. That was kind of annoying [...] –' Ephrem (COLOGNE-ENT2), social entrepreneur, from Ethiopia

In Ephrem's case, experienced discrimination at the workplace served as an explicit push factor to leave his job and start his own business. In addition, refugee integration consultant Esin (COLOGNE-K17) noted that a *'fear of being discriminated against or bullied [as an employee in a low-skilled job]'* serves as a push-factor towards entrepreneurship among some of her highly qualified clients. These individuals experience a structural blocked mobility towards exercising their actual profession (e.g. lawyer, pharmacist) due to a lack of diploma recognition and/or language skills.

⁹⁸ Given the multitude of stories on experiences with blocked mobility it is likely that more respondents had experienced a form of discrimination on the labour market. However, the issue was not clearly expressed as a reason (push-factor) to start a business. In that regard it should be noted that direct questions about discrimination were not part of the interview schedule.

The second subset of push factors referred to entrepreneurship as a strategy to overcome a (perceived) lack of alternatives on the labour market. Unlike respondents who had experienced blocked mobility, these respondents had typically arrived in their new country relatively recently and had not gained significant work experience since arrival. Alternatively, they had been waiting for their refugee status for several years during which time they were often excluded from the formal labour market, and had only gained formal access to the labour market recently. Some were unemployed when they decided to engage in entrepreneurship. In any case, entrepreneurship was for them considered a short-term strategy to participate in the labour market and generate an income, rather than a long-term prospect. Key informant Pauline (COLOGNE-KI4), an advisor for refugees at the Jobcentre summarised her clients' experiences as follows:

‘Sometimes the wish to become self-employed comes up because there is no alternative available at the moment. Then you are a bit without perspectives, and that’s when people say ‘okay, I’m just doing something now.’”

Various respondents had not succeeded in finding a job, or at least not as quickly as intended. For example Ahmad (BHAM-ENT11) from Syria, the aspiring owner of a tailor shop close to Birmingham, had actively looked for a job ‘*one month, every day*’, before he decided to join a business incubator. Similarly, other respondents had initially pursued different pathways than starting a business. When their plan did not work out, entrepreneurship gave them a new purpose to strive for. One example is Rima’s story, which will be told in the next Section 2.2.5 (see Box 4). Another sub-group saw entrepreneurship as the last resort to move on with their lives. In this regard, key informant Jo (BHAM-KI3), a community worker connected to different migrant-origin communities in Birmingham, described a general frustration with ‘*the system*’ among some refugee-origin entrepreneurs in Birmingham and the UK, pushing them towards starting a business.

‘Some of them, they have been frustrated through the system. They have spent so much time here, and they are just not getting on with life. [...] – so they start talking with their friends... – and that’s how some of

them end up trying to set up things.' – Jo (BHAM-KI3), community worker and researcher

In summary, the above-listed contextual factors – in combination with individual resources, the self-concept and perspectives on the future self – served as push factors for (former) refugees towards entrepreneurship. However, respondents with experiences of blocked mobility typically perceived entrepreneurship as *one* (and thereby the *best*) alternative for themselves, among other options. Entrepreneurs with a lack of alternatives were more likely to see entrepreneurship as the *only* alternative to unemployment, at least at the point in time.

5.2.5 Contextual pull factors

The pull factors that motivated refugee-origin respondents to pursue their entrepreneurship plans were fourfold: ease of starting a business, market opportunities, entrepreneurial role models and the availability of a support system.

It should be noted here that push and pull motivational factors were closely related to each other and often occurred at the same time (also see Williams & Williams, 2012). For example, individuals who were unhappy with their current job and experienced blocked mobility (push factor) were likely to look out for suitable market opportunities to start a business (pull factor). Respondents who were looking for a job and considered entrepreneurship as an alternative to unemployment or who were looking for ways to get on with their lives (push factor) were receptive for entrepreneurial role models and referrals to the available support system (pull factor). Similarly, factors related to the 'ease of doing business' (pull factor) often reinforced the entrepreneurial aspirations of individuals who lacked success in the labour market (push factor).

The 'ease of starting a business' (see Chapter 4) was an important pull factor in both sites. However, respondents referred to different reasons with regard to why they thought this was the case. In Cologne, starting a business was by some as the *fastest* way to enter the labour market, among a set of possible pathways, but not as an easy way per se. As key informants Johanna (COLOGNE-KI1) and Lina (COLOGNE-KI2), running business workshops for refugees, summarised their experiences:

'self-employment is, was the only way for many. Because all other paths took far too long. ' – Johanna (COLOGNE-K11), referring to workshop respondents

'[...] well, I heard from people – but they were people who were more qualified, some of them – who said – they looked at how is my process here?, my [diploma] recognition process? ... oh, that takes too long for me, I prefer to start my own business. So that could be a motivation.' – Lina (COLOGNE-K12)

Starting a business was perceived as faster than accessing work by entrepreneurs in both cities as it takes less language proficiency, with some in Birmingham stating that starting a business was possible without any English. It should be noted that these respondents were typically starting a business with a focus on non-English speaking customers, and with low entry thresholds in terms of host country-specific human-cultural capital.

At the same time, several respondents in Birmingham emphasised that it was generally not difficult to start a business, in line with the literature on starting a business as a newcomer on mainland Europe versus in the UK (Bagwell, 2017; Barrett et al., 2001; Ram et al., 2017)⁹⁹.

One example is Alia (BHAM-ENT12), the aspiring owner of a clothes retail shop from Syria who noted: *'when you want to start business, you can just start.'* This impression was confirmed by key informant Asad (BHAM-K11), a social entrepreneur and former refugee, who also added his comparative experience of opening a business on mainland Europe:

'And I think one of the biggest reason why also the entrepreneurship flourishes, whether its micro businesses or larger businesses, the barriers to start a business are very low in [...] Birmingham and in the UK in general.

I: The barriers you said?

P: The legal hurdles to set up your own company –

⁹⁹ Also see Chapter 4.

I: – yes –

P: – it's not as difficult as in other countries, so – I myself, I have a Swedish passport, I'm a Swedish citizen, I know how difficult it is in Sweden to start your own business.'

For all entrepreneurs spotting an opportunity was an essential ingredient of their business start-up process (cf. Shane & Venkataraman, 2000). However, a few respondents had not considered entrepreneurship as a pathway until a market opportunity presented itself. Spotting a market opportunity served as a motivational trigger, and an important pull factor, as the following quote illustrates:

'I did an internship as part of my master's degree in [a different country] – but at the same time, I did a volunteer internship here, so I know "how does it work within the UK marketplace". So while working there, I saw a gap in the market of, like – it was basically getting students to work with other start-ups, on project basis and stuff. Ehm, so, from there I was like 'okay, there's a need for this.' And, I can do it with minimum resources. So why not start it?' – Jabir (BHAM-ENT19), co-founder of a business support company, from Syria

Furthermore, entrepreneurial role models were a pull factor mentioned by some respondents (cf. Bosma et al., 2020). Thereby, they either referred to persons with a similar business, or to inspiring leadership personalities.

Example 1: person with a similar business as a role model

'[Name of German friend] is very happy, he has a lot of work, so I said 'why not?' ... I can do the same here in Germany. I am still new here, but I can do that.' – Yusuf (COLOGNE-ENT15), aspiring owner of a print and copy shop, from Syria

Example 2: leadership personalities as a role model

P: 'I had the pleasure of working with people that were very success- – like within our own community, that were very successful. Like [name of his former employer, who also has a refugee background], for example,

like the guys from the organisation that I used to work with. I saw all these guys, there were like me, they had worked in this industry for a while, and then they decided to do their own thing. So I had [...] people that I could relate to, and I felt like “they can do it, I can do it too”. And it was really good to work with [...] [name of his former employer], like he is a really good role model, to learn from, because he is – from where he was, from where the company is now – the vision he had, the drive, and sort of the pursuit of continuously developing more yourself.’ – Suleyman (BHAM-ENT2), co-owner of a property management company, from Somaliland

Finally, the availability of a support system played a crucial role in reinforcing some respondents’ business plans, either formal (such as business incubators) or informal (such as support from friends and family). Entrepreneurs in Birmingham more often suggested that informal support by the community or family encouraged them to start their own business, whereas refugee-origin entrepreneurs in Cologne referred to the role of community and formal supporters alike. How both formal and informal support systems – in other words, social capital resources – helped aspiring entrepreneurs to set up a business will be further explored in Section 5.3.

In summary, in the preceding sections a variety of context-specific pull factors were identified, which either triggered or reinforced entrepreneurial motivations among refugees. Rima’s (COLOGNE-ENT21) story (see Box 4) portrays a sequence of the experiences and motivational factors that eventually led her to the decision to open a Syrian-style café in Cologne. Her story is just one example among many others that illustrate the interplay between several motivational factors on both the individuals’ and the contextual side.

Box 4: Interplay of motivational factors. Rima’s story.

Rima’s (COLOGNE-ENT21) story, aspiring owner of a Syrian-style café, aged 25-34

Rima was born and grew up in Syria, where she had a husband and a small child. After attending high school, she did some training courses and held several jobs in the food and hospitality sector. For several years, she worked in the management branch of an international hotel (**individual resources: sectoral experience**).

In 2014, Rima left her home, after having lost both her husband and her small child in the course of the war. (*'Afterwards I couldn't live in Syria anymore. I just went away.'*) She was at the beginning of her 20's when she left Syria together with her younger brother. During her first few years in Germany, she lived in 'simple camps' and was relocated several times. In 2016, she moved to Cologne. In the meantime, two more family members had moved to Germany and lived nearby.

As a part of her 'professional German' language course she did an internship as a florist, but soon discovered that she suffered from an allergic reaction to some flowers. Later, she did an internship in the health sector, which she enjoyed as well. However, not having her school diplomas from Syria anymore she did not get access to training in the same field (*'I couldn't get into the apprenticeships at all.'*; **push factor: initial plan did not work out**).

At that point, the idea to open a small Syrian-style café 'with real Arabic coffee' came to her mind (**individual resources: sharing own culture**).

From Rima's perspective, starting her own business would be the fastest way to re-enter the labour market (**pull factor: faster than other pathways**), as her inactivity during the past few years had made her weary:

'I want to start working again as quickly as possible. I have been here for three, four years, I am just sitting around, and I cannot do it anymore. [chuckles quietly] I cannot do it anymore.' (**push factor: wish to move on with life**).

She believed that she could do it, based on her work and life experience: *'I have already been independent for the past 10 years.'* (**entrepreneurial self-image: ability to do it**).

Around the same time Rima decided to open a small Syrian café, she helped out a friend who needed an interpreter to present his business idea at a local business incubator for refugees. She then decided to join the business incubator as well (**pull factor: availability of support system**).

Furthermore, Rima emphasised that starting a café would give her the chance to pave the way to a positive future for herself and her family, but also provide a chance for other migrants that she might employ (**hope: better future through entrepreneurship; contribution to society: employing other migrants**).

'[...] I am trying to find my way, from different perspectives, what can I do. I thought about work and all – and I said it would be better if I had my own work. So that afterwards [I can] give other people a chance.'

5.2.6 Conclusion: variety and interplay of different motivational factors

This findings section was dedicated to the following question: *Which individual and contextual factors motivate refugee-origin entrepreneurs to engage in entrepreneurship?*

First and foremost, the findings show that refugees' decision to engage in entrepreneurship is based on a variety of different motivational factors that can be allocated on the individuals' and the contextual side. I identified three aggregated themes related to the entrepreneur – namely *individual resources* (factors related to the past), *self-concept* (factors related to the present) and *future self* (factors related to the future) –, as well as two aggregated themes related to the opportunity structure – push factors and pull factors. Motivation for entrepreneurship emerged from a negotiation between the entrepreneurs' resources from the past, the present status and a positive future self-image on the one hand, as well as contextual push and pull factors on the other hand.

In line with existing findings on entrepreneurial motivations among minority groups (Baycan-Levent & Kundak, 2009; Ullah et al., 2016; Williams & Williams, 2012), the reasons leading refugees to engage in entrepreneurship were complex and always occurred as an interplay of several factors. The findings also illustrate that, although the decision to become an entrepreneur is a profoundly individual process, the general starting point among refugee-origin entrepreneurs in the sample was the wish to improve their current life and work condition. Entrepreneurship was perceived as the *best* alternative after considering their individual resources, their self-concept and the image of their future self, in relation to the opportunities of the (local) market (see Figure 14).

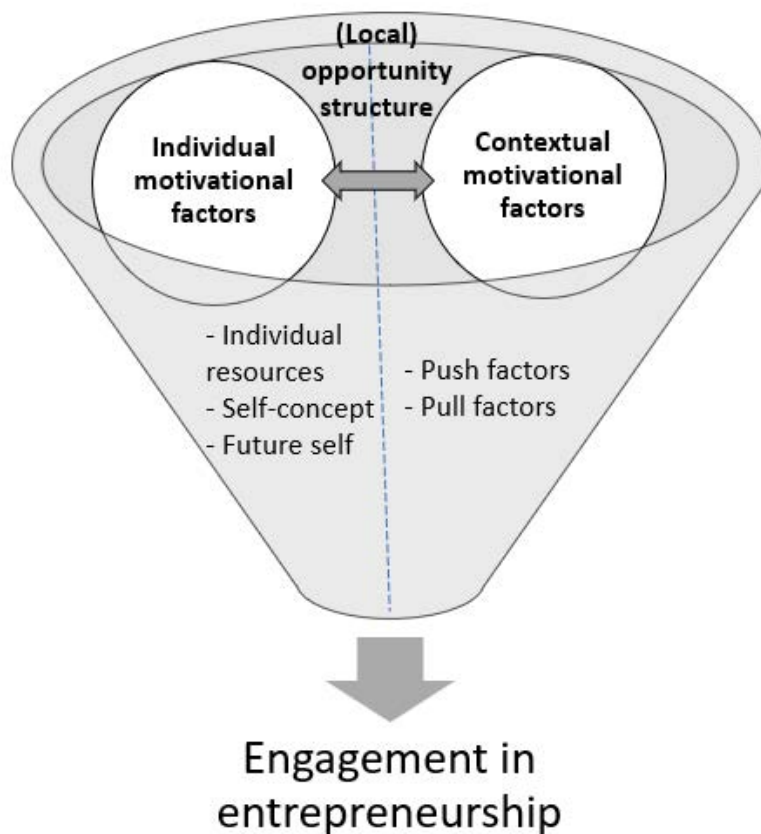


Figure 14: Interplay of motivational factors on the individual and contextual side

From a comparative perspective, entrepreneurial motivation factors on the individual side (although very diverse and embedded in each persons' life story) were similar in both locations. Both in Birmingham and Cologne, respondents listed different forms of individual resources, entrepreneurship-related personal characteristics and/or aspirations for the future as individual motivational factors to engage in entrepreneurship. Similarities also existed regarding the contextual push factors, whereby entrepreneurs across the sample referred to experiences of blocked mobility and a lack of (current) alternatives to entrepreneurship.

However, some differences regarding the contextual pull factors emerged. In particular, in Birmingham respondents were pulled to business by the general ease of starting a business, whereas in Cologne 'starting a business' although not easy could be faster than other, even more time- and energy-consuming options to enter the labour market. In addition, narratives from Birmingham suggested that informal, communal networks

sparked or enforced aspiring entrepreneurs' motivations, whereas narratives from Cologne more often included the role of formal support networks and mechanisms.

5.3 Navigating the context

In the previous section, I outlined the interplay between factors on the individual side and the contextual side leading refugee-origin entrepreneurs to the decision to start a business. In this section, I look at the steps following the initial decision to become an entrepreneur.

At this point in time, the entrepreneurs had assessed their options on the labour market and identified entrepreneurship as the (currently) best available alternative. The next steps of their trajectory consisted of spotting a business opportunity that matched both their resources and fit in with the opportunity structure of the market (Kloosterman, 2010). The aim of this chapter is to unveil the overarching strategies of becoming an entrepreneur by exploring the following question:

How do refugees access and use different kinds of resources to become entrepreneurs in their host country?

As suggested in Nee and Sander's (2001) 'forms-of-capital model' to understand how migrants incorporate into the host country's labour market, three forms of capital resources can be used as a starting point to data analysis: human-cultural¹⁰⁰, social and financial capital (Sections 5.3.1 – 5.3.3). The different types of these individual and social resources are considered separately in the following sections. However, it is important to note that it is the *interplay* of different forms of capital that eventually constitutes entrepreneurial activity (ibid.; Ram et al., 2008; Vershinina et al., 2011). In addition, and grounded in the data of this research, I illuminate certain personal attributes as the fourth pillar of capital resources (Section 5.3.4).

The goal of the following sections is to explore how refugee-origin entrepreneurs access and use these four forms of resources to navigate the local opportunity structure of the

¹⁰⁰ Nee and Sanders (2001) suggest the term 'human-cultural capital' (rather than 'human capital') 'to emphasize the cultural component of human competence, which [...] is especially relevant with regard to immigrants' (p.392).

market, the politico-institutional context and the societal environment of their host country and city (see Figure 15). Thus, the focus of this section is on the entrepreneurial agents and their individual and social resources (Kloosterman, 2010).

Using the ‘forms-of-capital’ approach to data analysis allows to focus on selected aspects of becoming an entrepreneur, while still maintaining mixed embeddedness as the overarching theoretical lens (Vershina et al., 2011).

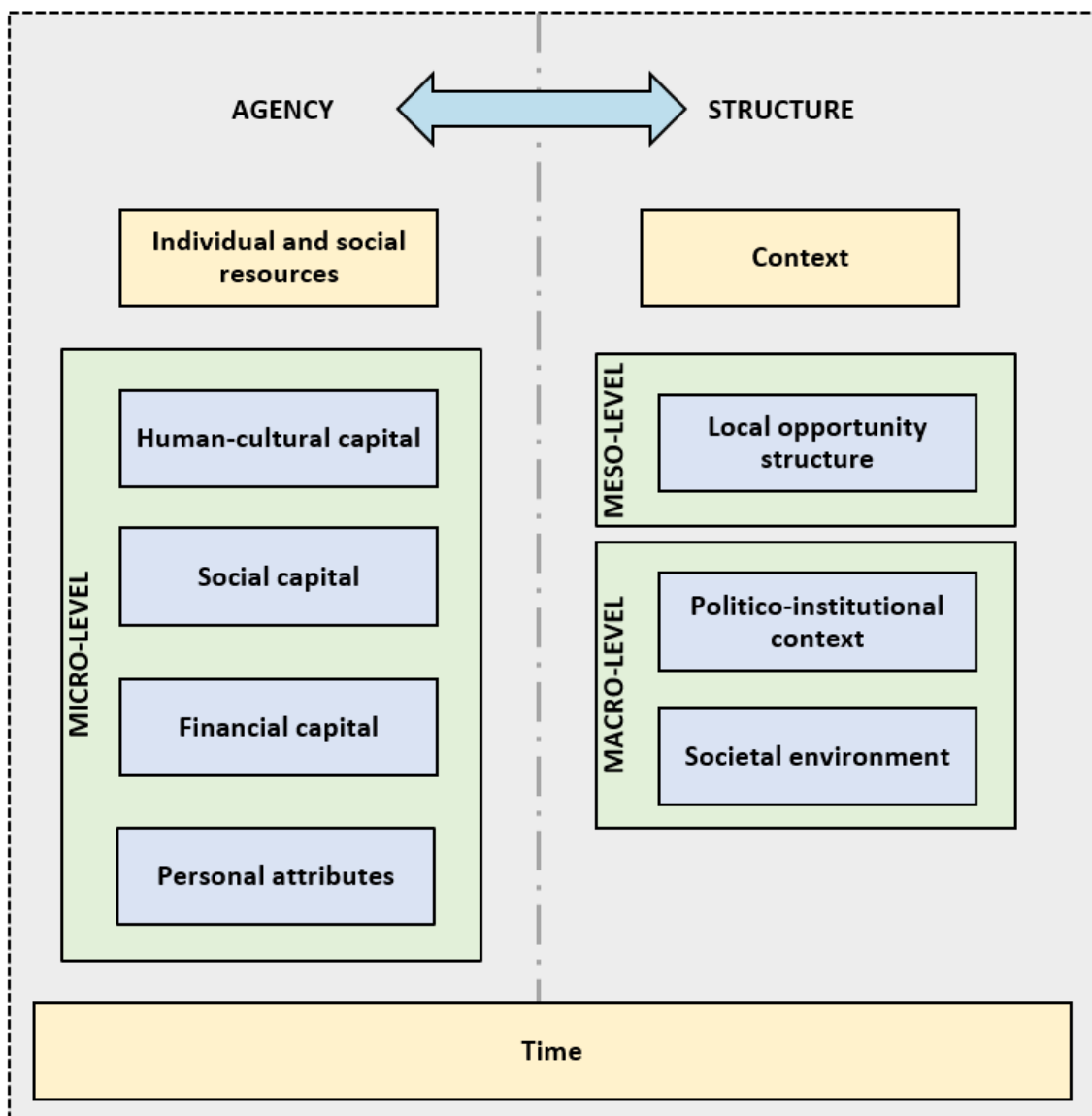


Figure 15: Elements of business formation based on an extended mixed embeddedness concept

Trajectories towards entrepreneurship are a highly individual process, just like ‘refugee-origin entrepreneurs’ encompass individuals with a large variety of backgrounds, personal attributes and aspirations. The respondents in this maximum variation sample certainly presented much diversity. At the same time, the structural conditions in Birmingham and Cologne, or the UK and Germany, played a distinct role in their entrepreneurial pathways (cf. Rath & Swagerman, 2015).

Nonetheless, several strategies and patterns of ‘navigating the system’ were identified that cut across individuals and case sites, each of them related to resources individuals already possessed (‘using resources’), and resources that were still needed (‘accessing resources’) to pursue their entrepreneurial ambitions.

Each section starts with a summary of the entrepreneurs’ resources prior to entrepreneurship. To illustrate how individuals combined and used different kinds of resources to become entrepreneurs, I use exemplary cases.

5.3.1 Using and accessing human-cultural capital

The challenge of transferring human-cultural capital between contexts – including formal education, language and on-the-job skills from abroad – is widely explored and recognised (e.g. Chiswick & Miller, 2009; Schaeffer, 2005). Especially newcomers from places with less cultural and linguistic proximity with the host country experience high transferability obstacles (Muñoz-Comet & Miyar-Busto, 2018). Unsurprisingly, most of the refugee-origin entrepreneurs in the sample faced similar challenges when they ventured into entrepreneurship.

In the following sections, I present the three overarching strategies of using and accessing human-cultural capital to become an entrepreneur that appeared in the data. Each one of these strategies relates to a different rationale for refugee-origin entrepreneurship: flexibly building on selected aspects of human-cultural capital (‘spontaneous entrepreneurship’), building on business ownership experience from abroad (‘focused entrepreneurship’) and accumulating human-cultural capital prior to entrepreneurship (‘assimilated entrepreneurship’).

Drawing on elements of human-cultural capital

As outlined in Section 3.5.4, the (aspiring) entrepreneurs possessed a diverse set of human-cultural capital resources, here broadly understood as education, knowledge and (professional) experience (Rauch & Frese, 2000; Unger et al., 2011). According to Nee and Sanders (2001), migrants' relevant human-cultural capital includes, but is not limited to, '*familiarity with the customs and language*' of both the receiving society and the '*ethnic community*', as well as '*educational degrees and professional credentials that are fully transferable*' versus less transferable '*experiences in ethnic institutions such as rotating credit associations*' (p.392).

When respondents started their businesses, they drew on diverse elements of their human-cultural resources. The majority called on experiences of being entrepreneurs and managers, or of being involved in family businesses, in some cases from a very young age.

'[...] already, when I was 14, 15, my brother he have [sic] a restaurant, so we know how to work in the restaurant. [...] So we know how to – we work in the restaurant, we managed the business, and everything. ... When I was young. So I studied, studied and worked. Together.' – Ali (BHAM-ENT5), owner of a Syrian restaurant

Furthermore, respondents drew on transferable knowledge from their formal education such as management degrees. At the same time, respondents acquired country-specific human-cultural capital, such as English or German language skills and cultural knowledge about their host country. Table 12 gives an overview of the different forms of human-cultural capital mentioned by respondents, and where each form of human-cultural capital originated.

Table 12: Origin and forms of human-cultural capital mentioned by respondents (entrepreneurs and key informants)

<i>Origin</i>	<i>Forms of human-cultural capital</i>
<i>Foreign human-cultural capital</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Education:</i> school and university education, formal/non-formal/informal vocational training and courses • <i>Knowledge:</i> foreign language skills, knowledge about the sector, cultural and institutional knowledge (other countries) • <i>Experience:</i> managerial experience, general work experience, sector-specific experience, family business background
<i>Host country human-cultural capital</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Education:</i> university education, formal vocational training, courses • <i>Knowledge:</i> host country language, cultural and institutional knowledge (host country) • <i>Experience:</i> general work experience, sector-specific experience, entrepreneurial role models

Strategy 1: Flexibly building on selected aspects of human-cultural capital

By far the most common strategy among entrepreneurs in the sample was to flexibly draw on aspects of their education, knowledge and experience to start a business. These respondents either used aspects of their foreign and host country human-cultural capital that matched best with their business idea, or they adjusted their entrepreneurial activity to their available human-cultural capital. This strategy was applied with such regularity that it might be considered the typical case of using human-cultural capital among respondents. These entrepreneurs had usually already spent at least several years in their host country and gained work experience, whereby they often held jobs below their education level or aspirations. Entrepreneurship was an ad hoc decision rather than planned long in advance, often resulting from blocked mobility on the labour market (see Section 5.2.4). The rationale behind this kind of entrepreneurship can therefore be summarised as ‘spontaneous entrepreneurship’ and was equally represented in Birmingham and Cologne, albeit with different trajectories as illustrated in the following sections.

Sometimes, entrepreneurship simply ‘presented itself’. For instance, food entrepreneur Ammar (COLOGNE-ENT16) worked as the manager of a pizzeria, when his employer offered him to take over the business. Like most of the spontaneous entrepreneurs, Ammar had no previous entrepreneurship experience. However, the spontaneous entrepreneurs had often been exposed to entrepreneurship in the past, either in the

form of a family business background (*'all my families they are business people'* – Omer (BHAM-ENT6), owner of a mobile and barber's shop) or more widely in their community, both at home and in the new country. As one key informant, social entrepreneur Asad (BHAM-K11), observed:

'– if you grew up surrounded by people from your community who are involved in business, they [refugees] are more likely to know how to start up. [...] – so I think, the background has a big influence.'

Besides these indirect experiences with entrepreneurship to build upon, which Ram et al. (2008) summarise as *'informal version of human capital'* (p.435), the entrepreneurs had usually gained experiences in the sector that they wanted to enter: either by formally working, such as Iranian-born kiosk-owner Amin (COLOGNE-ENT3) did before he started his own shop, or through informal work experiences in the same sector. Hodan (BHAM-ENT8) and the other Somali-born, female entrepreneurs in Birmingham who had entered the clothing retail and service sector are examples for the latter. However, respondents who ventured into spontaneous entrepreneurship had typically not pursued entrepreneurship until the opportunity arose.

limaan's story (BHAM-ENT7; see Box 5) exemplifies how refugee-origin entrepreneurs' education, knowledge and experiences from abroad and the host country, of both formal and informal nature, can be combined to engage in entrepreneurship. Despite his fragmented working and education history, limaan had gained a wide range of experiences that turned out to be relevant for the event and catering business he started. At the same time, his relatively low level of formal education in combination with his financial situation did not allow him to enter a high-threshold market opening. Hence, as other many spontaneous entrepreneurs in the sample did, he opted for a low-threshold market opening which required little investment in human (and financial) capital. In return, he accepted potentially low profit margins in a competitive sector. Importantly, the institutional context of the UK allowed him to start his business without too much red tape and institutionalised human-cultural capital requirements.

Box 5: Building on selected aspects of human-cultural capital. Iimaan's story.

Iimaan (BHAM-ENT7) had left Somalia in the 1990s, when he was a teenager. At that time, he had attended compulsory school for eight years (**basic school education abroad**). Iimaan spent his late adolescence as a refugee in different African countries. Although he did not have the chance to go to school anymore, he took courses in sewing, nursing and cooking (**non-formal vocational training abroad**). In the early 2000s, he arrived in the UK. During several years as an asylum seeker he lived from occasional and informal work for friends (**informal work experience in the UK**). *'Some of them, they have shops. Some of them, they have [a] restaurant. It gives me... experience.'*

In 2010, Iimaan finally received refugee status, which allowed him to work and access training courses (**formal training in the UK**). He completed a level 2 course in social care, which included courses in food hygiene and catering, and worked as a care assistant for several companies (**formal work experience in the UK**). *'I was care assistant. I work with three different companies. [...] – everywhere I get experience, how to deal with the people. And how to do something, to improve yourself. – I: Did you do qualifications for it? – P: Yeah, yes yes yes. I have certificates for level 2 in the social care. And [a] mandate, as well, on food hygiene and catering.'*

When he eventually started his event and catering business in 2018, he could make use of his knowledge and experience both from the UK (food hygiene, catering experience, working with people, English language skills) and abroad (sewing and cooking skills).

On the contrary, bureaucratic red tape and formal human capital requirements were a hindrance for entrepreneurs in Germany to enter certain professions (also see Chapter 4), keeping them away from starting their business of choice or forcing them to delay the time of incorporation. One example is Zamir (COLOGNE-ENT17) who sought to take over an existing barber shop as the sole owner after having worked as a hair dresser for several years, but had to acquire the required 'Meister' diploma first (also see Section 5.3.4).

Strategy 2: Building on business ownership experience from abroad

'Because I know it. I know this profession'

(Abbas, COLOGNE-ENT9, tailor from Syria)

The second way for respondents to venture into entrepreneurship was to directly build on their foreign human-cultural capital to start a business. These respondents were middle-aged men with longstanding work experience, and had been entrepreneurs or leading managers in their home country or elsewhere. Their stories differed from

spontaneous entrepreneurs in that, when they arrived in Europe, they focused on entrepreneurship as their desired means to participate in the labour market. Thus, they quickly looked for ways to put their plans into practice. Their strategy is summarised as 'focused entrepreneurship'.

Mehrdad (COLOGNE-ENT4) set up a small import-export business shortly after he arrived and received refugee status in Germany. Thereby, he could directly build on his experiences with a similar business in Iran and on his knowledge as a trained car mechanic.

'My work in Iran was, spare parts – spare parts for cars. [...] And I also – when I came in Germany [sic], the next two or three years I opened a company and – an export-import company.'

However, such a quick transition from arrival in the country to receiving refugee status – a prerequisite for starting a business – followed by ad hoc entrepreneurship, was rare in both locations. More typically, the entrepreneurs' aspirations to start a business were influenced by contextual factors such as long transition times from asylum to refugee status, mandatory language classes or strict institutional requirements for starting a particular business (in Cologne).

Many 'focused entrepreneurs' soon realised that further investments in host country human-cultural capital were necessary, or even required to put their plans into practice. Therefore, in both case cities most of them attended business incubators targeted at migrants. Some respondents in Cologne (but none in Birmingham) also made use of professional training or business culture courses. Syrian entrepreneur Hadi (COLOGNE-ENT11), the aspiring owner of a medical equipment export business in Cologne, reflected that he did '*a multicultural course at IHK¹⁰¹, and that was very, very helpful – necessary for me.*' For Egyptian entrepreneur Mousa (BHAM-ENT16), the owner of an Islamic bookstore in Birmingham, taking ESOL classes before starting his business made it possible to communicate with non-Arabic customers. In addition to training in language

¹⁰¹ Industrie- und Handelskammer (Chamber of Industry and Commerce)

and cultural aspects, most ‘focused entrepreneurs’ gained short-term work experience in the sector of their later business. Thus, they acquired the most crucial knowledge to start such a business.

‘Focused entrepreneurs’ often accepted compromises in terms of the sector they entered and setbacks in comparison to the size of the businesses that some of them had left behind, according to the motto ‘rather doing something than nothing’. As community worker and researcher Jo (BHAM-K13) observed in that regard, thereby also describing the prevalence of underemployment among refugee-origin entrepreneurs:

‘So you probably might have engineers that have a money transfer company. You have people that have done... law or teaching sciences in their home countries. But now have to run a mobile shop.’

Syrian entrepreneur Abbas’ (COLOGNE-ENT9) story (see Box 6) provides a very concrete insight in the humble ways that experienced businessmen like him translated their business ownership experience to the new context.

Box 6: Building on business ownership experience from abroad. Abbas’ story.

Syrian entrepreneur Abbas (COLOGNE-ENT9) had owned a female clothing company and had around 35 employees. The company was successful and they received large orders (*‘[...] in my home country, they [his employees] sewed 100 pieces, 500 pieces for one person’*). When the war in Syria broke out he had to leave the country and his business behind. (*‘Things went well, and, eh – unfortunately the war made everything wrong. [sic]’*). Less than three years after his arrival in Germany, Abbas joined a business incubator for refugees and eventually decided to open an alteration service in Cologne, thereby building on his sectoral experience and language skills: *‘I can speak Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic, German. Which one? Doesn’t matter.’* He had previously worked in a ‘minijob’ in his field for two months, only to find reassurance that entrepreneurship is without any alternative for him.

At the time of the interview, Abbas was still taking mandatory language classes and had plans to open a small business straight afterwards (*‘Yes, I have to finish my course, first finish. After that, [I] open up.’*). He had by then accepted having to start small in comparison to his former business.

Among the 'focused entrepreneurs' respondents some considered their first business as a stepping stone towards something bigger, or a different, more advanced business, an insight corresponding with research from Edwards et al. (2016) who find that '*some migrants are using their businesses as stepping stones to other kinds of enterprise*' (p.1605). As expressed by aspiring online retailer Stepan (COLOGNE-ENT19) who had owned two successful IT businesses in Armenia: '*This is only the first step.*'. Respondents who used their human-cultural capital as a stepping stone to become entrepreneurs were willing and, in some cases, had concrete intentions to invest more into formalised host country human-cultural capital – namely cultural and institutional knowledge, improving the language and working towards certificates and degrees – in order to advance their initial business.

Strategy 3: Accumulating human-cultural capital prior to entrepreneurship

Another strategy was to accumulate relevant host country human-cultural capital prior to entrepreneurship. This strategy emerged as the least common approach and was only realised for one entrepreneur in the post-industrial, high-skilled activity sector, and two in the service sector. These respondents actively prepared to become entrepreneurs by working towards qualifications or gaining sectoral work experience. In that way, they could build on their accumulated host country human-cultural capital when starting their business. Their strategy can be summarised as 'assimilated entrepreneurship'.

One example is Iranian entrepreneur Shadi's (COLOGNE-ENT8) husband who coped with the challenging task of acquiring the necessary education and training to exercise his long-time vocation in Germany. This form of 'assimilated entrepreneurship' was thus enforced by institutional prerequisites to open a pastry shop.

'Yes, my husband, he has been – now he has been a pastry chef for 35 years. [...] Because his confectioner – or his master craftsman's certificate was not recognised here, so he had to start again. He has also done the exam here in Cologne, at the Chamber of Crafts. And thank God he passed it.' – Shadi (COLOGNE-ENT8), co-owner of a Persian pastry shop, from Iran

Focusing on accumulating work experience rather than qualifications, Syrian entrepreneur Ali (BHAM-ENT5), gained almost three years work experience as a waiter prior to taking over an existing restaurant, all the time pursuing the goal of starting his own restaurant at some point.

'I worked in the coffee shop – they do coffee, and they sell food as well. So I had experience from them, in the UK' – Ali (BHAM-ENT5), owner of a Syrian restaurant

This finding corresponds with the notion of '*apprentice entrepreneurs*' suggested by Ram et al. (2001), which refers to aspiring entrepreneurs who work for and learn from other migrant-origin (often co-ethnic) entrepreneurs with the goal to become competitors.

In summary, the refugee-origin entrepreneurs in the sample mobilised human-cultural capital in three overarching ways. These three different rationales can be labelled 'spontaneous entrepreneurship', 'focused entrepreneurship' and 'assimilated entrepreneurship'. Thereby, spontaneous entrepreneurs – as the name suggests – ventured into entrepreneurship rather ad hoc and worked out a business idea around aspects of their knowledge, education and experiences. Focused and assimilated entrepreneurs had been fixated on entrepreneurship to participate in the labour market for a longer period of time. While 'focused entrepreneurs' concentrated on using their existing entrepreneurial experiences from abroad to start a new business, the few 'assimilated entrepreneurs' purposefully accumulated host country-specific human-cultural capital. Overall and somewhat to be expected, red tape and barriers towards transferring foreign human-cultural capital into business (including sector-specific human-cultural capital, for example in crafts professions) were more evident among respondents in Cologne.

5.3.2 Roles of social capital

Social capital¹⁰² in its different variations was emphasised as the linchpin of ‘becoming an entrepreneur’ throughout the interviews. Although most respondents had started with limited social capital on arrival, in many cases having access to relevant social resources eventually became the decisive factor for a successful start as an entrepreneur (as opposed to giving up the idea of entrepreneurship).

‘We are starting here from scratch’ versus transnational networks

Nearly all 42 respondents mentioned that they had started their lives in the new country with a small social network. Some respondents arrived on their own and did not know anyone at that time. Other respondents came together with their closest family members or were able to reunite with spouses or other close family members after some time. A third group had family members in different cities or knew acquaintances who could help them, at least on the short term, such as Syrian restaurant owner Amir (BHAM-ENT9):

I: Did you know somebody here, or not at all?

P: My cousin, but he is here for [a] long time. [...] – in London. Just when I come here, I phone him [sic]. And, he give me help [sic]. A little bit. And then, when I go to immigration, I didn't see him anymore.'

A few respondents found well-established co-ethnic communities in their new location and quickly built a personal social network based on co-ethnic and/or religious ties, namely Iranian and Kurdish respondents in Cologne, and Somali respondents in Birmingham. In line with other findings (Andriessen et al., 2017; Carlson & Galvao Andersson, 2019; Ram et al., 2008), some Somali-born respondents had come to the UK as secondary migrants from mainland Europe, pulled both by the presence of a large British-Somali community and the ease of starting a business.

Furthermore, respondents in Cologne who arrived around the time of the 2015 ‘migration crisis’ benefitted from a system of volunteers and professionals who

¹⁰² ‘Social capital’ is here understood as the aggregated social resources used by migrants to settle in a new context (Nee & Sanders, 2001). Unlike in Nee and Sander’s forms-of-capital paper (ibid.) the focus here is on all kinds of social capital networks, including non-co-ethnic and non-family networks.

supported newcomers' integration (also see Section 6.2). These initiatives did not only link them to other refugees and co-ethnics, but also to a network of local people. As aspiring cheese factory owner Jamal (COLOGNE-ENT13) from Syria summarised his initial time in Cologne:

I: [...] I was alone. ... Ehm, then, as I said before, there were – so back then there were projects, that come [sic] to the asylum seekers' hostel or camp or something, then they say what they want, or we meet every week, [...] – they were students from University of Cologne, I think. ... Also Germans. That is how we got to meet more people.'

Over the course of time in their host country, social networks grew, albeit at a different pace and with different groups. Overall, respondents described that they built long-term social relations within their communities (i.e. bonding social capital; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004) and with different groups (i.e. bridging capital; *ibid.*) on the local level. The nature of these social networks – and the differences between the two case sites in that regard – will be explored in-depth in Chapter 6.

Finally, a common source of social capital among respondents were transnational social networks within their home countries or elsewhere. Many respondents referred to transnational family and diaspora community networks across the globe. Furthermore, and also noticed by one key informant in Cologne, contacts from their former entrepreneurial activities abroad played an important role for some experienced entrepreneurs:

,Some still have very good supply relationships and contacts in the countries. [...] In general, many of them also acted internationally back then – the goldsmith who is now founding at [location], who had his jewellery store in Hong Kong on a very large street, for example, he was at a fair in Thailand, he was [...] active in many countries, and he still has the relationships. He also has befriended colleagues and working relationships that are reliable in the sense that he could pick them up again. In this respect, these are the networks that some still have.' – Johanna (COLOGNE-KI1), leader of a business incubator for refugees

Table 13 gives an overview of different forms or social capital that refugee-origin entrepreneurs accessed during the business formation phase. Overall, respondents relied on a mix of informal and formal social capital to start their business, and mostly drew on contacts on the neighbourhood or local community level. In a few cases, however, existing contacts in different cities or abroad played a crucial role during the start-up phase.

Table 13: Kinds, forms and origin of social capital mentioned by respondents (entrepreneurs and key informants)

<i>Kind of social capital</i>	<i>Forms and origin of social capital</i>	<i>Neighbourhood/ local community</i>	<i>Regional/urban and national level</i>	<i>Transnational level</i>
<i>Informal (bonding and bridging social capital)</i>	• Family (partner/wife or husband, children, siblings, other family members)	x	x	x
	• Friends	x	x	x
	• Co-ethnic/ multi-ethnic community	x	x	x
	• Religious community	x	x	x
	• Business-related persons (business partner, former owner, landlord)	x	x	x
<i>Formal (linking social capital)</i>	• Business incubator	x		
	• Local institutions (Job Centre, Chamber of Handicrafts, Chamber of Commerce etc.)	x		
	• Landlord	x		
	• Charities	x		
	• Volunteers	x		

Whilst starting a business, respondents *activated* relevant actors – of both formal and informal nature – in their existing local, national and transnational networks. They also *expanded* their social network with additional relevant actors and on different spatial levels.

Findings showed that refugee-origin entrepreneurs relied on both their ‘activated’ and ‘expanded’ social network for several purposes: (1) to get access to knowledge and information, (2) to get access to financial resources, (3) to get access to a wider network and (4) as a source of non-financial support and resources (see Figure 16). These different roles of social capital during the start-up phase occurred across time and spaces. They are outlined in detail in the following paragraphs.

Access to knowledge and information

Whilst all of the entrepreneurs started their journey with a particular set of experiences, knowledge and education, at the same time all of them needed additional information (such as the practicalities of starting a business) and skills (such as management and language skills). For example, respondents with previous experience as entrepreneurs typically had the necessary managerial skills, but often lacked host country language skills or were not familiar with the practicalities of entrepreneurship in their new context. Others had sectoral experience and host country language skills but no experience in setting up a business. In any of these cases, social capital served as a compensator for crucial missing knowledge and skills.

Some respondents passed on responsibilities to others, such as Neda (COLOGNE-ENT7), the co-owner of a burger restaurant from Iran. Having previous experiences with business ownership but lacking experience in the food sector, she hired someone to fill this gap.

‘– we took an employee [...] ... he had worked in a burger shop for two or three years and that was great. And [he] helped here. We learned slowly.’

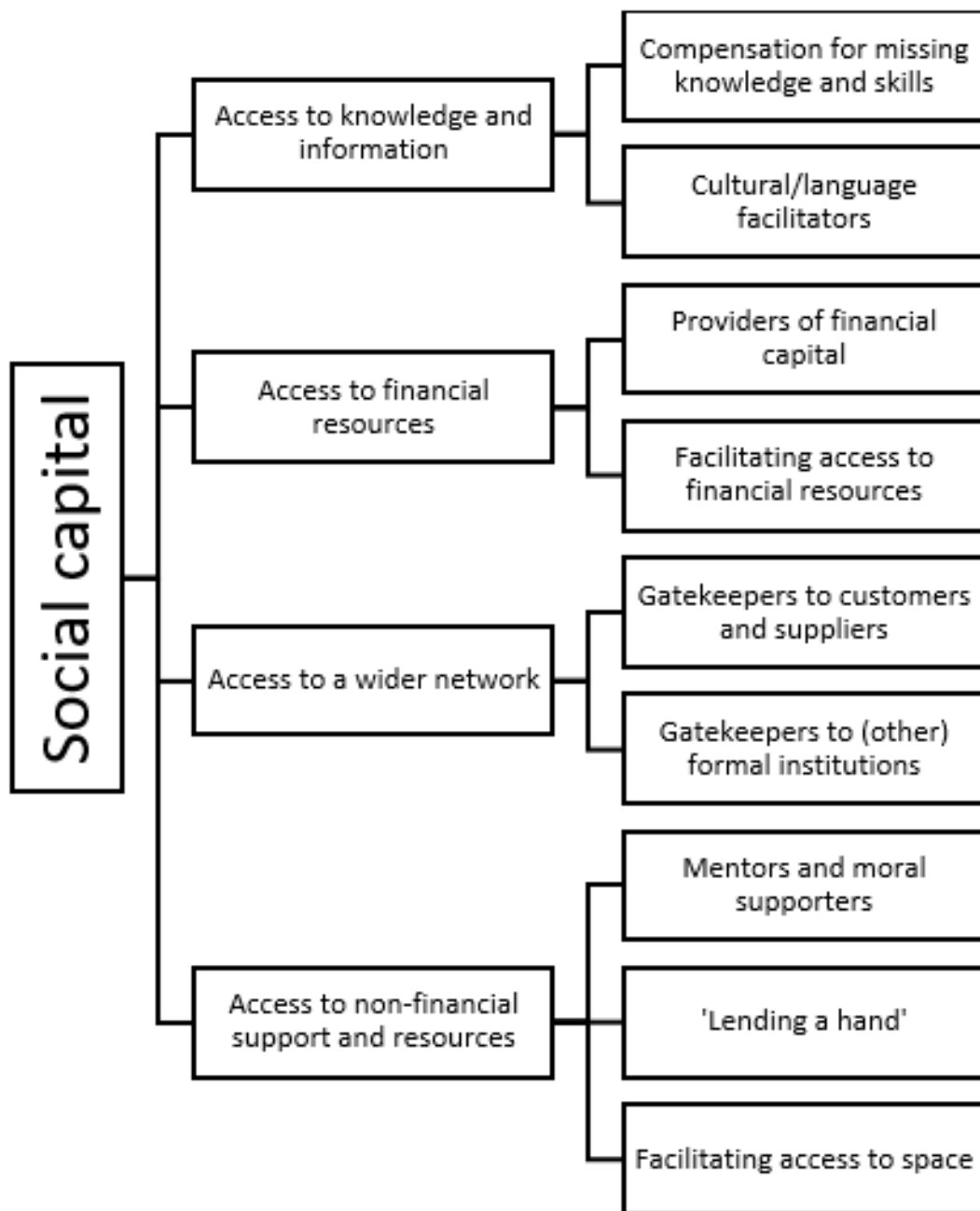


Figure 16: Roles of social capital during the foundation phase of entrepreneurship

Social contacts also served as facilitators of the language and cultural aspects of ‘doing business’. For example, other entrepreneurs with similar businesses often knew the practicalities of becoming an entrepreneur in the new context, or knew where to obtain products and equipment. Amir (BHAM-ENT9), the owner of a Syrian restaurant in Small Heath had no experience with the process of starting a business in the UK. He relied on his more experienced business partner, whose English skills were also better than his, to

take care of the necessary formal steps. This finding resonates with the notion of *'learning as a social practice'* in Creese et al.'s (2016, p.3) assessment of linguistic and cultural business practices among migrant-origin entrepreneurs in multi-ethnic UK neighbourhoods.

Using social contacts as interpreters for English/German was widespread, especially among those entrepreneurs who had arrived recently. Although the vast majority joined (mandatory) English/German language classes, the vocabulary around 'doing business' was not usually covered. In this regard, business advisor Joachim (COLOGNE-K13) noted how social contacts served as facilitators of the language:

'Very often there actually is support in some way from the community or family, where someone knows the language quite well. It is, of course, simply important for our consultations.'

When it comes to accessing knowledge and information through social contacts, more than in Cologne respondents in Birmingham relied on co-ethnics or other migrant-origin entrepreneurs and informal networks in their neighbourhood. As community worker and researcher Jo (BHAM-K13) observed:

'there's kind of an informal network system happening, where they pass and share information. When they meet their friend in the tea or coffee shop, when they meet in the restaurant, or they will meet in the street. Or when there's a kind of communal activity going on, then they know where they can get support from. So there's a kind of sharing of information like that.'

Respondents in Cologne, on the other hand, obtained information from a wider network of co-ethnics, but also other local acquaintances including neighbours and (especially since 2015) local volunteers. They were also more likely to draw on a mix of informal and formal sources (see Box 7).

Box 7: Mixed networks. Walid's story.

Walid (COLOGNE-ENT14) brought his teenage son Zahir to the interview. Unlike himself, his son had become nearly fluent in German since the family's arrival in 2015. He regularly accompanied his father to appointments to help out as an interpreter.

At the time of the interview, Walid was planning to start a cookie factory similar to the business he had owned in Syria. In order to understand how to start a business in Germany, he had joined a business incubator for migrants. To access information on opening a cookie factory in particular, however, he drew on the support from his mixed informal network:

'Zahir: First of all, we just ask Mrs. [name] who lives with us on the street, the German family – [...] – and if she is not there, then – he also has contact with a Turkish man who also has a company here, he also worked for him a little, then he also asks there. They also have experiences and such.'

Access to financial resources

Respondents also used social contacts as a link to financial resources, either directly by borrowing money or indirectly by getting access to financial capital. A very common way to access financial capital for respondents, which will be explored in more depth in the next Section 5.3.3, were loans from friends and family and the wider community either in their host country or abroad. But more than that, particularly among respondents in Cologne and who had arrived around 2015 social contacts also provided support in accessing public financial resources. These respondents reported that they received help from friends, volunteers or the business incubator in preparing a business plan for the Job Centre, which – if successful – would grant them access to a one-time subsidy of up to 5,000€.

Access to a wider network

Furthermore, social contacts served as gatekeepers to a wider network, which recently arrived refugees rarely possessed. Some entrepreneurs found their suppliers and (potential) customers with the support of their social contacts, often by simply asking around in their co-ethnic or local community.

I: And did you ask somebody –

P: [crosstalk] – yes of course, of course! I ask [sic] some people in my community and another people, different nationality. I ask [sic] about, from where I can bring this [the products], from where. Yeah. – Saif (BHAM-ENT10), aspiring owner of an IT repair shop, from Syria

Besides these informal contacts, refugee-origin entrepreneurs also gained access to a wider network through formal local institutions such as business incubators or charities. An initial meeting with a relevant actor might bring refugee-origin entrepreneurs in touch with other institutionalised actors. Furthermore, for many entrepreneurs – particularly in Cologne – social contacts acted as gatekeepers to (other) formal institutions, as the following quote by Hadi (COLOGNE-ENT11) from Syria, the aspiring owner of a medical equipment export service illustrates:

P: First I spoke to Jobcenter and luckily I met the woman [business incubator employee] at a trade fair.

I: Ah, at a trade fair. From the Jobcenter.

P: At a trade fair, yes. And I did – the fair was from [name of charity], I think I was invited to [name of charity]. And I met Ms. [K11], luckily, and we made an appointment and met and sat here [in the business incubator]."

Source of non-financial support and resources

Finally, respondents used social contacts to get access to non-financial resources and receive non-financial support. These arrangements were typically of rather informal nature and based on reciprocity and mutual trust, as well as benevolence on the side of the social contact. Access to these kinds of social resources became available and typically increased over the course of time, after the entrepreneurs had already spent some time in their new country.

The most common example mentioned in the interviews in both locations was access to rental space, which was a challenge for respondents who had just come out of the asylum

seeker system and hence lacked formal references or a credit history. In such cases, social contacts could act as valuable (informal) guarantors.

'You have to get a reference. When I open this business, I did not get it from the landlord straight away. I get it from the previous owner. He ran the business – he don't wanna, just – I pay him every month, and the landlord takes it from him. Because he said "this is my reference". The previous owner is my reference, he trust me. [sic] Yeah.' – Ali (BHAM-ENT5), owner of a Syrian restaurant, from Syria

In other cases, social contacts – mostly within informal community networks (more often in Birmingham), but also institutional social contacts (more often in Cologne) – directly provided the sought-after rental space.

Close social contacts also offered a sympathetic ear during the phase of orientation, serving as valuable mentors and moral supporters. Joseph (BHAM-ENT1) from Rwanda drew on his transnational family networks by consulting his cousin overseas before he started his first business.

'– one of my cousins, she is in America. She helps me to do this. She said "you have to do something". 'cause, even a small business is – is better than someone to give you money. [sic]

I: Yeah.

P: She advised me, all along, every time she said "please do something. You can do it." [chuckles]' – Joseph (BHAM-ENT1), owner of a digital marketing business, from Rwanda

Finally, during the start-up phase social contacts could offer very concrete non-financial support by 'lending a hand' as respondents set up their business.

In summary, the findings on social capital show the manifold ways in which refugee-origin entrepreneurs activated and expanded their social networks. Not only did social contacts offer support to navigate the host country's entrepreneurial system, but they also made up for resources that the entrepreneurs did not possess or could not access.

5.3.3 Using and accessing financial capital

Financial resources were not only a prerequisite for respondents to enter entrepreneurship, but the amount of financial resources that respondents mobilised ultimately defined the *scope* of their entrepreneurial undertaking. In line with previous findings on refugee-origin entrepreneurship (Alexandre et al., 2019; Alrawadieh et al., 2018; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008), accessing formal funding posed a major challenge to aspiring refugee entrepreneurs across the whole sample.

Limited financial resources to build upon

Most entrepreneurs started their business with a modest personal capital stock at their disposal. Not surprisingly given the forced and often sudden nature of their migration, most of the respondents reported that they had to leave their belongings behind when they left their country, and hence arrived in the new country with a limited set of financial and non-financial resources. Although some respondents had been economically successful before their departure, it had become difficult or even impossible to access their financial assets at home. Several reported that their financial assets were used up to cover travel costs, and sometimes smugglers' fees, to come to Europe. In other cases, respondents' belongings had been confiscated or taken before their departure. As aspiring spice wholesaler Farid (COLOGNE-ENT20) from Syria, who had owned a successful business in his home country, reported: '*I lost everything. I lost everything. On protection money.'*

Furthermore, some respondents mentioned that they shared their income or meagre welfare benefits with their families abroad or to support their children's education. Although some respondents who had arrived longer ago could accumulate financial capital (at least from the moment on when their legal status allowed them to work), 16 out of 28 active entrepreneurs started their business with a relatively small budget of no more than £10.000/10.000€. ¹⁰³ Only one business – the Persian pastry shop run by Shadi (COLOGNE-ENT8) and her husband – had between 50.000 and 99.999€ at hand to start

¹⁰³ Aspiring entrepreneurs are excluded here, since financial capital was not secured in all cases at the time of the interviews.

with, since they could access some of their savings from Iran. The remaining 11 entrepreneurs (four in Birmingham and seven in Cologne) founded their business with a start-up capital between 10.000 and £49.999/49.999€.

While both formal and informal financial sources were mentioned by respondents (see Table 14), the majority had drawn on informal funding sources or accessed subsidies and small-scale grants from the Job Centre. Only one entrepreneur, retailer Amin (COLOGNE-ENT3) from Iran, received funding from the bank for his second kiosk and bakery shop, after having presented a detailed business plan and the success figures from his first business.

Table 14: Origin and forms of financial capital mentioned by respondents (entrepreneurs and key informants)

<i>Financial capital sources</i>	<i>Forms of financial capital sources</i>
<i>Formal sources</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formal loan (bank) • Investment grant (Job Centre, only in Cologne; business incubator, only in Birmingham) • Other grants • Living subsidies (Job Centre, Birmingham and Cologne)
<i>Informal sources</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support from the family • Support from friends • Support from the community • Personal savings

Overall, two strategies of accessing and using funding emerged from respondents' narratives: financial bootstrapping and drawing on a mix of internal and external financial sources.

Financial bootstrapping strategy

Most of the entrepreneurs in the sample drew on a strategy of accessing and using financial funding which can be described as 'financial bootstrapping'. Based on the theory of financial bricolage suggested by Kariv and Coleman (2015), Kwong et al. (2018) summarise 'financial bootstrapping' as follows: '*Utilizing easy-access, smallscale financial resources, rather than those from formal financial institutions, to minimize the difficulties in acquiring resources*' (p.4). In other words, financial bootstrapping relies on existing, internal financial sources from the entrepreneur's inner social circle – including their own savings –, as opposed to external and formalised financial sources.

As is typical for bootstrapping strategies, most of the entrepreneurs drew on a mix of available internal funding sources. Thereby, the most common way was to accumulate and use their own savings, and to top up funding by private loans from friends, family and the wider community. In a few cases the entrepreneurs could access their savings in their home countries. As Silke (COLOGNE-KI5), business advisor at the Chamber of Industry and Commerce, observed: *'So there's always money coming from somewhere.'* In that regard, respondents' narratives suggested that (trans)national diaspora networks played a role for their efforts in accumulating internal funding.

'[...] I also had a friend, from Iran, he's a bit of a rich man. And he said, 'Mehrdad, ... if you need money, I can give you some money. Borrowed.' Right?' – Mehrdad (COLOGNE-ENT4), owner of a snack bar, from Iran

Mixing financial bootstrapping and formal funding sources

Less commonly, the entrepreneurs drew on a mix of internal and external financial sources, thereby mixing informal bootstrapping strategies with formal funding sources. As indicated above, formal financial support was typically accessed in a direct form through small investment grants, or in an indirect form through Council Tax exemptions (only in Birmingham) and Job Centre living subsidies (in Birmingham and Cologne).

An example for combining financial bootstrapping and external funding is Iranian goldsmith Mehdi (COLOGNE-ENT10) who combined a 5,000€ investment grant from the Job Centre and living subsidies provided by the Job Centre with a small, private loan from an Iranian company in Germany and some of his own savings from Iran. Only through this active and creative accumulation of funding from several sources, he could eventually open a goldsmith workshop.

When it comes to accessing external funding sources, social contacts – and particularly linking social capital – within the host country played an important facilitating role (also see Section 5.3.2). Typically, entrepreneurs who had accessed external funding did so with the support of third parties such as business incubators and volunteers, who assisted their participants or friends to overcome language and cultural barriers, and often did so with great commitment and outside their working hours. Vice versa, few entrepreneurs

who did *not* draw on support via linking social capital accessed any sort of external funding.

5.3.4 *The entrepreneurial agent: personal attributes*

'The main factors that definitely make it possible to start a business are very clear – well, [that] is the personality. So if someone wants to do that, so, has the will, has punch, I'd say, then – then he or she will be able to do it in most cases. [...] – the main requirement is actually this founder personality. One can clearly say it like that.' – Joachim (COLOGNE-K13), business advisor

Up to here, the entrepreneurs' actions whilst setting up their business were illuminated in terms of the external factors they accessed and used within a given structure. The fourth pillar of the entrepreneurs' set of resources is related to their *internal*, or personal attributes.¹⁰⁴ Throughout the interviews with entrepreneurs and key informants, and enforced by my own observations during data collection, three main attributes in relation to 'becoming entrepreneurs' emerged.

Proactivity and perseverance

Showing proactive behaviour was a common pattern among the entrepreneurs. On the one hand, their narratives showcased the manifold restrictions and disadvantages they encountered on their pathway to entrepreneurship. At the same time, they came up with bricolage strategies – strategies of 'making do' with what is at hand (Lévi-Strauss, 1967) – which helped them to find a way around these barriers and allowed them to start a business.

For example, digital entrepreneur Joseph (BHAM-ENT1) from Rwanda described how he repeatedly showed up at the Chamber of Commerce to ask for support. As a result of his

¹⁰⁴ To be sure, personal attributes are often subsumed under human/cultural capital in the literature (see for example Pret et al., 2016). They are treated separately here for two main reasons. First, unlike education, knowledge and experience which are grounded in specific life events (e.g. language learning, formal schooling or on-the-job training; cf. Chiswick & Miller, 2009) and are typically context-specific (e.g. education degrees), an individual's personal attributes are internalised, and their origins cannot be traced back to the same extent. Second, personal attributes are '*influential background factors*' for personal agency (Obschonka et al., 2018, p.174). As such they occupy an important *mediating* role in exercising agency and becoming an entrepreneur even in unfavourable contexts (see Section 7.2.2).

persistent actions, he not only received information and support to start a business, but also gained access to several small grants.

Several key informants in Cologne even highlighted proactivity and perseverance as the *main* success factors for refugees to engage in entrepreneurship as the system is constructed in a way that requires aspiring entrepreneurs to be '*persistent*'¹⁰⁵ and '*have the will, have the bite*'¹⁰⁶. Business trainer Lina (COLOGNE-K12) explained how one of their workshop participants, a drywall builder from Iran, was not being granted financial support from the Jobcentre. After this unpleasant experience, he taught himself the technical vocabulary and '*systematic knowledge*' needed for his profession, registered his business, and started spreading the word:

'He just went out into the world, spread the information, obtained the first order. From the first order, he then got the tools he needed. ... So he borrowed them at the beginning, then he bought his own. Then he had two more orders, then he bought a car and so on –' – Lina (COLOGNE-K12), trainer at a business incubator

Versatility

Closely related to proactivity, the refugee-origin entrepreneur respondents regularly demonstrated their versatility by adapting their plans to the context and to their resources. For instance, Zamir (COLOGNE-ENT17) did not have the needed hairdresser's 'Meister' diploma required to run a barber shop in Germany when he took over an existing business. To overcome this structural barrier, he hired someone with a 'Meister' diploma for the time being. Particularly in Germany, where aspiring entrepreneurs are faced with higher institutional requirements in comparison to the UK, many participants experienced similar kinds of setbacks that required them to rethink their business idea and adjust it to the context.

¹⁰⁵ Johanna (COLOGNE-K11), leader of a business incubator for refugees.

¹⁰⁶ Joachim (COLOGNE-K13), business advisor.

Furthermore, refugee-origin entrepreneurs in Cologne and Birmingham alike adapted their plans to their available financial resources. Usually, this meant that they had to downsize their initial business plans to a smaller version of the same or a similar business.

The versatility attribute can be linked to a form of bricolage that Heilbrunn (2019) summarises as *'Improvising through creative problem solving'* (p.12), which requires flexibility and creativity on the side of the entrepreneurs.

Trust in oneself

A common prerequisite for refugee-origin entrepreneurs to start their own business was the belief that they could 'do it', which I here refer to as 'trust in oneself'. Having trust in oneself was linked to the entrepreneurial self-concept that many respondents expressed (see Section 5.2.2).

In that regard, asked what he would do if he were not given the start-up grant by the business incubator he attended, aspiring IT entrepreneur Saif (BHAM-ENT10) from Syria emphasised: *'Trying, trying. ... Try anyway, try anyway.'* In line with many other respondents, his account made clear that he trusted himself and his bootstrapping capabilities, rather than relying too much on external support to start his business.¹⁰⁷

Similarly, key informant Pauline (COLOGNE-KI4), a consultant for unemployed refugees, summarised the attitude among her entrepreneurial clients as follows: *'[...] they say 'I can do it, and I want it, and that is where I am going now and just do it.'*, adding: *'The motivation is very high.'*

5.3.5 Conclusion: flexible adaptation to the context

In this findings section I sought to explore the question *'How do refugees access and use different kinds of resources to become entrepreneurs in their host country?'*. Thereby, I investigated four types of resources in-depth: human-cultural capital, social capital, financial capital and personal attributes. It became clear that refugee-origin

¹⁰⁷ Interestingly, none of the respondents explicitly linked the experiences of being a refugee to developing a stronger trust in themselves. However, their narratives suggest that for many this was indeed the case.

entrepreneurs draw on these resources in flexible and often creative ways in order to start a business.

- In terms of human-cultural capital, the findings show that refugee-origin entrepreneurs flexibly draw on the aspects of their education, knowledge and experience that match best with their concrete business idea. Three strategies of using and accessing human-cultural capital were identified, whereby the first strategy was the most common one: Building on selected aspects of human-cultural capital (spontaneous entrepreneurship), building on business ownership experience (focused entrepreneurship) and accumulating human-cultural capital prior to entrepreneurship (assimilated entrepreneurship).
- In terms of social capital, the findings illustrate how refugee-origin entrepreneurs use social resources to access knowledge and information, financial resources, a wider network and non-financial support.
- In terms of financial capital, the findings show that the vast majority of respondents built their entrepreneurial projects on a limited set of financial resources, thereby either drawing on bootstrapping strategies or on a mix of bootstrapping strategies and small formal funds.
- Finally, the personal attributes proactivity, versatility, and trust in oneself emerged as driving factors for the entrepreneurial agents, supporting the entrepreneurs in navigating the institutional and cultural context.

Comparative factors became evident in that human-cultural capital requirements in Cologne kept refugee-origin entrepreneurs away from entering certain professions (or delaying their entry and accumulating the needed certificates etc.) in sectors where their peers in Birmingham experienced less barriers and could transfer their foreign human-cultural capital somewhat easier.

In terms of social capital differences were brought to the forefront in that refugee-origin entrepreneurs in Cologne more often drew on a mixed network of co-ethnics, local acquaintances including neighbours and (especially since 2015) local volunteers to access knowledge, information and formal funding. Entrepreneurs in Cologne also used their

social contacts as gatekeepers to (other) formal institutions, as opposed to entrepreneurs in Birmingham who relied more on co-ethnics, other migrant-origin entrepreneurs and informal networks in their neighbourhood to access different forms of resources and information.

Financial capital was a barrier in both locations, making financial bootstrapping techniques an important prerequisite for entrepreneurial engagement. Based on the findings, the formal financial support available appeared limited in both locations, both in terms of the funding *options* available and in terms of the *amount* of start-up capital where options existed.

Proactivity/perseverance, versatility and trust in oneself were crucial elements to become an entrepreneur in both locations. However, respondents in Cologne expressed that high levels of proactivity and perseverance are often required to be able to start a business *at all*, which was not the case among respondents in Birmingham.

In summary, this chapter has looked at the processes of becoming an entrepreneur among refugee-origin entrepreneurs in Birmingham and Cologne. Addressing the third research question, the next chapter explores the relation between entrepreneurship and integration.

CHAPTER 6: ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND INTEGRATION

6.1 Introduction

The underlying question of this chapter is:

How does entrepreneurship among refugees impact on their integration into the receiving society?

An amended version¹⁰⁸ of the multidimensional integration concept suggested by Spencer and Charsley (2016; see Figure 17) is used as the main theoretical framework in this chapter and extended with a model of the ‘refugee-integration-opportunity structure’ (Phillimore, 2020). The concept serves as scaffolding for the data analysis and directs the focus to different domains and spatial levels of integration.

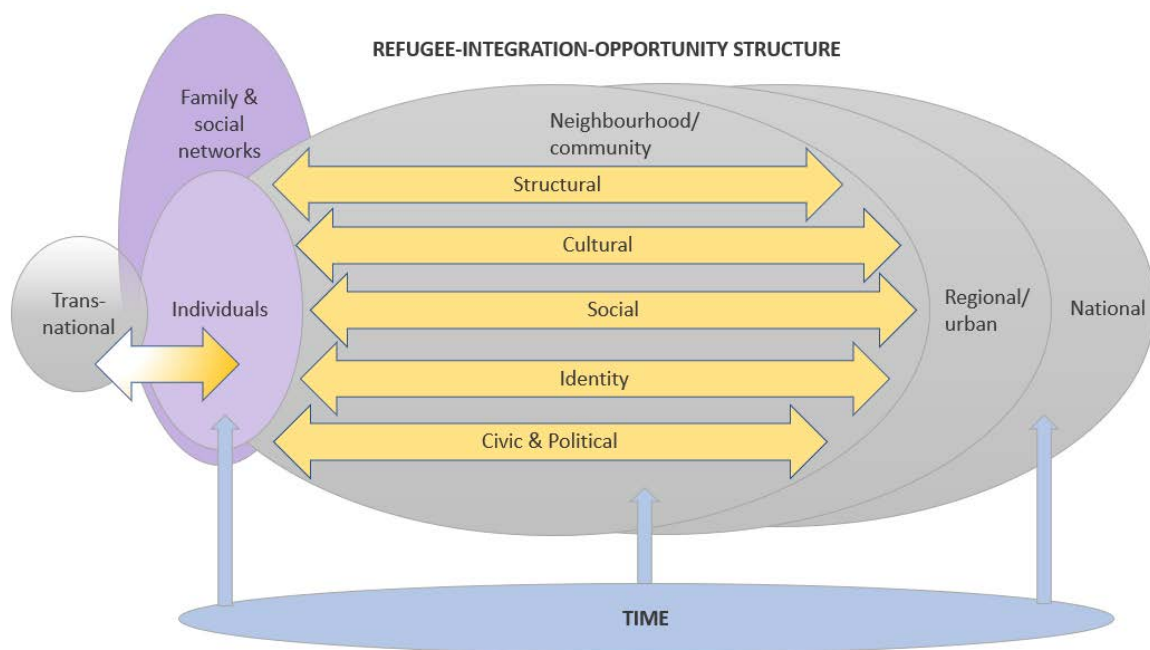


Figure 17: Conceptual model of integration processes and effectors (adapted from Spencer & Charsley 2016; Charsley & Spencer, 2019)

Thereby, entrepreneurship has two roles in relation to integration. First, it is a context in which (other) integration processes take place (cf. Heckmann, 2005; Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019), such as social, cultural and identity integration. Second, being a form of work,

¹⁰⁸ Two spatial levels were added to the original concept to allow a more fine-grained look on integration processes of refugee-origin entrepreneurs in cities: the neighbourhood/community level and the regional/urban level.

entrepreneurship is in itself a form of integration into the structural domain (cf. Ager & Strang, 2008).¹⁰⁹

With its focus on the interplay between the context and individual resources, the multidimensional integration concept offers a useful tool to explore similarities and differences within the integration processes of refugee-origin entrepreneurs over time and across contexts. It also allows identification of focal points when analysing the data, without losing sight of other factors that might potentially influence integration processes (cf. Spencer & Charsley, 2016). Finally, the different levels of the integration opportunity structure and the focus on the interplay between individuals and wider society make the concept compatible with the other main concept used in this dissertation, mixed embeddedness, which implies a similar multilayered perspective on the phenomenon of entrepreneurship. It is important to note here that the concept is used as a heuristic tool to capture the changes in individuals' lives through entrepreneurship. The findings in this chapter are intended to recognise recurrent themes from the data relating to different integration domains, rather than identifying a universally valid, causal relationship between entrepreneurship and integration.

Similar to the first two research questions, I approach the question from the perspective of the refugee-origin entrepreneurs interviewed. In doing so I ask how they addressed aspects of integration in their narratives, both directly and indirectly. Their narratives are complemented with the informants' perspectives, as well as my observations during data collection.

The presentation of findings starts with an overview of the integration opportunity structure as respondents perceived it (Section 6.2), followed by insights alongside the five different domains of integration (Sections 6.3 – 6.7). While the domains are considered separately here, it is important to note that the lines between different domains of integration can be blurry. For example, the civic/political and the social integration

¹⁰⁹ Consequently, the following sections refer to different aspects of entrepreneurship and integration. While Section 6.3 looks at entrepreneurship as a form of integration and explores the changes through entrepreneurship *within* the structural integration domain, Sections 6.4 to 6.7 take entrepreneurship as the starting point to explore the related integration processes in other domains of life.

domain are closely related to each other in that they are directly related to an individuals' interaction with other people and the wider society. Cultural/intercultural and identity integration refer more to the individual's relation to a new place or how they position themselves in it. Integration processes in one domain can also develop differently to others (Spencer & Charsley, 2016), and at a different pace (Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019). Hence, allocating respondents' experiences and behaviour to one domain or another was not always straightforward.

The chapter concludes with a summary of the main findings (Section 6.8). It becomes clear that entrepreneurship can both support and undermine integration processes.

6.2 Perceptions of the integration opportunity structure

If 'integration' is to be seen as context-specific and a shared engagement of newcomers and receiving societies alike (Heckmann, 2005; Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019), marked by *'processes of interaction, personal and social change'* (Spencer & Charsley, 2021, p.16), looking at refugee-origin entrepreneurs alone is not enough to understand their integration processes. Only if the context in which integration takes place is considered – in other words, the refugee-integration-opportunity structure (Phillimore, 2020) –, a comprehensive understanding of integration processes is possible. Throughout the interviews, respondents indicated how the integration opportunity structures at a given point in time formed their actions. The following paragraphs give an overview on respondents' perceptions of the locality, the structural conditions for refugees and the support available for newcomers, particularly in relation to entrepreneurship.

Most respondents perceived the case study cities as welcoming places for newcomers. As community worker and researcher Jo (BHAM-KI3), himself a former refugee, stated about Birmingham: *'I think it's a welcoming city. We are a home for refugees, he? It's a place where people can come and find a home.'* Similarly, Cologne was described by respondents as a city of open-minded people where newcomers (mostly) feel welcome: *'Cologne is a... beautiful city, to integrate yourself. And to, immerse in this society, I mean.'* (Aman (COLOGNE-ENT6), owner of a Middle Eastern restaurant).

Perceptions of Cologne over time

Regarding structural support for asylum seekers and refugees, among respondents in Cologne a clear distinction could be observed between those who had arrived before and after the 2015 'migration crisis'. Some respondents who had arrived in Germany in the 1990s and 2000s reflected how the lack of access to language classes and the labour market curbed their integration process. As a consequence, respondents' already interrupted professional pathways were slowed down even more. These respondents typically started businesses a long time after their arrival (between seven and 20 years). For example, Ammar (COLOGNE-ENT16) from Iraq, owner of a pizzeria, recalled his experiences after arriving in Germany in the late 1990s:

'In Germany, I tried 100 times to attend a German course. They didn't give me one. No schooling. No German course, for 20 years, 15 years.'

At the same time, respondents who had arrived in Germany around the 'migration crisis' had arrived to a more favourable support structure, granting them earlier access to language training and work even during the asylum process (see Section 4.3.2). Unlike their predecessors, these respondents thus mostly mentioned having participated in language classes, and had typically gained some work experience in Germany soon after their arrival. They started their businesses only a few years after their arrival. Many referred to a network of volunteer-run or professional initiatives that supported them during the first few months in their new environment and introduced them to relevant institutions to start a business (see Section 6.3.2).

„I am going to [name of charity]. [...] – and I met Jan. He is a very nice man. Und he say [sic] “you can make a business plan, then we can talk about it. When you are done.” [...] And he sent me to Lars [trainer at a business incubator for refugees], and we talk[ed] to Lars for the first time and – yes, I think he is also very nice. ... We can make a business plan, that is the first step, and then, I think, if I have a good business plan, I can talk to the bank or to the Job Centre again.’ – Yusuf (COLOGNE-ENT15), graphic designer, from Syria

In other words, respondents who had arrived since 2015 could benefit from the possibility of entrepreneurship as a pathway to labour market integration, supported by some institutional actors as well as volunteers in Cologne.

However, most respondents perceived the structural barriers towards self-employment in Germany (and Cologne) as generally high. This impression was widespread regardless the time of arrival or business sector. Several respondents noted that entrepreneurship was considered risky by Germans and that institutions, as well as private contacts (both native Germans and non-natives) had discouraged them from starting a business.

‘And I talked to so many Germans about it, they were completely against it. “No, don't do that!” They are not very risky.’ – Shadi (COLOGNE-ENT8), co-owner of a Persian pastry shop

Many agreed that navigating and understanding the role of different authorities is difficult and takes time and effort, especially for newcomers who are not familiar with the organisational structures in Germany.

‘If you don't know [the system], you will walk back and forth 10 times for a small detail. Without result, pointless. That's why you have to learn the language. And the structures, the public agencies, how does it all work.’ – Stepan (COLOGNE-ENT19), aspiring owner of an online retail shop from Armenia

‘IHK told me “okay, then you can do that – that is [it], step by step” – but all the steps were so complicated, and I had no idea about it... ’ – Sheri (COLOGNE-ENT22), aspiring gym owner, from Iran

At the same time, respondents mentioned that understanding the legal requirements is a prerequisite to be successful as an entrepreneur, and that a lack of knowledge can result in failure.

‘You have to know what you are doing. And not just open a business without having any idea. Well, there are many people – I know some people who have opened a business and had to shut down again after

one or two months.' – Yasin (COLOGNE-ENT5), owner of a car repair shop, from Iraq

Some respondents also perceived the coordination between institutions as poor, or had received contradicting advice by different stakeholders, resulting in long waiting times to starting a business. Perhaps most importantly, and in contrast to findings from Birmingham, dealing with formal institutions occupied an important place in respondents' stories (see Sections 6.3.2 and 6.5).

Perceptions of Birmingham over time

In Birmingham, respondents' narratives about the local integration opportunity structure over time were very mixed. Most of the respondents who had arrived in the 1990s and 2000s mentioned having attended public ESOL courses after their arrival, which was less often the case among respondents who had arrived as asylum seekers during the 2010s. One distinguishing factor for respondents' narratives was their migration pathway (irregular arrival as an asylum seeker, resettlement scheme participant, study visa, secondary migration). The three respondents who had come to the UK via the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme (VPRS) – Saif (BHAM-ENT10), Ahmad (BHAM-ENT11) and Alia (BHAM-ENT12) – recalled particularly positive experiences about the support they had received since their arrival in 2018/19, which included direct access to housing, language classes and a charity-run business incubator for newcomers.

Alia: When I arrived in [the] UK, staff from [charity] is waiting in the airport.

I: The [charity] were waiting in the airport?

Alia: Yeah! They help me –

Ahmad: [Charity], every time with my family, with me, with any people from Syria. Because –

Saif: – when we arrive, we don't know anything. They... go to bank, to the Council –

Alia: – to Jobcentre, my children go to school, they help us here – [...] – when I come to the UK with my husband everything is ready. [chuckles]

Respondents who entered the UK as asylum seekers described different views of the institutional environment for integration, even if they had arrived at similar times. For example, Syrian restaurant owner Amir (BHAM-ENT9; arrived between 2010-2014) described how the Job Centre urged him to look for a job as soon as he had refugee status, although his language skills were still rudimentary. Consequently, and despite his university degree in mechanical engineering, Amir started working as a waiter. Eventually he opened a small restaurant.

'[...] here, this country, they don't give [you] chance for English. Just you can go one way: look for a job. It doesn't matter if you speak English or not, just go look for a job. [...] I can't forget this day... when I got the first day to the Job Centre, the lady – she broke me down. When I go there, I tell her, 'I am looking for a college, I need to learn English', she said 'no, you have to go look for a job'.

At the same time, fellow Syrian restaurant owner Ali (BHAM-ENT5; arrived between 2010-2014) highlighted the chance to find his own path:

'[...] here in the UK, the government tell you 'do whatever you want – we'll see.' [...] Even as I am sitting with you, while I am talking to you, I have new ideas. I'm talking to you – I get new idea. So I get a lot of ideas, then I will do what I want. This is what I learned from the UK.'

One respondent, Syrian-born social entrepreneur Jabir (BHAM-ENT19), had initially arrived in the UK on a student visa in the 2010s and later applied for asylum. Unlike many other respondents, he could build a local social network prior to his asylum application, and thanks to his good language skills did not require any language classes. Finally, some Somali-origin entrepreneurs had come to the UK as secondary migrants from the Netherlands, Italy or Sweden. These entrepreneurs moved to the UK under the EU Freedom of movement to join family members, work and/or start a business. While their language skills, trajectories and goals differed, these respondents had in common that they could access a social network upon arrival which helped them to settle. (*Three*

sisters, one of my brothers also lived here, but now he's in Somalia.' – Hani (BHAM-ENT4), owner of a tailor shop)

Regarding entrepreneurship, with few exceptions references to formal institutions other than the Job Centre were absent in respondents' narratives (see Section 6.3.2). At the same time, the structural barriers towards self-employment were generally perceived very low among Birmingham respondents. Unlike respondents in Cologne, none reported being discouraged from starting a business by (native British and non-natives) private contacts. They almost unanimously reported that starting a business was easy, as expressed plainly by Egyptian-born Islamic book store owner Mousa (BHAM-ENT16): *'You just register it and start.'* A minority, however, referred to starting a business in some sectors as less straightforward. One example is social entrepreneur Suleymaan (BHAM-ENT2) from Somaliland who referred to *'many, many, many, many'* bureaucratic issues related to *'the legal side of it'* when he started his property management service.

Summary

Overall, multifaceted perceptions of the integration opportunity structures in both case sites emerged from the interviews, depending on the location, the time and mode of arrival, as well as the kind of business. Narratives from Cologne highlighted the structural hurdles to enter entrepreneurship for newcomers in Germany versus an increasing integration support system especially since 2015. Narratives from Birmingham overall emphasised the ease of starting a business in the UK, but institutional support for integration was not in the focus of their narratives. Only the impressions from the three participants who arrived in the UK through a resettlement scheme derived from the overall narrative in that regard, as they received a wide range of support to start their lives in the UK.

In the next sections I seek to summarise refugee-origin entrepreneurs' experiences of integration in relation to entrepreneurship. As this section has illustrated, all findings have to be seen against the backdrop of the societal and structural contexts in the UK/Birmingham and Germany/Cologne, and the *'host/refugee relationship'* (Phillimore, 2020, p.10) in particular.

6.3 Structural integration

‘Structural integration’ generally refers to the gradual incorporation into core institutions of society (Heckmann, 2005), such as the labour market, the legal system, housing, education and vocational/professional training, social security/health care and language (ibid.; SVR-Forschungsbereich, 2017). From this perspective, participating in formal work, including entrepreneurship, is a form of structural integration in itself (Ager & Strang, 2008; Phillimore & Goodson, 2006).

Using entrepreneurship as a *lens* for refugees’ structural integration, in the following sections I refer to the structural integration-related topics that arose during data collection: socio-economic mobility through entrepreneurship, as well as the integration into formal and informal institutions of the entrepreneurship ecosystem. I ask questions such as How does entrepreneurship impact on refugee-origin entrepreneurs’ socio-economic mobility? How did they gain structural knowledge and to what extent did they make use of the existing entrepreneurship ecosystem? In addition, (non-)adaptation of the host country language through entrepreneurship, which will be considered in Section 6.4 on cultural integration, was a recurring topic related to structural integration.

6.3.1 Socio-economic mobility

In Section 5.2 on entrepreneurial motivations it became clear that many respondents valued the prospect of socio-economic mobility through entrepreneurship. But were these initial aspirations realised? The data collected does not include comparative insights into respondents’ earnings before and after business start-up or allow for a comparison of income levels with other entrepreneurs with similar businesses. However, 24 out of 28 respondents with existing businesses (14 in Cologne and 10 in Birmingham) provided a self-assessment of their current business performance, ranking the performance on a five-point scale from ‘the business makes a very comfortable living possible’ to ‘the business means that it is difficult to make ends meet/pay the bills’¹¹⁰.

¹¹⁰ The remaining four entrepreneurs were still in their start-up phase (<one year) and could not provide information on their business performance yet.

Among these respondents, nine (five in Birmingham and four in Cologne) disclosed their annual turnover.

The vast majority (n=17) allocated their business performance within the three middle sections of the scale (see Table 15), with annual turnover indications ranging from £20,000 in the ‘acceptable living possible’ section to £105,000 in the ‘gives a good return’ section. Five participants stated that it was difficult for them to make ends meet, with one participant making as little as £4,500 per year. Furthermore, two participants in Cologne owned ‘fast growth’ businesses (cf. Edwards et al., 2016), with one participant stating 465,000€ as their annual turnover.

Table 15: Overview of self-assessed business performances (entrepreneurs)

<i>Business performance</i>	<i>Birmingham</i>	<i>Cologne</i>	<i>Total number</i>
The business...			
...makes a very comfortable living possible.	-	2	2
...gives a good return.	2	2	4
...makes an acceptable living possible.	7	3	10
...produces enough to get by.	2	1	3
...means that it is very difficult to make ends meet/pay the bills.	3	2	5
	n=14	n=10	n=24

Given that most respondents started their business either from a low-income job or from a position of unemployment, with only few respondents in higher-income jobs, their self-assessment might overall be seen as a sign of economic upward mobility compared to their previous job position. However, in comparison to respondents’ economic and social standing in their home country, many still experienced a professional downward mobility. This was also observed by business incubator leader Johanna (COLOGNE-KI1) who, referring to their participants, stated:

‘so the question of being over-qualified – yes, maybe not in the narrow sense, with the academic title, but if you also see the previous standing – someone had a huge business, or was the managing director of a company that shipped a thousand containers a day, something all over the world – and now he wants to start with something very small, then yes.’

Another kind of professional downward mobility was experienced among respondents with a high education level (see Section 5.3.1). In fact, not being able to make use of education from the home country was a common structural barrier experienced by entrepreneurs in Birmingham and Cologne alike. The challenge for refugee-origin entrepreneurs to convert their (formalised) human-cultural capital into equivalent work in the host country was also observed by key informants in both locations.

‘So you probably might have engineers that have a money transfer company. You have people that have done... law or teaching sciences in their home countries. But now have to run a mobile shop. You have a person that has never done anything on – has been a clerical officer somewhere in his country. But is now running a chips shop.’ – Jo (BHAM-K13), community worker and researcher

Several key informants in Germany hereby mentioned concrete, structural barriers towards entrepreneurship for migrants, namely lengthy diploma recognition processes, the requirement for a master craftsman’s certificate (‘Meisterpflicht’) in some professions and high-level language requirements. As a consequence, entrepreneurs with informally acquired skills are likely to remain stuck in low-skilled entrepreneurship, whereas highly qualified professionals are pushed to engage in entrepreneurship below their human-cultural capital, as illustrated in the following example from business advisor Joachim (COLOGNE-K13):

‘Let me say now, as a comparison – if you go into a snack bar of, I don't know, Indian, Turkish, Afghani – it doesn't matter how good the language skills of those who are behind the counter are. You somehow manage to get by. But if an engineer or something says ‘okay, I'm an experienced... project engineer, civil engineering’ or something like that... [...] that's already difficult, and it is even more difficult to enter self-employment in this [profession].’

A closer look at the types of businesses reveals that respondents who assessed their performance as low or very low were typically allocated in low-threshold sectors, such as small food or clothes shops with a high competition locally, described by community

worker Salman (BHAM-KI2) as *'really really saturated [sectors]'*. As Somali-born tailor shop owner Hodan (BHAM-ENT8), struggling to live from her monthly income, described the businesses in her business centre: *'They are 28 the same'* – thereby describing a phenomenon of extreme sector saturation that only occurred in Birmingham. The cut-throat competition within their neighbourhood and sector pushed some respondents in Birmingham into a very precarious financial situation. As Hani (BHAM-ENT4), the Somali-born owner of a tailor shop in Small Heath summarised a common challenge among entrepreneurs in their neighbourhood: *'We have to pay the rent, have to pay electricity. That's two things we struggle [with] all these months.'*

Respondents who assessed their performance as high or very high had established businesses and were characterised by a wide customer group and access to mainstream markets, even if the business itself sold ethnic products and services. In that regard, successful Islamic bookshop owner Mousa (BHAM-ENT16) described that his customer base consisted of *'men and women, Muslim- and non-Muslim, from all kinds of different backgrounds'*, such as a (non-Muslim) London-based company purchasing school books from him. Interestingly, and unlike in Birmingham where in general most respondents' businesses were located in (super)diverse neighbourhoods outside the city centre, the well-performing businesses in Cologne were located in cosmopolitan city centre areas. As such, they benefitted from a high footfall of diverse customer groups (see Section 6.5) such as solvent tourists and local business people.

In summary, many refugee-origin entrepreneurs in both locations had experienced economic upward mobility in comparison to their previous jobs. However, these findings should not overshadow the fact that some participants lived on the verge of poverty. Whereas in Birmingham upward mobility and business growth was often curbed by a high density of similar low-growth businesses with low entry thresholds in low-income areas, regulatory barriers towards certain kinds of businesses were more in the focus or narratives in Cologne. In addition, compared to their previous social esteem and education, upward mobility was the exception. The transfer of human-cultural capital (especially informally acquired knowledge and higher education) seemed to pose

insurmountable barriers for some and was emphasised by respondents in Cologne. However, some respondents achieved an overall upward mobility or were even able to regain the socio-economic status they had before migration.

6.3.2 Integration into the entrepreneurship ecosystem

This section addresses to what extent refugee-origin entrepreneurs know about and participate in the entrepreneurship ecosystem¹¹¹, whereby the focus here is on the local support system and the central rules and regulations for formal entrepreneurship. Table 16 includes a summary of all related indicators mentioned by entrepreneurs and key informants in both case sites, separated into ‘awareness’ about and ‘participation’ in elements of the ecosystem.

Table 17: Awareness of and participation in elements of the entrepreneurship ecosystem as mentioned in the interviews (entrepreneurs and key informants)

<i>Awareness</i>	<i>Participation</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Awareness of relevant institutions of the entrepreneurship ecosystem - Awareness of entrepreneurship support <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o ‘Mainstream’ entrepreneurship support o Tailored entrepreneurship support for refugees/migrants o Other support mechanisms to run a formal business - Awareness of entrepreneurship-related rules and regulations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Contact with relevant institutions of the entrepreneurship ecosystem - Active engagement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Membership of (migrant-run) business associations o Membership of business chambers - Connection to/cooperation with universities - Using entrepreneurship support <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o ‘Mainstream’ entrepreneurship support o Tailored entrepreneurship support for refugees/migrants o Use of tax accountants - Adhering to entrepreneurship-related rules and regulations

¹¹¹ The entrepreneurship ecosystem (also: entrepreneurial ecosystem) is understood widely as a ‘set of interdependent actors and factors coordinated in such a way that they enable productive entrepreneurship within a particular territory’ (Stam, 2015, p.5).

Roughly entrepreneurs' experiences took place on a continuum from high knowledge and engagement with the ecosystem to a disconnection from formal actors and limited engagement in institutional rules and regulations. However, considering that both case sites are global cities with high entrepreneurial activity and a high share of refugee-origin population, narratives around institutional integration in Birmingham and Cologne differed remarkably. In the following sections I will explore the 'why' and 'how' of these diverging findings. Before delving into respondents' experiences, I first outline the institutional entrepreneurship ecosystem in each case site according to participants. Here insights from key informants, of whom many were part of the entrepreneurship ecosystem themselves, set the frame.

Mapping the institutional entrepreneurship ecosystem

In Cologne, there was wide agreement among key informants that the business chambers¹¹², the City Council's 'Startercenter', NRW Bank¹¹³, as well as the Jobcenter and its changing cooperation partners formed the core entrepreneurship ecosystem in the city for any entrepreneur, including refugees. Key informants furthermore referred to a refugee-specific ecosystem including the Jobcenter's 'Integration Point' (since 2015), a government-funded business incubator project for migrants and refugees ('ActNow'; since 2016) and different charities that provide mentoring and support, particularly since 2015. Finally, according to key informants the foreigners' registration office played a role for refugees as the authority with decision power over their access to self-employment, if their legal status did not give clear indications on that matter. Some pointed out that the entrepreneurship ecosystem for refugees had improved since 2015 and that institutions such as the foreigners' registration office and the Jobcenter had become more open supporting entrepreneurship as a means of labour market participation since then.

'The business development agency and the Jobcenter, for example, are great. They have a good procedure, good coordination, and you can get

¹¹² The Chamber of Industry and Commerce and the Chamber of Handicraft.

¹¹³ A state-owned, regional bank that gives out microloans.

on well.’ – Johanna (COLOGNE-KI1), leader of a business incubator for refugees

Furthermore, according to key informants the development of formal and volunteer-run initiatives had increased since the ‘migration crisis’, resulting in an unprecedented network of stakeholders and available support for aspiring refugee-origin entrepreneurs.

‘There are very, very many organisations and institutions here that work well together and are also open to new topics and target groups. So I find it very easy to introduce myself somewhere, to build relationships, to set the topic [i.e. entrepreneurship]. I find it all very beneficial ...’ – *ibid.*

Notably, the established migrant-origin trade associations of the urban region were not listed as part of the entrepreneurship ecosystem by key informants, unless I specifically asked about their role. Key informants unanimously confirmed that no networks of recent refugee-/migrant-origin entrepreneurs existed at the time of the interview.

‘— but that there are, for example, ‘the Syrian entrepreneurs meeting for a regular round table’ or something like that — rather not, I cannot say that.’ – Joachim (COLOGNE-KI3), business advisor

Although changes of the ecosystem over time were not addressed in the interviews with key informants, overall their narratives suggest that the support structure for refugee-origin entrepreneurs has changed for the better with local institutions slowly opening up to the idea of entrepreneurship as a pathway to labour market participation.

In Birmingham, key informants’ references to important actors of the entrepreneurship ecosystem at the time of interviewing were less clear-cut, with no agreement emerging on the central actors. However, key informants agreed that *‘there is a lot of help that can be provided by organisations’* to support entrepreneurs¹¹⁴, such as the regional Growth Hub and its activities around founding and funding businesses. Furthermore, two key

¹¹⁴ Jo (BHAM-KI3), community worker and researcher.

informants mentioned the Greater Birmingham Chambers of Commerce with its subdivisions, namely the Asian Business Chamber of Commerce and the Greater Birmingham Commonwealth Chamber of Commerce as important actors of the entrepreneurship ecosystem for (migrant-origin) entrepreneurs. In terms of (indirect) business support for refugees, several charities including the Refugee and Migrant Centre were mentioned in the interviews. Finally, three key informants were each involved in one of two local support projects for ethnic minority business owners, including refugees. At the same time, some key informants recognised that the support system is not widely known among local refugee-/migrant-origin communities.

'And there are people that don't even know this whole idea, this whole ecosystem. They are completely unaware of what supports are available for them. And they just go about, and just start without any plan, whatsoever.' – Asad (BHAM-KI1), social entrepreneur and former refugee

Similar to Cologne, changes of the ecosystem over time were not tracked in the interviews. However, a review by Ram et al. (2012) on *'Ethnic minority business support in the West Midlands'*, including Birmingham, gives insights into the changing support structure over time. The report highlights the fragmentation of the business support infrastructure and a shift away from 'ethnicity'-based business support since the 2000s, which had been widespread before¹¹⁵. In addition, previously targeted 'ethnic minority business support' was not a focus in a time of general funding cuts for business development. Business support was rather mainstreamed to serve *all* entrepreneurs, including those from ethnic minority background, followed by a *'dismantling of the structures, relationships, resources, and expertise accrued over recent years in providing support to EMBs [ethnic minority businesses]'* (p.512). The report also finds that new migrant communities¹¹⁶ (including refugees) were at that time not specifically addressed

¹¹⁵ Also see Ram & Jones (2008) on 'Ethnic-minority businesses in the UK: a review of research and policy developments'.

¹¹⁶ The term 'new migrants' refers to *'migrants from eastern Europe, Africa and the Middle East, in contrast to the 'old' migrations from the Caribbean and the Indian sub-continent'* (Edwards et al., 2016, p.1587). The former have mostly arrived in the UK since the 2000s.

in business support projects, and not represented as intermediaries or as traders associations either.

Awareness of and integration into the entrepreneurship ecosystem

The entrepreneurs' perspective reflected the institutional actors in Cologne according to key informants, as much as it echoed the absence of distinct main actors in Birmingham. Overall, knowledge of and participation in the entrepreneurship ecosystem were clearly more common amongst entrepreneurs in Cologne than amongst their counterparts in Birmingham, where institutional actors were nearly absent from most narratives. These narratives of disconnection within the refugee-origin Birmingham sample stretched from the phase of business formation to later stages of entrepreneurship, and were sometimes accompanied by a limited awareness of existing business support structures, a lack of knowledge about regulations, and in some cases mistrust in formal institutions more widely.

'I: Did you need to go to the, I don't know, Jobcentre, or register it [the business] somewhere?

P: [crosstalk] – no, never, I'm never going to anywhere, I help myself.' – Omer (BHAM-ENT6), owner of a mobile phone shop and barber, from Sudan

'Yeah, bank. They give people all if they have... a house, or something, an own house, or something. If they are migrants, you don't have nothing, you live [in] social house [sic], and then they don't give you nothing.' – Hani (BHAM-ENT4), owner of a tailor shop, from Somalia

Only a few respondents in Birmingham had accessed 'mainstream' entrepreneurship support, such as social entrepreneur Jabir (BHAM-ENT19), himself involved in the city's entrepreneurship ecosystem, and digital entrepreneur Joseph (BHAM-ENT1), who pursued different forms of entrepreneurship training during the 2000s:

'So I'd go in the yellow pages, everything, I never used to miss a workshop. If ever someone's got a workshop, as long as it's free, or as long as I can manage to get in free, I attended. All the networking

events, I used to attend – I used to do a minimum of three or four a week. If it's going to be in Walsall, if it's going to be in Wolverhampton, doesn't matter. I'll be there. [...] Library, Chamber of Commerce, wherever there's something.'

These and the few other entrepreneurs who sought advice in 'mainstream' business support had in common that they had pursued higher education in the UK and were fluent in English. Overall, however, contact between refugee-origin entrepreneurs and actors of the entrepreneurship ecosystem in Birmingham appeared to be limited. This observation was confirmed by several key informants, who described a general lack of substantial contact between the public bodies and local communities, especially in (super)diverse areas. Here lies probably one main reason for the continuous disconnection. Another recurrent theme was the ease of starting a (low-scale, low-threshold) business, resulting in a less urgent demand for support.

'if you are going to a High Street where there is, um, a considerable number of Muslim-owned businesses, um... I'm not sure what it's like being in Cologne, but in Birmingham, um... the local authority has absolutely not done anything significant in building relationships with them.' [...] *People feel mistrust [...] – no one has come to come and talk to these businesses – right? They are not used to it.'* – community worker Salman (BHAM-KI2)

It was in these neighbourhoods where informal business practices such as unpaid work and non-registration of small businesses (also see Lyon et al., 2007) were apparent as I visited entrepreneurs. Reciprocal arrangements, described by community worker and researcher Jo (BHAM-KI3) as '*a very informal kind of trust mechanism*' appeared to be part of a distinct way of 'doing business', which is further explored in Section 6.4. Some respondents pointed to recent efforts of targeted support for minority entrepreneurs in Birmingham. However, according to Ethiopian-born internet café owner Amadi (BHAM-ENT3), business support came 'too late' for many as they were already running established businesses and did not feel the need for support anymore:

'If you ask them to come, for study [i.e. entrepreneurship training], they usually prefer to see money. If they get money, it is in their interest to go. For them, it's time. Most people, when they see this person [i.e. business advisor], they say 'no, it's too late now.'

It appeared that after years of limited contact to institutional actors many entrepreneurs in (super)diverse neighbourhoods were hesitant to investing valuable time into training and advice.

In Cologne, narratives pointed to a strong awareness of rules and regulations among refugee-origin entrepreneurs, as well as a closer interaction with institutional actors, especially during the business foundation phase. For instance, the MAXQDA search strings Handwerkskammer/HWK¹¹⁷ and "Handelskammer/IHK"¹¹⁸ revealed that thirteen out of 22 entrepreneurs had entrepreneurship-related contact to either of these institutions. The same was true for only one participant in Birmingham, who had contact to the Greater Birmingham Chambers of Commerce.

Hence, at first glance refugee-origin entrepreneurs in Cologne appeared largely integrated into elements of entrepreneurship ecosystem, even before the 2015 'migration crisis' and the resulting support structures. But at the same time, entrepreneurs and key informants reflected that institutional engagement was often part of a standardised or imposed process rather than the entrepreneurs' own choice. It became apparent that the dependency on institutional actors to start and run a business could act as a source of frustration, leading some entrepreneurs to limit contact with these actors to the necessary minimum (also see Section 6.4). As business trainer Lina (COLOGNE-K12) recalled the experience of one of their participants:

'It all took too long for him, because there are always these extra loops. He had overcome his inhibitions and went to the bank to collect a paper. And then he goes to the job centre employee, who says 'You need two

¹¹⁷ Chamber of Handicrafts.

¹¹⁸ Chamber of Industry and Commerce.

[papers]'. ... And then the frustration just set in, and he went off to do things on his own.'

Finally, most respondents in both locations did not engage in formal networks with other business owners, but some engaged in informal business networks within their business neighbourhoods. In Birmingham, informal business networks based on '*communal ties*' and '*this common understanding that [...] 'because you need support, we need to help you''*¹¹⁹ seemed to fill the void of a widely known and accepted support structure.

6.4 Cultural integration

Cultural integration seeks to capture the process of '*changing values, attitudes, behaviour and lifestyle*' (Spencer & Charsley, 2016, p.5). Cultural integration is thus closely linked to the concept of acculturation (Berry, 1997), which describes the balance between adaptation and retention of home and host country cultural elements such as language, traditions, views of family and gender roles and ethnic identifications (Algan et al., 2012; Fokkema & De Haas, 2015). Within the various domains of integration, cultural integration is the most difficult to grasp, being a concept that has different meanings in different countries (Münch, 2018) and that can carry normative connotations and stigma (Charsley et al., 2017)¹²⁰. As pointed out by the latter authors, '*culture, [...] is a complex concept which does not lend itself easily to measurement*' (p.481).

In the context of entrepreneurship and focusing on the entrepreneurial actors, cultural integration further refers to the individual, culture-related changes linked to entrepreneurship. It includes questions such as: Against the backdrop of the integration

¹¹⁹ Jo (BHAM-KI3), community worker and researcher.

¹²⁰ For example, cultural integration is often (unintentionally) described as a unidirectional adaptation process of migrants into an existing culture, rather than a multidirectional process of interaction between different actors (cf. Spencer & Charsley, 2021). Thereby the responsibility of 'integrating' is shifted onto the migrant rather than on other actors (ibid.). To a certain extent, this perspective is also present in the first part of the following analysis on 'cultural integration'. Specifically, a normative and rather unidirectional understanding of integration into existing culture-related aspects of the host society – e.g. written and unwritten rules around 'doing business', speaking the official language – is taken as the point of departure in the presentation of findings. The perspective then moves on to a non-normative and multidirectional understanding of cultural integration by introducing 'intercultural integration' as an additional sub-domain of integration processes.

opportunity structure (see Section 6.2), to what extent does entrepreneurship bring refugees closer to cultural elements linked to the host country, for example by speaking the local language (and using it in the business context)? Do refugee-origin entrepreneurs adjust to the prevailing cultures of ‘doing business’, or rather retain ways of doing business linked to their experiences from other countries? Table 17 summarises the aspects around cultural integration that appeared during data collection. They are illuminated in the following sections. It will, however, become clear that the concept of cultural integration into an existing (‘mainstream’) society is insufficient to describe cultural integration in the global and (super)diverse contexts of this study.

Table 17: Aspects of cultural integration mentioned in the interviews (entrepreneurs and key informants)

Elements of cultural integration

Adaptation:

- Language: Speaking more English/German through entrepreneurship
- Striving to learn more about the receiving society’s culture
- Knowledge of and adaptation to the culture of doing business
- Identifying as “British/German” or as “Brummie”/“Kölner” respectively (also see Section 6.6)

Retention:

- Speaking less English/German through entrepreneurship
- Reduced interest in receiving society’s culture
- Maintaining the way of doing business from home
- Backtracking into the family and/or (faith) community

Barriers to cultural integration:

- Adjusting to a different business culture
 - Not being able to participate in cultural business practices for faith-related reasons
-

Entrepreneurship and cultural integration: different paces and directions

Narratives around cultural integration ranged from a stronger understanding of and identification with the host country culture (and other cultures) through entrepreneurship to a reduced exposure and/or interest in the host country culture. An extreme example for the former is Amin (COLOGNE-ENT3), the Iranian-born owner of a kiosk and bakery in central Cologne who meticulously learned the German language and cultural standards for doing business (*‘time management is very, very important’*), and expected others to adhere to these standards (*‘I cut off contact with a few compatriots because they weren’t correct in time management’*) and perceived cultural values:

'And we have neighbours who are gay. [...] They come in – they now know that I have no problem at all. And if someone has a problem with them, they can go out immediately. [...] I also learned that here in Cologne to be tolerant, to respect people ... yes.'

One extreme example for the latter is Syrian restaurant owner Amir (BHAM-ENT9), the university-educated entrepreneur who had started his business in Birmingham despite his very limited English skills in order to escape underemployment. Whilst appreciating the cultural familiarity in the neighbourhood (*'[...] here, it's... so similar to our country. It's so similar... You can go to [the] mosque. You can see so many women wearing hijab, yeah, and... and I think it's easy here.'*), Amir's feelings towards 'English people' were sceptic and mostly based on unpleasant experiences with authorities (see Section 6.2) and his own observations of 'English' cultural characteristics (*'Everyone... get [a] dog with them.;* *'the children here, like boy or girl, they leave them [their families].'*).

With both his business and house being located in a (super)diverse ward of Birmingham and spending most of his time in his business in order to make ends meet, contact with people other than his multi-ethnic customers and family was scarce. Rather, Amir's business and private contacts were largely focused on his neighbourhood, where he was a well-embedded community member.

'But here I find so many people, they give me help, they teach me, yeah. [...] – for business, it's very good. Because here, you have too many communities, like Arab, Pakistani – if you are anywhere, you came from anywhere, you open [an] Arabic restaurant – easy. Because so many are Arabic.'

At the time of the interview, Amir's interest in engaging with people outside his neighbourhood seemed to have diminished. He expressed the wish to leave the UK and let his children grow up in a cultural environment that he felt more comfortable with. (*'For the future, I am – I think I am not gonna stay here, forever. [...] I think to talk my children, to leave.'*)

Besides these two extreme cases of cultural adaptation and retention from the host country in the context of entrepreneurship, respondents' narratives reflected a large diversity. In some cases the mere combination of long working hours and the business location in a (super)diverse neighbourhood led respondents to focus on co-ethnic contacts and hold on to home country cultural habits. For example, Somali-born business owner Hani (BHAM-ENT4) had moved from the Netherlands to the UK to join her sister who had moved to Birmingham before her, and initially worked as a college teacher. After having lost the job, she opened a tailor shop in a (super)diverse neighbourhood, leading her to spend most of her time with the local Somali community.

P: '— I see the other people, when they come here, when they walk in, they need something in my business — only when I used to go to college, yes. But now, I don't see them. When I'm going to bath, to a wedding... I only see Somali people. Yeah. They are coming here, only Somali people. We cry with them, and then we laugh with them, [...].'

However, the new everyday normality did not mean that her interest in the host country culture or contacts to former colleagues had vanished.

P: '— I follow most of them, the news, BBC, Sky, and — my sister, and also my friend, they come to me: 'You always look the news [sic]. What do they say?... Tell us about Brexit!' [laughing] [...] I be [sic] part of British society, only for the media. ... Yeah. And then, sometimes, they [her former colleagues from college] come here.'

Overall, personal experiences with the integration opportunity structure, the business location and the kind of business were reflected in the form and pace of respondents' cultural connection with the receiving society.

Entrepreneurship and language integration

Narratives on entrepreneurship and language integration differed between the two case sites, but also depending on the business, the entrepreneurship phase, customer groups and business location. In Cologne, respondents and key informants widely agreed that a good command of (business) German is central to entrepreneurship.

'Well, B-level [of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages] isn't enough, even with C1 it is still... difficult.' – Silke (COLOGNE-KI5), business advisor at the Chamber of Industry and Commerce

I: [...] Did it help that you spoke German so well?

P: That is... the key in this matter, to become self-employed.

I: (crosstalk) – really, is it? –

P: – I do have friends who speak very poor German, they got through anyway, but... there is a certain limit. You can't get beyond that.' – Amin (COLOGNE-ENT3), owner of a kiosk and bakery, from Iran

In order to navigate the bureaucratic jungle many respondents seemed to have boosted their language skills prior to starting a business. However, German language skills did not always develop in the same way during the course of entrepreneurship. In some cases, entrepreneurship even led to a perceived reduction in German language skills, especially when both business and private contacts consisted mainly of co-nationals.

'[...] unfortunately my German language is unlearned [sic], because I have almost 90% to do with Persians. Before, my German was much, much better.' – Shadi (COLOGNE-ENT8), co-owner of a Persian pastry shop, from Iran

In Birmingham, participants overall rated English proficiency as less important for starting a business. Several respondents in (super)diverse neighbourhoods described that running their locally focused business was possible even without knowing English at all.

'– the people here can open... a business without English. You can bring someone and he can sit with you, at times. It's – it's very easy to open the business without the language, here. In UK especially. You know why. Because the customer – they are not even gonna ask you. The customer come and taking the place and they just come for him and they ask him for the price, aren't they?' – Omer (BHAM-ENT6), owner of a mobile and barber shop, from Sudan

This observation was also reflected during my data collection, as I could not interview several potential respondents because of language barriers.

Sometimes, adjusting to customers replaced the need to work on English or German language skills. This finding was particularly true for businesses in (super)diverse neighbourhoods in Birmingham.

P: '– still, I'm not [chuckles] native speaker. Because you know, the community, I'm working here, is not English, they don't speak English. They speak Arabic, Somali and – our language, they speak, [in] this area here. Most of them, in this area. They don't know other language [sic]. 'cause the people buying, you see [referring to his customers], most of them they speak their own language. [chuckles] – that's why I'm not making improvement of my English. [chuckles]' – Abdirahim (BHAM-ENT17), owner of a small supermarket, from Somalia

At the same time, entrepreneurs with mixed or English-speaking customer bases highlighted the importance of knowing the host country language. One example is Egyptian-born Islamic book store owner Mousa (BHAM-ENT16) who emphasised how crucial speaking English is to deal with his non-Arabic clients in the UK and transnationally.

Barriers to cultural integration in the context of entrepreneurship

Adjusting to the culture of doing business posed a challenge to entrepreneurs in both locations. Thereby they referred to changes towards a culture of planning ahead (*'[...] where I come from, there are no fixed meetings and such things'¹²¹; 'Sudan is... – the people they do the business, but they [are] not doing a plan like here [...] – They just start.'*¹²²), the importance of written communication and a greater separation between work and private life (*'[...] in my home country, people often use their own contacts or private life, their private time too. But in Germany I have never seen this.'*¹²³).

¹²¹ Rima (COLOGNE-ENT21), aspiring owner of a Syrian café, from Syria.

¹²² Omer (BHAM-ENT6), owner of a mobile shop and barber, from Sudan.

¹²³ Stepan (COLOGNE-ENT19), aspiring owner of an online retail shop, from Armenia.

Another element of cultural integration raised by respondents were the limitations towards participation in culture-related business practices for faith reasons.

'The good thing is, we help each other, we greet each other, we buy – for example, I buy, I sell... – this one is our normal nature. My neighbour, my suppliers, my customers... we are [in a] good relationship. [chuckles] Other thing is, [what] they call 'English relation' – we can't. For example, I am Muslim. I can't go to the discotheque, I can't go to the pub, for the drinking – I can't go to it. For the religion purpose, and culture. 'cause – I can't drink alcohol, and also we can't go to the discotheque or something like that. We can't do that one.' – Abdirahman (BHAM-ENT17, owner of a minimarket, from Somalia

Relatedly, community worker Brian (BHAM-KI4) described the role of local pubs for business transactions and social networking¹²⁴, and their excluding role for some ethnic minorities, leading some minority businesses to *'just selling to themselves'*.

'With faith... – ethnic minority groupings with a faith background, going into pubs isn't something they are able to do. So, they are actually disenfranchised from a lot of the business transactions that happen.'

Beyond the normative: intercultural integration through entrepreneurship

So far, the normative perspective on entrepreneurship and integration has revealed different paces and directions of cultural integration in relation to an established host country culture. However, during my data analysis I found that I had made observations that cannot be captured with the normative view on integration, but that nevertheless seemed relevant for refugee-origin entrepreneurs' integration processes. Based on insights that the concept of 'one majority culture' does not hold true in (super)diverse global cities such as Birmingham and Cologne (cf. Grzymala-Kazłowska & Phillimore, 2017), I decided to add *'intercultural integration'* as a second facet of this integration domain, thereby referring to the cultural adaptation processes between local residents from different ethnic backgrounds (see Table 18).

¹²⁴ Also see Cabras & Reggiani (2010) on 'Village pubs as a social propellant in rural areas'.

Table 18: Aspects of intercultural integration mentioned in the interviews (entrepreneurs and key informants)

Elements of intercultural integration

- Learning or improving other languages through entrepreneurship
 - Shaping the local culture through entrepreneurship
 - o Introducing new food and products to the area
 - o Bringing different cultures together, e.g. by organising events or as a part of everyday business practices
 - Using entrepreneurship as a chance to overcome prejudices towards co-ethnics
 - Not tolerating behaviour that does not comply with the receiving society's core norms and values
-

When walking through the (super)diverse neighbourhoods of Birmingham during my data collection, the stark contrast with the modern and franchised city centre economy was evident (see Figure 18). The side-by-side shops prominent in these areas are far from uniform and many are marked by creative makeshift solutions in terms of frontage, signage and multiple usage of the same space. In these neighbourhoods, the refugee-origin entrepreneurs I met stood out as active co-creators of urban space and a subculture within their neighbourhoods, a finding strongly resonating with the *'participatory practices of reconfiguration'* and *'making of urban space'* addressed in Hall's (2015a, p.853) exploration of migrant urbanisms in the UK. From up close, I felt a sense of liveliness and vibrant community atmosphere hardly comparable to establishments in the city centre.

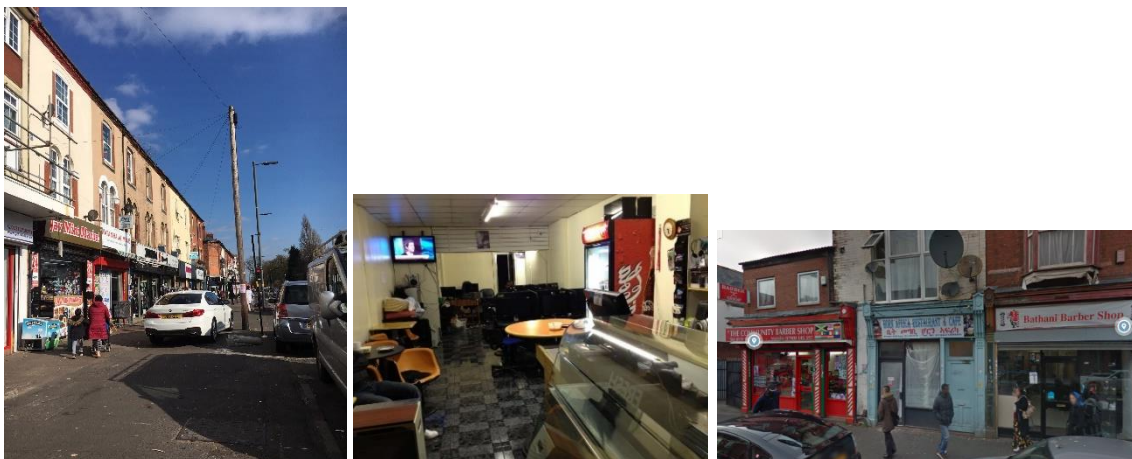


Figure 18: Street and interior views from Small Heath and Lozells, Birmingham¹²⁵

¹²⁵ Sources: own photo (l.), Google Maps (m. and r.).

The following complementing quotes by a refugee-origin entrepreneur and a key informant underline how refugee-origin entrepreneurs shape the local cultures in (super)diverse neighbourhoods of Birmingham, equally based on their customers' preferences and financial means, as well as their own financial resources and agency. At the same time, the quotes underline how these practices of co-creating go hand-in-hand with a retention from standardised business practices.

'Sometimes even – you know, there was one guy, one of my customers. These days he's like a friend. He say – when he see [sic] people: "Go there, don't look at the house. Just focus on the coffee", he's saying. If you see the house, the chairs... it's not as... tidy as it should be. This is, of course... my laziness.

I laughing.

P: Honestly, my laziness. That is why it is kept like this – and again, if you see the area. There are some things where you can say "no no no, let me make this standard." You can manage it in a way where a company can be run. But this gives some... – for some of the people, or the customers, to remember. The way they used to live. I you see sometimes, if you come here in the morning – there are too many people, talking and at the same time shouting here and there. That has got its own... its own – how can I describe it for you. Its own way of how it takes you back. Where you can't see this in other places.' – internet café owner Amadi (BHAM-ENT3), from Ethiopia

'Now, if you look at it, the kind of services that they provide... the products that they sell, right? – and the people that they engage with as their customers... – it's quite different if you take a walk along the High Street, in the city. [...] Now, in that sense it's providing an economically sustainable model, of making communities... roll. Day by day. They can buy food that they normally eat in their own countries. Very cheap. They can buy clothing that they are familiar with from their own culture. Cheaply. They can communicate in their own way. This is where the social aspect comes in. You know? There's a kind of environment where they are at home, transacting in their own way. Speaking in their own way. Expressing themselves in their own way. They are free to do it – so in that way, they are providing quite an

economic support system, he? The social aspect of it is that the... – they are providing an environment of comfortable, safe engagement.' – community worker Jo (BHAM-KI3)

In comparison, respondents with businesses in the cosmopolitan city centres or in mixed, urban neighbourhoods were more visibly adapting to established business standards and cultures. These examples were more often represented in Cologne, where the adaptation to prevalent standards became visible even in the business layouts where individual, cultural touches are noticeably merged into elements of standardisation (see Figure 19).



Figure 19: Street and interior views from refugee-run businesses in Cologne¹²⁶

But also in more regulated surroundings and sectors respondents described ways to contribute to the local culture. Their intentions could be as subtle as introducing a new food culture and products to the local population, while others aimed to change the public perception of their ethnic community by setting a positive example.

'We also need to give Germans... our things. Like [Syrian] cheese and things like that.' – Jamal (COLOGNE-ENT13), aspiring cheese factory owner, from Syria

'When I say 'I am Arab', they think of protection money. Or problems. Or doing something [bad]. That's why almost [all] Arabs here work with

¹²⁶ Sources: own photo (l.), Google Maps (r.).

the Arabs. ... That's it. Or with the Turks. That's it. ... I am now trying to get a chance to connect with the Germans.

I: Okay.

P: Yes. It's in my hands.' – Farid (COLOGNE-ENT20), aspiring owner of a spices wholesale, from Syria

It should also be mentioned that shared religion between business owners and customers could also open business opportunities and build bridges between people from different countries and cultures. This advantage was described by several respondents in Cologne who had joined Christian churches and met relevant business contacts via that pathway, but also by Muslim entrepreneurs in Birmingham for whom the local mosque served as an important source of customers, employees and business partners.

The final element of intercultural integration addressed in this section is the use of language. Confirming previous finding on migrant-origin entrepreneurs in diverse, urban settings (Hall, 2015a; Tagg, 2015), in both case site respondents used languages at the workplace in flexible and creative ways. In many cases, this flexibility helped to find a common ground with customers from different language backgrounds. Thereby, the variety of spoken languages by respondents across the sample was remarkable.

'I: [...] when do you speak which language? For example with the family?

P: At home, Turkmen. That is like Turkish, almost like Turkish. Turkmen is [my] mother tongue. And... yes. I can also speak Arabic, as I said. And there is Kurdish, in Iraq. I also learned that now, at work. [laughing] I can speak that too. And German. Yes.

I: Hmm. And you always change, depending on which customer is there.

P: Yes, exactly.' – Zamir (COLOGNE-ENT17), barber shop owner, from Iraq

'In this area — so most of the people speak different languages. And — so. I'm Arab, so the people speak — most of the people speak Arabic. Also Somalian, Pakistani, and English. So I'm — so — there are people

that doesn't [sic] know how to speak English. Somalian people and Arab people. So we are speaking there in the — in Arab, only. Arab or English.'
– Ali (BHAM-ENT5), owner of a Syrian restaurant, from Syria

But not only did respondents use the languages they already knew. For example, kiosk and bakery owner Amin (COLOGNE-ENT3) from Iran described how he learned Turkish in order to communicate with his Turkish customers:

'I have learned Turkish here, in Germany. [...] – I borrowed a book from the public library at the time, there wasn't that much [on the] internet. Started to teach [Turkish to] myself. And then I started talking to Turks in the shop – that is, [doing] business in Turkish — and they like that, and they keep talking to someone who is interested'.

These examples of intercultural integration represent modes of creative adaptation to customers' needs and shows how refugee-origin entrepreneurs contribute to a multicultural sub-culture on the neighbourhood level.

6.5 Social integration

In Section 5.3.2 I illuminated the importance of social contacts for starting a business, namely as sources of knowledge and information, to financial resources, to a wider network and to non-financial support and resources. It became clear that respondents drew on a mix of social contacts that are characterised by different levels of formality. The question is if and how this diversity translates into respondents' social relations as entrepreneurs and, in turn, to their social integration processes.

In this section I take a look at the forms and roles of social capital around entrepreneurship. Thereby I refer to social *bonds* with people who share your norms (Putnam, 1993, 2002), social *bridges* to people with different backgrounds (e.g. language, ethnicity, religion and sexuality; *ibid.*) and social *links*, which describe '*respectful and trusting ties to representatives of formal institutions*' (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004, p.655). It will become clear that social integration is deeply intertwined with the other integration domains and different aspects of refugee-origin entrepreneur respondents' lives.

Mixed social contacts in relation to entrepreneurship

This section looks at the four main social groups addressed in the interviews: customers, colleagues, external business contacts (suppliers, distributors, networks) and supporters. In that regard, refugee-origin entrepreneurs in Birmingham emphasised close social bonds to co-ethnics and social bridges to other ethnic minority groups as central to their businesses. Many relied on multi-ethnic customers in their neighbourhood (but not British-born customers).

'Our customers is all women. But is every — we are international in here, yeah: English people, Pakistani, Arab, Yemen, Asian, Africa, Jamaica, [...]' – Hani (BHAM-ENT4), owner of a tailor shop, from Somalia

Contacts from the multi-ethnic neighbourhood also formed an important network based on mutual support between entrepreneurs and the community, as described elsewhere in this chapter (see Section 6.4).

'I have a good relationship with all my neighbour. [sic] So... I give them... — even this, the new one, who take it from the previous one, he always take some advice from us, I take advice from him — so we don't have a problem. So, he has his own customers, I have my own customers.' – Ali (BHAM-ENT5), owner of a restaurant, from Syria

At the same time, social links to formal institutions in relation to their business were nearly absent in their stories. The few entrepreneurs in Birmingham who were active in the post-industrial, high-skilled sector and the three entrepreneurs who had arrived via a resettlement scheme formed the exception here. It should also be mentioned that, whilst most entrepreneurs' customers came primarily from their direct neighbourhood or their wider co-ethnic or faith community, many respondents still maintained business contacts with people outside the direct neighbourhood and from different (ethnic) backgrounds. In other words, social bridging contacts played a role for their businesses.

In Cologne, social bridges to German-born people and institutional social links stood out as important factors for entrepreneurship. Unlike in Birmingham, respondents' business

locations exposed their service to a wide customer range from local university students to passing tourists who all formed a part of their clientele (also see Section 6.3.1). Accessing a broader clientele or ‘mainstream markets’ was thus a by-product of being located in the cosmopolitan city centre. Confirming findings from Berwing (2019) on migrant-run businesses in Cologne, only the minority relied on business models targeted at a co-ethnic clientele.

‘So we have many different [customers]. Well, [most] of them — we are in Germany, so most of them are Germans... and, uh... we have professionals in the morning, for example, and we here — we are here in, well, university vicinity, so we have many students —

I: — many students, okay.

P: — Yes. Some of them [i.e. the customers] come from Lebanon, some from Arabic countries, Persians we have in this area, they also come there.’ — Aman (COLOGNE-ENT6), restaurant owner, from Iraq

Yet, according to Jobcenter consultant Esra (COLOGNE-KI6), who advised migrant-origin entrepreneurs, some of her clients ‘*build their own island, with entrepreneurship*’. These ‘*ghettos*’ (ibid.) are defined by customers rather than location and are less visible in the cityscape than in Birmingham.

In stark contrast to their counterparts in Birmingham, entrepreneurs in Cologne were more likely to draw on a German-born network for support and advice, and mentioned co-ethnics and other non-German born business contacts less regularly. This was equally true for entrepreneurs who had arrived recently and those who had lived in Cologne for a longer period of time.

‘P: — but, in Germany there are also many problems, because there are many unknown laws here.

I: And many — many laws.

P: Yes. And many... now I have many problems with that.

I: Okay. And who helps you with that, or where do you get the information from?

P: [crosstalk] — for example, I try my neighbour, he is German — sometimes I ask from my neighbours “what should I do”.’ – Mehrdad (COLOGNE-ENT4), owner of a snack bar, from Iran

In addition to such ‘everyday support’ from local acquaintances, all practising entrepreneurs in Cologne reported having contact to institutions of power and influence (i.e. social linking contacts; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004), for example with the Jobcenter and the Chambers of Commerce/Handicrafts. In fact, bridging capital contacts such as neighbours and volunteers regularly facilitated an understanding of and contact to institutions. On a critical note, not always did respondents refer to these social links to formal institutions as the ‘*respectful and trusting ties*’ envisioned by Szreter & Woolcock (2004, p.655). Indeed, as already touched upon in Section 6.3.2, some entrepreneurs expressed their frustration about the dependencies related to cooperation with authorities.

‘What can I say, yes. ... It's just hard. ... What did I do, for almost a year. The authorities, well, they say “it's not that easy”. Because of one [official] letter you have to wait for two, three months. They don't say ‘I need this’ [from you], you know? You give it [a letter] to them and then they look at it two months later. “Ah well, we also need something else, sorry”. What do you mean, you are sorry – why didn't you [i.e. they] say that in the first place?’ – Tariq (COLOGNE-ENT12), owner of a shisha bar, from Afghanistan

Finally, in both locations family members were an important part of the entrepreneurs’ support networks. Their children, in many cases more fluent in English/German and socialised within the respective school system, thereby commonly took over the role of language mediators and information providers. In that regard, burger restaurant co-owner Neda (COLONE-ENT7) from Iran referred to their children as the ‘go to’ persons for any upcoming questions around their business.

‘we ask my daughter, or the son of [name of co-owner]. We ask them — “we have these problems”, or a question. And they help us. Or [if] they don't know [it], they call and tell us.’

Support also came from spouses, as in the case of Iranian-born imbiss owner Mehrdad (COLOGNE-ENT4).

P: And my wife also helps me.

I: Oh, she also helps in the shop.

P: Yes, of course. ... But in the past my wife also drove [the deliveries] — I had no drivers. My wife did everything.'

Besides being active helpers in the business, family members – mostly the wives – provided support in an indirect way, either as moral supporters or by focusing on the household and children. However, support from spouses and families appeared in the stories less regularly than previous findings on refugee-origin entrepreneurs' social networks suggest (Bizri, 2017; Halilovich & Efendić, 2019).

Entrepreneurship and social embeddedness

In both case sites, most businesses were active in sectors that are very customer-intense and depending on personal interaction, such as the hospitality and service sectors. Respondents therefore had regular, but casual interaction with people in their mixed neighbourhoods. In that way, for many entrepreneurs their businesses served as door openers to the community and beyond: In their neighbourhoods, most respondents were socially well-embedded, and narratives suggested that entrepreneurship had increased respondents' social standing (also see Carlson & Galvao Andersson, 2019).

'Everyone knows us. When I walk on the street, everyone says hi.' – Nadheer (BHAM-ENT18), from Yemen, co-owner of a family-run minimarket

I: [...] — so you notice the difference directly, so as an entrepreneur you have a better social standing —

P: [crosstalk] — of course. Doors open automatically. You are perceived differently, viewed differently.

I: Okay. And in the neighbourhood you are probably also quite well known by now, and people know you and so on —

P: — everybody knows me, everybody greets me, ... this is not my work cap [points to his peaked cap], my work cap is a [different] cap. When I wear my work cap, my wife laughs her head off. Every five meters, someone greets me. But when I wear this cap, they don't recognise me.'
– Amin (COLOGNE-ENT3), owner of a kiosk and bakery, from Iran

How location and the kind of business determine social contacts and thus different social integration processes through entrepreneurship, was also observed by business advisor Joachim (COLOGNE-K13):

'I personally believe that self-employment in the sector we have been talking about — i.e. gastronomy, grocery, hairdressing and so on — is very helpful for integration into society, because these people have contact with their customer group. With the neighbourhood. And if they are not located in completely enclosed immigrant neighbourhoods, [...] self-employment contributes a lot to that. Because logically, that's where you come in touch — Cologne is a city of communication and absorption anyway, and, well, and if that's the case — let me put it in Kölsch [local dialect] "if this is Ming Büdschen [=my kiosk], then this is Ming Büdschen", whether Ali is in there or Jupp, right? And then Ali is integrated, whether he wants it or not. [laughing quietly]'

But not only did respondents' visibility and social embeddedness increase through entrepreneurship. Being in public spaces, refugee-origin businesses in Birmingham and Cologne also bring together people from different backgrounds and thus contribute to the urban 'commonplace diversity' described by Wessendorf (2013), whereby diversity is 'experienced as a normal part of social life by local residents' (p.1). This commonplace diversity was also reflected during my data collection. At times it was difficult to find a quiet corner as the businesses were buzzing with visitors from various backgrounds coming by to say hi, playing cards, drinking tea, chatting or watching TV. One example is the tailor business of Somali-born entrepreneur Hani (BHAM-ENT4), whose business attracts women from the whole neighbourhood as customers and as a social meeting point:

‘— we have that sort of business, it kind of introduces you to the community. And being around this location, as well, you do kind of get to know a lot of people. ... So, yeah, I'd say we are pretty embedded in the community, um, compared to, I suppose, if we didn't have the business here.’ – Yasmiin (BHAM-KI4), Hani's daughter

6.6 Identity integration

Identity is related *‘to the ways in which we describe who we are and the ways others describe us: the groups to which we belong and feel part of and the categories used to make sense of ourselves and others’* (Gidley, 2016, p.3). Identity *integration* thus refers to the process of growing to be a part of a neighbourhood, city or country in the destination country of migration regardless different (cultural) backgrounds, with the feeling of ‘belonging’ being the ultimate goal of identity integration (Ager & Strang, 2008; Spencer, 2011). In relation to entrepreneurship among refugees, identity integration refers to the role of entrepreneurship for the feeling of belonging to the place where the business is located, from the level of the direct neighbourhood to the societal level.

Unlike in the other domains of integration, only the entrepreneurs' own perceptions of the process described above give cues about their identity integration. Furthermore, ‘identity integration’ is a highly individual feeling and therefore hard to capture. Having this constraint in mind, this section looks at the personal changes through entrepreneurship described by respondents.

Feeling of belonging and new purpose through entrepreneurship

For many respondents, business ownership seemed to be a strong identity-shaping factor. For example Shadi (COLOGNE-ENT8) described how starting a business had increased her overall feeling of belonging (*‘I feel more like a part than before’*). Similarly, Imaan (BHAM-ENT7) from Somalia, the event venue owner who struggled to gain a foothold whilst waiting for his refugee status for several years, described how his business had not only positively impacted his well-being (*‘I have... the happiest life and the happiest days’*), but also made him feel like a part of the local multi-ethnic neighbourhood and the UK more widely (*‘I feel like my home is here.’*).

Furthermore, many narratives suggested that entrepreneurship had given respondents a new purpose in life, often after a long time of insecurity and reorientation and perhaps a sense of being lost, again illustrated by entrepreneur limaam (BHAM-ENT7) who described how his business gave a structure and a target to his daily life:

'At that time [i.e. when you have a business], you are busy. You know your target. But if you don't have [a] business, you don't know nothing, you don't know where you are going. I know what I am doing now. I wake up every morning, I have to go to laundry and wash this one [sic]. I go shopping, I have to clean, I have to do something. I am busy, I am busy.'

However, not all participants experienced stronger feelings of belonging and purpose through entrepreneurship. This was particularly true for respondents whose business meant a significant downgrade in comparison to their original profession, such as Yasin (COLOGNE-ENT5), a physics teacher from Iraq and now the owner of a small car service station.

'I: And has anything changed in your sense of belonging or being part since you started your own business?'

P: Nah, not actually.'

Fulfilled hopes of future self

The theme of 'identity integration' furthermore (re)appeared in some respondents' narratives as an assessment of their initial hopes and entrepreneurial motivations (see Section 5.2). Having their initial hopes fulfilled can carefully be considered a positive contribution to respondents' identity integration processes.

For some, entrepreneurship meant they worked according to their personality and work preferences. Aman (COLOGNE-ENT6), a mathematics teacher from Iraq and now the owner of a Middle Eastern restaurant had previously worked in part-time jobs for several restaurants in Cologne and as a mathematics substitute teacher in a primary school. He described his feelings about being an entrepreneur as follows:

'– from my feeling, I have always been ... uh ... responsible. And I always took responsibility first. But even more responsible after becoming self-employed.'

Although he described being self-employed as more challenging than being employed (*'at the moment it feels like I work more or [it] is more strenuous, for example.'*), he concluded *'but... it is better, in my opinion.'* In other words, Aman's wish for control and personal freedom was fulfilled through entrepreneurship, when his previous part-time jobs in several restaurants could not provide him with the same flexibility.

For others, entrepreneurship had helped to reach the 'better future' they had envisioned, closely linked to the socio-economic mobility addressed in Section 6.3.1. Omer (BHAM-ENT6) had been working *'in too many places'* before he started his mobile phone shop, initially as a part-time project. He had to work hard for it (*'at this time I was sleeping only three hours'*), but eventually the shop quickly grew bigger and he became a full-time entrepreneur. By the time of the interview, he had a solid customer base, was able to support his family in Sudan from his income and seemed contented with the way both his business and his life were going. The business helped him to reach the socio-economic upward mobility he had worked towards, whilst being able to contribute to the local neighbourhood.

P: – I'm feeling very well about my doing business, and I'm feeling I'm going [to] grow bigger than I was. And... – it's really, I am helping other people. That's important for me. And I enjoy doing my own business, and I still – I'm working... very good.'

Similarly, some described that their businesses improved not only their own lives, but had a wider impact on others.

'I: And has the feeling of belonging here changed, because of self-employment?'

P: ... [breathes in] – I would say that, yes. Because ... – because that – the environment that you [referring to himself and his colleagues] have created is non-discriminatory. And that just makes it better to live. For

us [migrants], overall. ' – Ephrem (COLOGNE-ENT2), co-owner of a social enterprise, from Ethiopia

Having experienced discrimination himself, Ephrem's social enterprise was a way to create the discrimination-free work environment he had envisioned. At the same time, it now contributed to improving the situation for other migrants and refugees, thereby realising his initial hopes to 'contribute to society'. Other respondents stated that entrepreneurship had indeed given them the aspired flexibility and independence, but also more control over their lives.

'If you start – you have to start at 10 o'clock, 8 o'clock, and you don't have – ... we are like, what do you call – you don't have [sic] [a] free person. But this one – for example, if I close today, – though I know there's a lot of rent, the utility bills... but, if I wanted today go to holiday [chuckles]... I can go! Or I say 'today I'm not working' – I can!' – Abdirahim (BHAM-ENT17), owner of a minimarket, from Somalia

Finally, a perceived positive change in status appeared in some narratives. Iranian-born owner of a hairdresser's Banu (COLOGNE-ENT1) described that starting a business, especially as a woman and at a relatively young age (*'I was 28, 29 when I became self-employed – very young'*) made people in her community and beyond look differently at her: *'I enjoyed a different kind of recognition and prestige for the courage I mustered to set up my own business.'*

'Deserving' to be a part of society

Perhaps the biggest noticeable difference between entrepreneurs' identity-related narratives in Cologne and Birmingham was respondents' attitude when speaking about their 'being an entrepreneur' in relation to the place where they exercised entrepreneurship. In Cologne, entrepreneurship was regularly described by respondents as something to do against all odds (*'We fought for it, we opened a shop'*)¹²⁷, as a 'chance' for newcomers (*'I get a chance, I believe that is good.'*)¹²⁸, or as something that

¹²⁷ Ray (COLOGNE-ENT18) from Guinea, owner of an 'Afro Shop'.

¹²⁸ Neda (COLOGNE-ENT7), from Iran, burger restaurant owner.

newcomers had to earn over time by learning about and sticking to the rules. Some respondents expressed how being successful and law-abiding entrepreneurs had entitled them the right to consider themselves a part of German society.

'I ... abide by all the rules, I respect everything, I also taught my customers to ... respect everything. At the beginning I considered myself a guest here. I'm local now, I'm paying taxes now, much more than [other] people earn altogether. Therefore, I have the right to consider myself a Kölner or a German. My home is here.' – Amin (COLOGNE-ENT3), kiosk/bakery owner, from Iran

No such narratives were present in Birmingham, where the self-reflections around 'being entrepreneurs' pointed to the role of the entrepreneur for succeeding (for example expressed by restaurant owner Ali (BHAM-ENT5) from Syria: *'If you work hard, you'll get what you want.'*), rather than the role of the context. Their narratives were overall accompanied by a sense of naturalness and obviousness about being an entrepreneur, which was underlined, for example, by the fact that none of the entrepreneurs made remarks about 'deserving' or 'fighting' to be an entrepreneur as prevalent in Cologne.

In summary, findings on identity integration show that for most respondents entrepreneurship increased the sense of belonging to the neighbourhood, city and country. Some motivational factors about the 'future self' indeed materialised in entrepreneurship, leading to a higher general life satisfaction despite compromises on work-life balance and, in some cases, income (see Section 6.3.1).

6.7 Civic/political integration

Civic/political integration – here summarised as 'civic integration' – refers to *'active engagement in organisations and formal engagement in the democratic process'* (Spencer & Charsley, 2016, p.13).¹²⁹ For the purpose of this data analysis, I use a broader definition that also includes *informal* forms of social and political engagement (cf.

¹²⁹ Civic integration, as it is understood here, does *not* refer to *'state-led integration'* (Joppke, 2017, p.1153), i.e. integration policies to integrate migrants into 'mainstream' institutions.

Putnam, 2000). Formalised ways of civic engagement can include active membership of a religious community, a political party or a charity organisation, while informal civic engagement might be as modest as helping a neighbour (ibid.). Similarly, scholars have argued that civic engagement can be realised as a *collective* action in the public sphere, or as an *individual* action in the private sphere (Adler & Goggin, 2005; Ekman & Amnå, 2012). Regardless their degree of formalisation and spatial focus, civic engagement activities have in common that they ‘*improve conditions for others or to help shape the community’s future*’ (Adler & Goggin, 2005, p.236). Looking at respondents’ civic engagement thus gives a sense of their civic integration trajectories.

Throughout the interviews, a strong willingness among respondents to be active and engaged in civic activities both in formal and informal ways emerged, although not every respondent reported to be involved in such an activity. Engagement took different forms, which are summarised in Table 19.

Table 19: Forms of civic engagement mentioned in the interviews (entrepreneurs and key informants)¹³⁰

<i>Formalised/public sphere:</i>	<i>Informal/private sphere:</i>
- Active engagement in religious community (local mosque or church)	- Helping other migrants/refugees with translations
- Active engagement in charity organisations (sports, language tandems, interest groups)	- Helping other migrants/refugees with bureaucratic questions
- Teaching English to newcomers	- Engaging in the local community <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Providing (financial) support for people in the community o Working with young people
- Being a community representative (*) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o through business interest groups* o through cooperation with charities (*) 	- Providing a (safe) space for people to meet*
- Running projects to help other migrants/refugees (locally/nationally/transnationally)*	- Mentoring/sharing knowledge on starting a business with other (aspiring) entrepreneurs*
- Cooperating with formal institutions to support migrant/refugee integration*	- Giving left-over food to homeless people*
- Being member of a (business) interest group*	
- Running a business with a social mission*	

¹³⁰ *=related to entrepreneurship

In their free time, many respondents were active members of local religious communities, especially in Birmingham where several businesses were located in close proximity to local mosques. Common informal activities included accompanying newcomers to public authorities and/or helping out as translators. In Cologne, several respondents who had arrived in Germany since 2015 mentioned being involved in (non-‘ethnic’) charities. For example, aspiring business owner Sheri (COLOGNE-ENT22) reported that she was volunteering for a local LGBTI rights group, whereas aspiring cheese factory co-owner Jamal (COLOGNE-ENT13) volunteered as a translator and football trainer for the local youth. Some entrepreneurs in both cities were particularly active in contributing to the local community, such as aspiring restaurant owner Felipe (BHAM-ENT20), who is not only a leading figure in the local church community, but also organises language classes for newcomers. These activities also helped respondents to create social networks based on informal reciprocity and exchange of resources (cf. Phillimore et al., 2018), especially those who had arrived recently and were still adjusting to the new context.

For some respondents engaging in the local community was an important part of their self-concept as entrepreneurs, as expressed by Somali-born social entrepreneur Suleymaan (BHAM-ENT2):

‘[as an entrepreneur] you have to also contribute something back to the community. [...] So whenever you have the chance to go to a local mosque meeting, or events, whatever, you should contribute. You should not wait for people to — for everything to come from the community.’

Civic engagement in relation to entrepreneurship took two forms: either the business facilitated civic engagement as a by-product (i.e. civic engagement through entrepreneurship) or the business stood for a form of civic or social engagement (i.e. entrepreneurship as civic engagement).

Civic engagement through entrepreneurship

In many cases, respondents' civic engagement through entrepreneurship took place in a very casual manner and directly at their work place, reflecting Welter et al.s' (2016) notion of 'everyday entrepreneurs' who contribute socially as much as they do economically, if not more. Particularly businesses with accessible spaces for customers such as cafés, restaurants, hairdressers and tailor shops, regularly served as an informal meeting hub, and a (safe) space to meet for locals (see Section 6.5), often men and women from low-income backgrounds. Relatedly, some entrepreneurs' businesses operated as havens for locals who were facing financial hardship and were looking for help. One of these places was the tailor shop run by Somalian entrepreneur Hani (BHAM-ENT4):

'I know a lot of people, they change from the work — from the Child Tax credit to Universal credit. And then [i.e. in the transition phase], they don't have nothing. Absolutely nothing. Some people, when they come, they say 'I don't have electric today' [sic]. ... And then, sometimes also — because, they come here, always, and we drink coffee, tea. And then, they say "yeah, we have a bit [of a] problem", they cannot pay the rent, they don't have enough money, even, yeah... [...] To cope with. And then... yeah... and then — sometimes, our community, sometimes, we collect, we help, we collect.'

Other entrepreneurs tackled communal engagement in a structured way, such as digital entrepreneur Joseph (BHAM-ENT1) from Rwanda, who turned civic engagement into a permanent feature of his working week:

'Normally, Mondays to Thursdays I do work with my company. So that's digital marketing. Monday to Thursday. Friday is open for [the] community. So that's when I do to work with young people, or if there's another thing that I can help with.'

In line with previous findings on the role of migrant-run businesses (e.g. Lyon et al., 2007; Ram et al., 2008) and key informants' perspective, the interviews and my own observations during data collection suggested that Hani's, Joseph's and some other

respondents' businesses played a central role within their (super)diverse neighbourhood. As business incubator trainer Mary (BHAM-KI6) explained in this regard:

'— you know, lots of these people who've been on the [business incubator] programme will be — you know, they're going to be leaders in their — they're going to be champions in their community.'

Relatedly, several entrepreneurs in Birmingham stood out as community representatives who formed social links between local residents (including other entrepreneurs) in their neighbourhood and 'mainstream' organisations or authorities. This was less often the case in Cologne, where entrepreneurs typically had direct social links to authorities and/or social bridging contacts to authorities, and were therefore less in need of co-migrant intermediaries (see Sections 6.3.2 and 6.5).

Finally, entrepreneurs who were civically engaged through entrepreneurship sometimes did so by providing small-scale neighbourly help, such as pizzeria owner Ammar (COLOGNE-ENT16) from Iraq who regularly gave left-over food to homeless people in his street.

Entrepreneurship as civic engagement

In a few cases, the business itself represented a form of civic engagement. This was true for social enterprises, such as the training and consulting social enterprise run by Ethiopian-born entrepreneur Ephrem (COLOGNE-ENT3; see Box 8). As opposed to many businesses in the hospitality and low-skilled service sector, businesses with a form of civic engagement at their core were cooperating with a wider range of stakeholders, also beyond their own (multi)ethnic communities, and thus had a wider local outreach. These wide networks were partly linked to the nature of the businesses, as they relied on external funding and support, but also to the entrepreneurs' desire to making an impact, and to making visible what they are doing.

'I feel that I'm making an impact [since I started my business]. Or that we are making an impact, me and the people I am working with. I am happy that I am, like, more involved.' – Jabir (BHAM-ENT19), co-founder of a business support company, from Syria

In addition to his desire to making an impact to the local entrepreneurship ecosystem for migrant-origin entrepreneurs, Jabir joined a North-American non-profit organisation that aims *'to help Syrians all over the world'* as the UK representative, thereby making use of his public visibility in the UK.

Box 8: Entrepreneurship as civic engagement. Ephrem's story.

Ephrem (COLOGNE-ENT2) had been a teenager when he arrived in Germany in the 1990s, during the Eritrean-Ethiopian War. Having himself waited for his refugee status for over 15 years, whereby he was repeatedly granted 'suspension of deportation status', he knew about the hardships of being a newcomer in Germany and especially being in the asylum system. Hence, he made it his mission to support other refugees and migrants.

While Ephrem had started his social enterprise as a volunteering project with some friends, by the time of the interview they had become a flagship organisation on support for newcomers, cooperating with other local projects and the City of Cologne. Besides their activities on the local level – such as providing cost-free legal support to asylum seekers –, the social enterprise is active on a national level (*'The outreach is really enormous – because many [of our clients] come from all over Germany.'*), and cooperates with migrant-run organisations across Europe and Africa to *'strengthen a sort of European-African relationship'*.

Besides the core mission of his social enterprise, which is to deliver training and legal support to newcomers, he is actively engaged in making migrant organisations like his own more visible in the public debate and increase their access to funding: *'– not only make them more visible – that they are strengthened, that they change from volunteering to main office.'* Ephrem's plan for the future was to extend their concept to locations across Germany: *'That would indeed be... a dream.'*

The most important insight of this section is that there was a high level of civic engagement – a feature of civic integration – among the entrepreneurial respondents in both cities. As described by Phillimore et al. (2018), reciprocal exchange among migrants, can be an expression of retained agency even during experiences of resource scarcity. Indeed, although not expressed by any of the interviewees, it is reasonable to assume that for some, civic engagement happened in a void of an active integration support structure. Perhaps relatedly, most of the interviewees in Birmingham were civically active in multi-ethnic and low-income urban areas. Their civic engagement was mostly focused on the direct neighbourhood or even street level, and on local community problem

solving – similar to the *‘positive multiplier effect from refugee businesses within the deprived areas’* described by Lyon et al. (2007, p.368) for the case of London. In that regard, civic engagement was closely related to the notion of intercultural integration introduced in Section 6.4, whereby refugee-origin entrepreneurs contribute to a multicultural sub-culture on the neighbourhood level. In Cologne, civic engagement was less confined to particular neighbourhoods and, especially among recently arrived respondents (i.e. since 2015), often took place in cooperation with non-migrant partners (e.g. ‘non-ethnic’ charities).

Taken together, civic engagement among respondents mostly happened locally and in the form of informal help. However, some respondents were also active in more formalised ways, with a few contributing to national or even transnational voluntary activities and projects. Most civic engagement was directed towards other migrants, rather than towards long-term residents or native-born people. Thereby, respondents contributed not only to their own (local) integration, but also supported the integration processes of other newcomers by improving the conditions for others (cf. Adler & Goggin, 2005). Furthermore, many respondents across the sample were already civically engaging before starting a business. In these cases, their pre-business civic engagement often continued to materialise either *through* or *as* entrepreneurship.

Again drawing on findings from Phillimore et al. (2018), just like the causes for reciprocal actions, different forms of civic engagement can be influenced by factors such as *‘time, culture, gender and migration route’* (p.227). Disentangling respondents’ rationale for civic engagement and reciprocity goes beyond the scope of this research. However, it seemed clear that many actions were in parts a reaction to lacking access to resources provided by the (policy) context, and a means to compensate a dearth of institutional support.

6.8 Conclusion: individual integration trajectories, omnipresence of context

This chapter was dedicated to the question *How does entrepreneurship among refugees impact on their integration processes?* Thereby I looked at integration trajectories alongside five interconnected domains of integration: structural, cultural, social, identity

and civic/political integration. The findings showed that entrepreneurship and integration trajectories are individual, manifold and non-linear, and deeply intertwined with the integration opportunity structure. In fact, national integration policies and the presence (or absence) of a local integration support structure are omnipresent in the narratives and trajectories of refugee-origin entrepreneurs.

A direct comparison of the experiences made by refugee-origin entrepreneurs in Birmingham and Cologne put the role of the context into sharp relief. For instance, findings from Birmingham reflect lower thresholds towards entrepreneurship (in some sectors) and a fragmented integration/entrepreneurship support structure, whereas findings from Cologne reflect a higher prevalence of red tape around entrepreneurship, coupled with a wider integration support structure especially since 2015. In comparison, structural integration through entrepreneurship was more prevalent in findings from Cologne than in Birmingham, but a certain degree of structural, social and cultural integration was also a critical requirement to engage in formal entrepreneurship. While these and other results across domains contain a strong contextualised aspect, in both locations entrepreneurship stood out as an identity-shaping factor and a source of self-esteem, often after long periods of instability. Relatedly, the findings show that in both locations entrepreneurship overall led to a stronger social embeddedness, albeit at different spatial levels and in relation to different groups of people.

It became clear that not all processes of becoming part of the host society fit in a normative integration concept, which looks at the integration of a minority into an established majority society. A deeper look at 'cultural integration' showed how refugee-origin entrepreneurs shape processes of adaptation and co-living in (super)diverse, urban contexts. Rather than cultural integration of a minority into an established or majority culture, refugee-origin entrepreneurs contribute to an *intercultural* integration between people from different backgrounds.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

7.1 Introduction

The discussion is structured around the three research questions and reads as follows. In Section 7.2, different pathways of refugee-origin entrepreneurship are illuminated. I reflect on entrepreneurial motivation factors for refugee-origin entrepreneurship (research question 1) and refugees' pathways of 'becoming an entrepreneur' (research question 2). In Section 7.3, I present insights on entrepreneurship and integration based on this study. As a part of this, I introduce a conceptual framework of entrepreneurship and integration, and suggest 'intercultural integration' as a new subdomain of integration to reflect the new (super)diverse reality in urban contexts.¹³¹ Section 7.4 summarises the main insights of the discussion chapter. The aim of the discussion chapter is to embed the findings in the existing literature and highlight deviant factors.

7.2 Different pathways into entrepreneurship

Which individual and contextual factors motivate refugee-origin entrepreneurs to engage in entrepreneurship?

How do refugees access and use different kinds of resources to become entrepreneurs in their host country?

7.2.1 The motivations of refugee-origin entrepreneurs

Motivations to engage in entrepreneurship are widely explored in the mainstream literature and in the literature on migrant-origin entrepreneurship, but less so in refugee-origin entrepreneurship. How do the findings fit into what is known about entrepreneurial motivations? Are there motivational factors which are specific to refugee-origin entrepreneurship?

¹³¹ It should be mentioned that the discussion section does not differentiate between male and female refugee-origin entrepreneurs, but – unless explicitly highlighted – refers to both genders. The literature shows that refugee-origin women are less likely to engage in entrepreneurship than men (Alrawadieh et al., 2018; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2006), and that the motivations, experiences and challenges of female refugee-origin entrepreneurs can be very different from their male counterparts (Adeeko & Treanor, 2021; Huq & Venugopal, 2021). Such differences were also represented in the data of this study. However, analysing and discussing the gender perspective in detail falls outside the scope of this thesis.

First of all, having the literature in mind, it does not come as a surprise that *the* overarching motivational factor for refugees to engage in entrepreneurship did not emerge. Rather, it has become clear in this study that refugees' entrepreneurial motivation results from a complex and multifaceted interplay between individual and contextual motivational factors related to the host society. Entrepreneurial motivations were shown to be inherently individual and deeply embedded in individuals' personal history, the self-concept as an entrepreneur and ideas about the (positive) future self as an entrepreneur. A common goal across individuals and locations emerged, namely the wish to improve the current life and work condition. In line with the mixed embeddedness logic I have argued that refugees' entrepreneurial motivations are negotiated against the backdrop of the opportunities available for refugee-origin entrepreneurs on the (local) market.

Many aspects discussed in the literature reappeared in this study. On the individual side, these included an entrepreneurial self-image, flexibility/independence, entrepreneurship experience from the home country and a 'culture of entrepreneurship' in the host country, as well as the wish to contribute something to society (Altinay et al., 2014; Mitchell & Shepherd, 2010; Rauch & Frese, 2000). Having entrepreneurship experience from abroad or a family history of entrepreneurship was one of the most frequent motivational factors expressed among respondents in this study. As expected based on what is known about migrant-origin entrepreneurship, contextual factors included the experiences of blocked mobility on the labour market as an overarching push factor for refugee-origin entrepreneurship, together with a perceived lack of alternatives (Barrett & Vershinina, 2017; Waldinger, 1989; Zimmermann, 2016). In fact, an element of necessity entrepreneurship arose in most narratives of this research, indicating that the feeling of being 'stuck' on the labour market (or a perceived lack of alternatives on the labour market among individuals who have arrived recently) is a common experience among refugee-origin entrepreneurs and an important push factor for refugee-origin entrepreneurship.

Three aspects deepening the existing motivational literature can be highlighted. The first one is related to entrepreneurial motivational factors specific to refugees, the second one is related to time as a mediating factor, and the third one to the role of context.

First, in this study a strong orientation towards an anticipated 'positive future' through entrepreneurship became evident as a motivational factor for entrepreneurship. Similar future-oriented motivational factors do also appear in the wider entrepreneurship literature (Baker & Welter, 2017; Else et al., 2003; Shane et al., 2003). But the orientation towards the future appears amplified in the refugee context and contains some specific aspects of what a positive future through entrepreneurship entails. More precisely, in this study the entrepreneurial motivations linked to an anticipated better future appeared as six different categories: hope, expected socio-economic mobility, independence, flexibility, contribution to society, and control. These future motivations can be said to stand in stark contrast to the refugee experience. If the refugee experience is one of losing control and perhaps hope, dependency on life-decisions by external bodies throughout, during and after the refugee journey, legal and personal constraints during the time as an asylum seeker, an externally imposed loss of agency and self-sufficiency, and limited opportunities on the host country labour market (Betts et al., 2017; Gold, 1992; Kira et al., 2014; Shneikat & Ryan, 2017), the idea of entrepreneurship appeared in many ways as the *antidote* to the refugee experience.

Some motivational factors for entrepreneurship might even be *triggered* by the refugee experience. One notable motivational factor in that regard is 'entrepreneurship as a safe space' (mentioned as a form of 'flexibility') as a factor that can be seen in direct relation to refugee-related experiences which are traumatic for some, and a factor that deviates from the existing literature on motivational factors. Entrepreneurship as a means to create a safe space appeared in two contexts: a physical 'safe space' (i.e. having a self-chosen, physical workspace) and a mental 'safe space' (i.e. immersing oneself in a self-chosen task). Arguably, working for someone else does not allow for the same degree of personal space. Here the personal, almost therapeutic value of entrepreneurship as a means for refugee-origin individuals wishing to enter the labour market but still need

time to adjust becomes evident as a motivational factor that goes beyond the logic of necessity or opportunity entrepreneurship.

Second, *time* is an important factor for entrepreneurial motivations: some motivational factors – including the hope for a better future and entrepreneurship as a safe space – appeared to be stronger among recently arrived refugees or those who had spent a long time waiting in the asylum system. These individuals often expressed through their narratives that they were still under the strong impression of refuge-related experiences, and this was sometimes reflected in their motivations to engage in entrepreneurship. As the imprint of the acute refugee experience dwindles over time, time serves as a mediating factor for a shift towards other motivational factors including the experience of blocked mobility on the labour market. This finding indicates that the motivations of refugee-origin entrepreneurs are time-specific and fluid.¹³²

Third, the study has also found some contextualised aspects of entrepreneurial motivations among refugee-origin entrepreneurs. In other words, motivations are influenced by the possibilities and barriers the context provides to refugee-origin individuals. The factors highlighted in that regard were the ease of starting a business (in general versus in comparison to other pathways) and the availability of a support system (either formal such as business incubators or informal such as support from friends and family) as motivational pull factors. Confirming existing findings (Carlson & Galvao Andersson, 2019; Ram et al., 2008), the UK's liberal business environment even served as a migratory pull factor for some secondary migrants in the sample, who had arrived as refugees on mainland Europe and moved to the UK to start a business (also see Section 7.3.2).

7.2.2 Modes of flexible adaptation to the context

Refugees and other migrants typically arrive in their host country with a '*different set of resources*' (Kloosterman, 2010, p.26) than the native-origin population. Transferring these resources to a new context is often far from straightforward and takes time. The experiences made by aspiring refugee-origin entrepreneurs in Birmingham and Cologne

¹³² Also see Williams and Williams (2012) on temporally fluid entrepreneurial motivations.

showed many similarities, and they widely echo the literature. Looking at processes of becoming an entrepreneur through the lens of mixed embeddedness and a forms-of-capital approach underlined that becoming an entrepreneur does not follow a linear pathway, but results from a complex interplay between the individual and their resources, the opportunity structure of the (local) market, and the societal environment (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008) including the composition of neighbourhoods and the wider entrepreneurship culture. As suggested by Nee and Sanders (2001), the *mix* of three forms-of-capital – social, human-cultural and financial capital – shaped the trajectories of refugee-origin individuals *into* entrepreneurship in the host society (as opposed to other forms of labour market incorporation), but also *how* they realised entrepreneurship. In other words, different forms-of-capital constellations were related to different types of entrepreneurship trajectories.

More concretely, three overarching strategies of ‘becoming an entrepreneur’ were identified¹³³, each of them related to a different capital-mix, and different modes of adaptation to the context: spontaneous entrepreneurship, focused entrepreneurship and assimilated entrepreneurship.

Based on this study, a common strategy of refugee-origin entrepreneurship is to venture into entrepreneurship rather spontaneously, thereby flexibly building on selected aspects of human-cultural capital from both the host country and abroad. ‘*Spontaneous entrepreneurs*’ might have been exposed to entrepreneurship in their past, for example through family business, but typically do not build on experience as an entrepreneur in the home country. This strategy can be linked back to motivational push factors such as refugees’ blocked mobility on the labour market and a lack of alternatives, but can equally be caused by pull factors such as a business opportunity ‘presenting itself’. Spontaneous entrepreneurship is also linked to refugees’ growing social embeddedness over time in the host country, whereby they have accumulated sufficient amounts of financial capital

¹³³ Although in reality these strategies are not quite as distinct as shown in the following typology.

through wage employment. Both host country-specific human and financial capital in turn facilitate movements into entrepreneurship (cf. Nee & Sanders, 2001).

'Focused entrepreneurs' venture into entrepreneurship soon after arrival, build on their existing entrepreneurship and/or managerial experiences from abroad and accept drawbacks in terms of business size and sector (i.e. professional downward mobility compared to their home-country status). They access different types of social capital – by joining business incubators, seeking for advice from other (migrant-origin) entrepreneurs etc. – in a targeted manner, essentially as an accelerator to venture into business as soon as reasonably possible. Where possible, focused entrepreneurs also draw on existing transnational social and financial capital. However, financial bootstrapping is a common mode of funding for them as they often lack access to most of their financial resources abroad and have not accumulated sufficient financial resources in the host country. At the same their short-term legal status hampers access to some formal financial capital such as bank loans (also see Leicht et al., 2021a). Focused entrepreneurs usually aim to accumulate more relevant resources – human, financial, social – *during* the initial process of entrepreneurship. Often, the intention of focused entrepreneurs is to use their initial entrepreneurship endeavour as a stepping stone *'to other kinds of enterprise'* (Edwards et al., 2016, p.1605), typically something bigger and better.

'Assimilated entrepreneurs' accumulate host country human-cultural capital prior to entrepreneurship, either by working towards fulfilling institutional requirements to start a business (as prevalent in Cologne) or by gaining sectoral experiences as employees in their envisioned entrepreneurship field, just like the *'apprentice entrepreneurs'* described by Ram et al. (2001). Similar to focused entrepreneurs, they accumulate different relevant forms of capital – mostly human and social capital and, those who work rather than fulfilling institutional training requirements, also financial capital – along the way. Equally, assimilated entrepreneurs treat their initial experiences on the labour market as stepping stones, in this case *towards* entrepreneurship which is envisioned more satisfying than wage employment, instead of stepping stones *within* entrepreneurship as practised by focused entrepreneurs.

Within the mix of capitals, and underlining the broader literature on migrant-/refugee-origin entrepreneurship (Bizri, 2017; Light, 2004; Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993), this study has shown that social capital serves as a key resource to engage in entrepreneurship where individuals' human and/or social capital is not geared to starting an envisioned business. In line with the idea of social embeddedness as a catalyst for entrepreneurship (cf. Kloosterman, 2010; Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993), social capital can then help refugee-origin entrepreneurs to overcome barriers of sectoral (for example by providing the skills needed to run a particular business), regulatory (for example by providing information on rules and regulations) and cultural nature (for example language).

In Birmingham's (super)diverse neighbourhoods specifically, '*learning as a social practice*' (Creese et al., 2016, p.3) appeared as another prevalent mode of using social capital, whereby refugee-origin entrepreneurs consult other migrant-origin entrepreneurs with similar businesses about the practicalities of becoming an entrepreneur in the new context, or about where to obtain products and equipment.¹³⁴

Generally, social capital resources of refugee-origin entrepreneurs in Birmingham were more often based on co-ethnics and other migrant-origin entrepreneurs, and on informal networks in the neighbourhood (Edwards et al., 2016). In Cologne however, a mix of co-ethnic social capital resources, local acquaintances including neighbours and (especially since 2015) local volunteers was widespread. The social capital constellations in Cologne thus contradict the 'traditional' view on migrant- and refugee-origin entrepreneurship whereby family and co-ethnic networks are the main resources (e.g. Nee & Sanders, 2001), but are in line with previous findings on the (overall) mixed social networks of migrant-origin entrepreneurs in Germany (Berwing, 2019; Leicht & Langhauser, 2014). Refugees' different initial social capital constellations when entering entrepreneurship (here illustrated as the cases Birmingham versus Cologne) in combination with the opportunities and constraints on the structural side of the equation lead to different kinds

¹³⁴ The aspect of social learning in refugee-origin entrepreneurship is further discussed in Section 7.3.2.

of businesses in terms of customers, location and level of competition on the neighbourhood level (which is higher in Birmingham than in Cologne).

Deepening the literature on transnational social networks within migrant- and refugee-origin entrepreneurship (e.g. Drori et al., 2009; Nazareno et al., 2019; Sandberg et al., 2019), access to cross-border social networks was a uniting factor across the sample. Thereby, transnational social capital resources appeared in different forms, either directly related to the entrepreneurship activity (e.g. as business links to suppliers abroad) or indirectly through family and wider diaspora ties (e.g. as mentors and moral supporters). As such, transnational social capital resources played a crucial role for business formation in both locations, even when the business itself was not transnational.

The issue of accessing and using financial capital came up as an expected challenge for refugee-origin entrepreneurs in this study, regardless the location. As highlighted elsewhere (Alvarez & Busenitz, 2001; Baycan-Levent & Kundak, 2009; Bizri, 2017), financial bootstrapping strategies proved to be a common mode among resource-poor aspiring entrepreneurs to combine financial capital from different informal funding sources. Somewhat overlooked in the literature on refugee-origin entrepreneurship, informal funding sources were regularly complemented with formal subsidies from the local employment services and sometimes other small investment grants. Thus, the formal support available in European welfare states can ease refugees' transition into entrepreneurship, but support takes places only on a very small scale.

Taken together, in line with Nee and Sander's (2001) forms-of-capital perspective (and with mixed embeddedness) the mix of social, human-cultural and financial capital are crucial elements for refugee-origin entrepreneurs not only to start a business, but also to define the kind and scope of their business endeavour. However these three predefined forms of capital proved insufficient to explain all actions of aspiring refugee-origin entrepreneurs in interaction with the context (cf. Kloosterman, 2010; Kloosterman & Rath, 2001).

A fourth configuration of capital¹³⁵ was added to depict the process of becoming an entrepreneur in refugee-origin entrepreneurship: entrepreneurs' *personal attributes*, namely *proactivity/perseverance, versatility and trust in oneself*.

Having the 'mainstream' entrepreneurship literature in mind, which traditionally focused on personality traits as resources to engage in entrepreneurship (see Section 2.1.5), the role of these personal attributes is not specific to refugee-origin entrepreneurs. But arguably, as refugees overall experience the highest barriers towards entrepreneurship, these personal attributes weigh heavier in the refugee context. They can be considered important mediating factors to exercise agency. More specifically, I suggest that proactivity/perseverance, versatility and trust in oneself serve as crucial compensation factors for refugees to overcome barriers and exercise agency even in a constraining entrepreneurship opportunity structure. Moreover, these personal attributes can each facilitate access to and usage of other forms of capital (see Figure 20).

For example, proactivity/perseverance and trust in oneself among refugee-origin entrepreneurs can boost relevant social capital, which can in turn facilitate access to both financial capital required for business start-up and human-cultural capital (e.g. relevant training or practical knowledge on the business start-up process). Versatility is linked to bricolage strategies, whereby refugee-origin entrepreneurs explore and creatively pull together the available financial, human and/or social capital resources at hand to enter entrepreneurship (Heilbrunn, 2019; Kwong et al., 2018). Personal attributes are also relevant in combination with other resources. For instance, a high host country human-cultural capital, particularly language skills, in combination with a proactive approach and

¹³⁵ Some scholars have suggested to expand the traditional forms of capital ("What I know", "Who I know" and "What I have") by including psychological attributes ("Who I am"; Luthans et al., 2004) to explain individual and organisational performance (ibid.; Luthans et al., 2007), as well as entrepreneurial processes (Baluku et al., 2020; Envick, 2005; Welter & Scrimshire, 2021). In line with this proposition, and building on the results of this study, I suggest to consider an individual's personal attributes as a standalone *form of capital* to explain refugee- (and migrant-)origin entrepreneurship, rather than a mere resource or important variable for the entrepreneurial process. Considering personal attributes equal-ranking with social, financial and human-cultural capital also resonates with the longstanding tradition within 'mainstream' entrepreneurship literature, whereby the relation between individual personality traits and entrepreneurial behaviour is highlighted (Rauch & Frese, 2000, 2007).

trust in oneself, can facilitate refugees' access to formal funding sources. The same is true for the combination of relevant social capital and proactivity/trust in oneself.

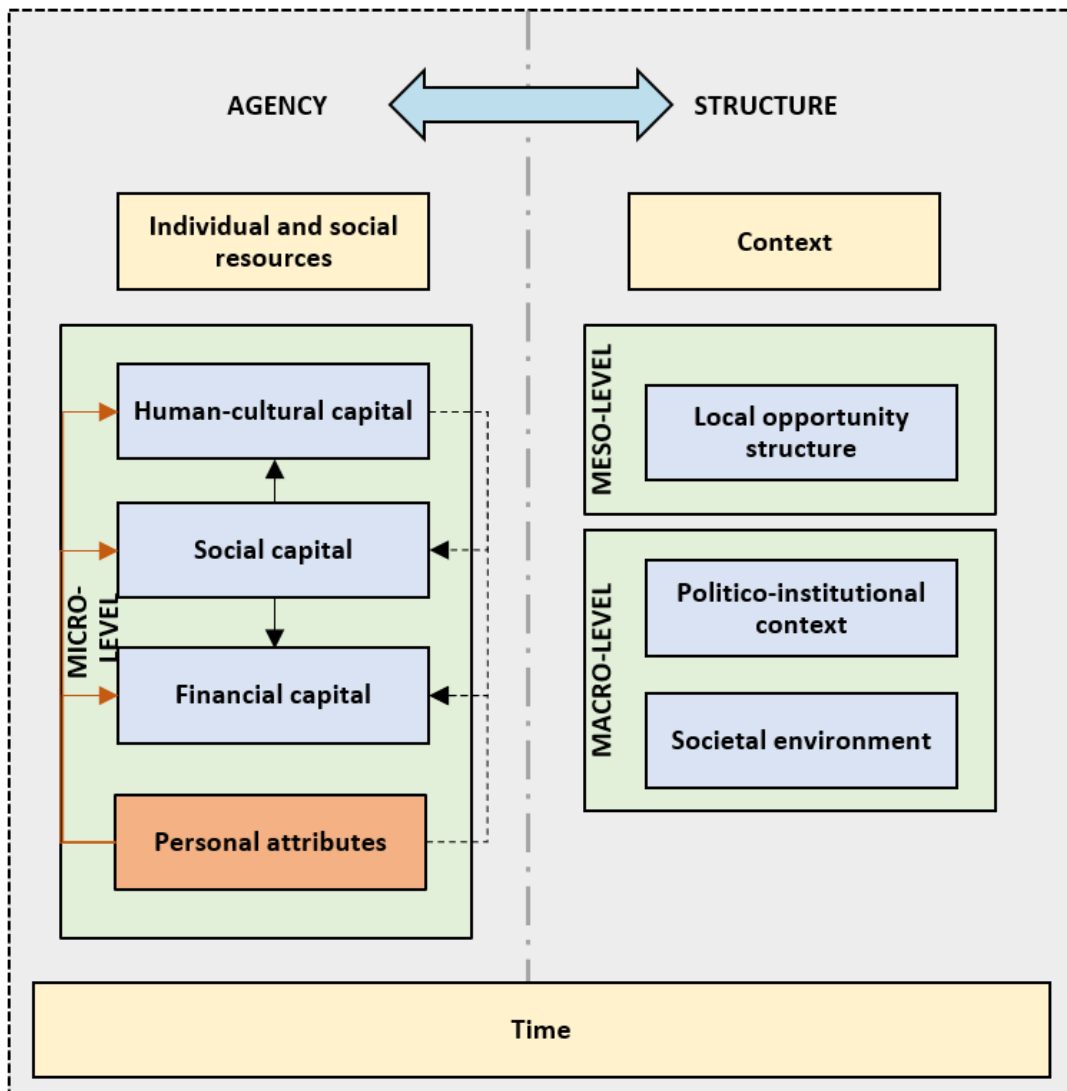


Figure 20: Elements of business formation and links between different individual and social resources

In a nutshell, refugee-origin entrepreneurs flexibly adapt to the context by exercising agency and pulling together existing mix-of-capital resources. Beyond the forms-of-capital mix suggested by Nee and Sanders (2001), this study has highlighted the role of certain personal attributes in exercising agency.

The next discussion section moves the spotlight from 'becoming an entrepreneur' to the stage of 'being an entrepreneur'. The focus is on the processes taking place in refugees' lives through entrepreneurship, and how these processes relate to integration.

7.3 Refugee-origin entrepreneurship and integration

How does entrepreneurship among refugees impact on their integration processes?

Little is known about entrepreneurship and integration that goes beyond a general observation of a positive relation between the two (Alrawadieh et al., 2018; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008) or that considers isolated domains of integration (e.g. Mago, 2020, on entrepreneurship and social integration). In this study I have looked at entrepreneurship and integration processes through a more fine-grained lens than previous research has done. More concretely, I have considered the impacts of entrepreneurship on integration processes in five interconnected domains of life (structural, cultural, social, identity and civic/political integration) and in relation to different spatial levels (neighbourhood/community, regional/urban, national, and to a lesser degree the transnational level). Thereby I have taken into consideration that these processes take place within a context- and time-bound refugee-integration-opportunity structure (Phillimore, 2020).

The findings have, most importantly, shown that entrepreneurship is linked to integration processes in all domains of individuals' lives. The study has also underlined that entrepreneurship and integration trajectories are individual, manifold and non-linear, and deeply intertwined with the refugee-integration-opportunity structure.

7.3.1 The bigger picture

To address the overarching research question, I return to the 'integration' definition introduced in Chapter 2.

Definition of integration: *Integration is an enduring multidirectional, multidimensional and multilevel process, which is marked by a shared engagement of all involved actors and dependent on the individual, the context and time. Integration processes take place in relation to social, structural, cultural and civic/political domains of life, as well as identity. From the individual's point of view, 'integration' is mostly expressed as a sense of belonging to the receiving society. From a systemic point of view, successful integration means that migrant-origin individuals have the same chances and opportunities as the long-established groups in the population.*

Starting from the individuals' point of view, there was one common thread leading through the entrepreneurship experience among refugees regardless the location: with few exceptions, the 'feeling of belonging' increased through entrepreneurship. Many respondents described a higher degree of satisfaction as opposed to the time before entrepreneurship. In many cases, entrepreneurship went hand in hand with processes of 'growing into' and 'becoming a part of' places in the host society: the local neighbourhood, the city, different communities and groups, the local economy, society as a whole.

These findings (here subsumed under 'identity integration') deepen the literature on entrepreneurship and social recognition which highlights that entrepreneurship is a pathway to higher social legitimisation within the (co-ethnic) community (Ndofor & Priem, 2011; Ram & Smallbone, 2003) and the wider host society (Kontos, 2003). They also emphasise the role of entrepreneurship as a stable factor in refugees' *'identity construction and re-construction'* (Glinka & Brzozowska, 2015, p.72) in a situation when other aspects of identity (legal status, civic self-identification, a feeling of belonging to the host society) are fluid and unstable. Against this backdrop, entrepreneurship can be considered an active approach to reshaping one's identity, and at the same time a statement of claiming a space in the host society by contributing socially and economically.

Having said all the above, if integration is understood as a process of arriving at and becoming part of a new place, based on this study it can be said that entrepreneurship does indeed support integration processes.

However, this rather positive conclusion needs to be assessed against the bigger picture of refugee-origin entrepreneurship and especially the reception context for refugees who, as highlighted before, are overall treated as the least wanted migrant group and start both their entrepreneurship and integration journey from an unfavourable position. Although entrepreneurship increases the sense of belonging among refugee-origin entrepreneurs, this is often the case after a long period of *not* belonging. To assess

processes of integration and entrepreneurship, this distinct starting point of refugee-origin entrepreneurs needs to be recognised.

Looking at integration from a normative perspective, it became evident that entrepreneurship does not always lead to 'more' integration into the wider host society. Indeed it became clear in this study that entrepreneurship can even hinder participation: In some cases processes of 'growing into' (e.g. the local community) through entrepreneurship went hand in hand with processes of 'losing touch with' (e.g. formal institutions and other communities including the native-origin in the host country). Although occurring in both study sites, this trade-off appeared to be more regularly the case in Birmingham than in Cologne and calls for a deeper discussion of the two contexts.

7.3.2 Entrepreneurship and integration in context

From a comparative perspective, two main aspects of entrepreneurship and integration stand out.

First, depending on the location nascent refugee-origin entrepreneurs start from different points in terms of integration. This study showed that a substantially higher degree of integration into the host society appears necessary in order to enter entrepreneurship in Germany as opposed to the UK.

It became evident that refugees in Germany overall need to achieve a higher degree of structural and cultural integration into certain established societal institutions in order to unlock the door to entrepreneurship than it is the case in the UK. According to this study and in line with other studies (e.g. Leicht et al., 2021a), these integration prerequisites include a good command of (business) German, technical knowledge about starting a business, cultural knowledge of dealing with authorities, and in some cases host country human-cultural capital acquisition.¹³⁶

These high requirements seem to lead those who 'pass' them to a higher familiarity with formal requirements, business regulations and, arguably, higher chances of business

¹³⁶ For example when a Master craftsman's certificate is needed as a prerequisite to enter a profession in self-employed capacity.

success. This is also underlined by the fact that a '*cut-throat competition*' (Edwards et al., 2016, p.1595) between similar businesses as emphasised in the UK sample and literature was neither addressed by entrepreneurs or key informant respondents, nor is it visible in the cityscape in the form of a high density of similar businesses in one neighbourhood. However, it can be argued that the integration requirements prior to entrepreneurship keep many willing and capable entrepreneurs, unfortunate of not fitting in the norms around 'doing business', away from engaging in entrepreneurship.

The refugee-integration-opportunity structure in Germany also plays its role in impeding a swift access to entrepreneurship, as not all refugees can participate in integration measures or work during their initial time in the country, delaying the access to precisely the prerequisites (especially language skills) required to engage in entrepreneurship. Depending on the time of their arrival and their legal status (see Chapter 4), for many respondents in this study this 'in between stage' of non-access to integration measures took months, and for some it took years or even decades.

It also became evident in this study that different forms of social capital can serve as a compensatory means to overcome high integration prerequisites for entrepreneurship in Germany. For those who enter entrepreneurship relatively soon after their arrival and receiving refugee status, social *bridging* capital to German-born people, social *bonding* capital to experienced co-migrant entrepreneurs and social *linking* capital in the form of support from the Jobcenter or a business incubator, or a combination of at least two of these aspects, can be highlighted as success factors for a quick transition into entrepreneurship. Those starting their businesses longer after arrival can typically draw on a wider social network (but are also less in need of compensation to bridge integration prerequisites). Both examples show that a certain degree of *social* integration is another prerequisite for entrepreneurship.

Conversely, less structural integration prior to entrepreneurship in terms of required host country language skills and system-related knowledge became evident among refugee-origin entrepreneurs in Birmingham, paired with limited social contacts to institutions before starting a business. Having contact with the Job Centre, which is rather of

mandatory nature, formed the exception here. Almost unthinkable in the German context, starting a business without speaking English appeared a common action among refugee-origin entrepreneurs in Birmingham's (super)diverse neighbourhoods.

These favourable characteristics of starting a business make the UK neoliberal approach to entrepreneurship attractive to business-inclined refugees, determined to rebuild their lives in a new context. Unlike in Germany the UK context provides refugees with the opportunity to take matters in their own hands. As shown elsewhere (Carlson & Galvao Andersson, 2019; Ram et al., 2008) and underlined by some individuals in this study, the UK's renownedly favourable business environment in fact even serves as a pull factor for the onward movement of refugees frustrated by the less business-friendly environment on mainland Europe.

By the same token, these starting points also lead to experiences of isolation from UK 'mainstream' institutions among some entrepreneurs from the very start. The ease of starting a business motivates the majority to join easy-to-enter, highly competitive and low-growth sectors at the low end of the market opportunity structure (cf. Edwards et al., 2016), and happens mostly in places where entrepreneurship can be implemented fairly easily due to available space, low rental prices, and customer availability from within the multi-ethnic neighbourhood and community. This finding resonates with Jones et al.'s (2014a) conclusion that in the neoliberal UK business environment *'Perhaps counter-intuitively, we can only see the 'freedom' of deregulation as yet another structural constraint on immigrant firms.'* (p.505).

Again, the link to the refugee-integration-opportunity structure (and the reception context for migrants more widely) becomes evident here. As the UK refugee reception context has become increasingly restrictive over the last years with little formal integration support available for asylum seekers, integration processes in the sense of 'getting familiar with the host society' (including the language, knowledge about accessing work or their rights and responsibilities) are widely curbed prior to receiving a refugee status. This approach leads many to feel abandoned and cut off from the wider host society when moving from asylum-seeker to refugee status (Phillimore 2012), and

explains in part why many refugee-origin entrepreneurs merge into entrepreneurship in ethnically diverse, '*marginal urban locations*' (Hall, 2015a, p.27) where informal business practices are both accepted among residents and tolerated by understaffed and underfunded local governments in times of austerity governance (cf. Hall, 2017; Jones et al., 2015). Finally, due to the comparative ease of starting a business as opposed to Germany refugee-origin entrepreneurs in the UK are less in need of social capital as a compensation measures to engage in entrepreneurship *per se*. However, host country social capital certainly eases the transition into entrepreneurship, as social contacts serve as valuable sources of knowledge and information, and facilitate access to financial resources, to a wider network (including customers) and to non-financial support (see Chapter 5).

Second, the context has a strong imprinting factor on refugees' integration experiences through entrepreneurship.

The different initial integration prerequisites per context are echoed in later experiences of entrepreneurship and integration in different domains of life.

In terms of *structural* integration experiences into the entrepreneurship ecosystem, refugee-origin entrepreneurship in Birmingham is largely characterised by overall low participation and hardly any contact with 'mainstream' institutions, sometimes combined with little trust in official bodies. (Although there were exceptions to this observation.) By the same token, operating businesses without formal registration and invisible to state authorities (also see Sepulveda et al., 2011) is a common strategy among refugee-origin entrepreneurs overlooked by the 'mainstream' institutional bodies, and seeking to making ends meet. Again emphasising Edward et al.'s (2016) findings, some refugee-origin entrepreneurs experience degrees of economic deprivation not found among refugee-origin entrepreneurs in Cologne. These observations resonate with findings from Barrett et al. (1996, p.787) stating that '*business ownership is no automatic social mobility ladder but may simply entail a horizontal shift in which disadvantage is perpetually in another guise*'. In Cologne, participation in the wider entrepreneurship ecosystem during entrepreneurship is comparatively higher, partly because the higher degree of red tape

requires a deeper system-related knowledge to run a (sustainable) business. Regardless of an individual's legal status, entrepreneurship in many professions in Germany requires membership at the respective professional chamber. However, although not part of this study it can be questioned if this form of 'compulsory' structural integration is always a sustainable process resulting in active involvement (rather than passive participation) of refugee-origin entrepreneurs in the highly institutionalised entrepreneurship ecosystem (also see Hartmann & Güllü, 2020).

Relatedly, in terms of *social* integration the kinds of initial social networks translate into the entrepreneurship experience, with refugee-origin entrepreneurs in Cologne maintaining social links to institutions of power and influence (e.g. the Jobcenter, the professional chambers) – again in part based on red tape requirements – in addition to social bonds and bridges to other migrants and social bridges to Germans (neighbours, volunteers) especially since 2015.

Similarly, entrepreneurs' initial social linking and bridging contacts to other migrants as prevalent in Birmingham seem to translate into a stronger embeddedness in the neighbourhood and multi-ethnic community levels through entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship thus serves as an enforcing factor of establishing social bonds and bridges to other migrant-origin people and communities. By the same token, these enforcing processes go hand-in-hand with a retention from other, 'established' parts of the local society and certain business practices, especially where institutions of power and influence are perceived to show little interest in the whereabouts of newcomers from around the globe. It is in this context that some refugee-origin entrepreneurs become 'community champions' who build bridges between isolated neighbourhoods and the wider host society. Although these are rather a minority, they form much-needed linkages between the communities in these neighbourhoods and 'mainstream' institutional bodies.

Furthermore, experiences of *identity* integration hold a strong contextual imprint. As outlined above, entrepreneurship generally led to a stronger feeling of belonging and is a source of self-confidence. However, in the German context, these feelings are

perceived as being linked to success: only if *successful* as an entrepreneur, one is 'allowed' to see oneself as part of society. This perception might be seen in the context of a culture with a relatively low degree of risk acceptance (see Section 4.4), but also in the context of a '*wage-earning and "work first" model*' (de Lange et al., 2020, p.11) within the integration apparatus for refugees (and the welfare system more widely). In the cases when entrepreneurship takes place in isolation in marginal and (super)diverse urban locations, which is more regularly the case in Birmingham, the question of belonging to 'society' is not asked in this form, as the feeling of belonging is carried out at the level of the migrant-origin.

7.3.3 A conceptual framework of entrepreneurship and integration

The comparative perspective on refugee-origin entrepreneurship and integration shows how different contexts support different integration processes in relation to entrepreneurship. Building on the key theoretical concepts¹³⁷ used in this thesis, but placing the conceptual integration model by Spencer & Charsley (2016)¹³⁸ at its centre, Figure 21 depicts the relation between entrepreneurship and integration, and its mediating factors.

To start with, within a given context the degree of *integration prerequisites* (structural, cultural, social) in relation to the normative way of 'doing business' can facilitate or hinder access to entrepreneurship for aspiring refugee-origin entrepreneurs. Those who engage in entrepreneurship experience both *positive and negative impacts on integration processes* in relation to different spatial levels, from the neighbourhood to the transnational level, and along different domains of integration.

I suggest that *policies, culture and people*, which are in turn elements of the wider refugee-integration-opportunity structure, are the main mediating factors for the direction that entrepreneurship and integration take in a given context.

¹³⁷ i.e. the conceptual integration model by Spencer & Charsley (2016), the refugee-integration-opportunity structure concept (Phillimore et al., 2020), mixed embeddedness (Kloosterman et al., 1999; Kloosterman & Rath, 2001) and the forms-of-capital model (Nee & Sanders, 2001).

¹³⁸ See Figure 7.

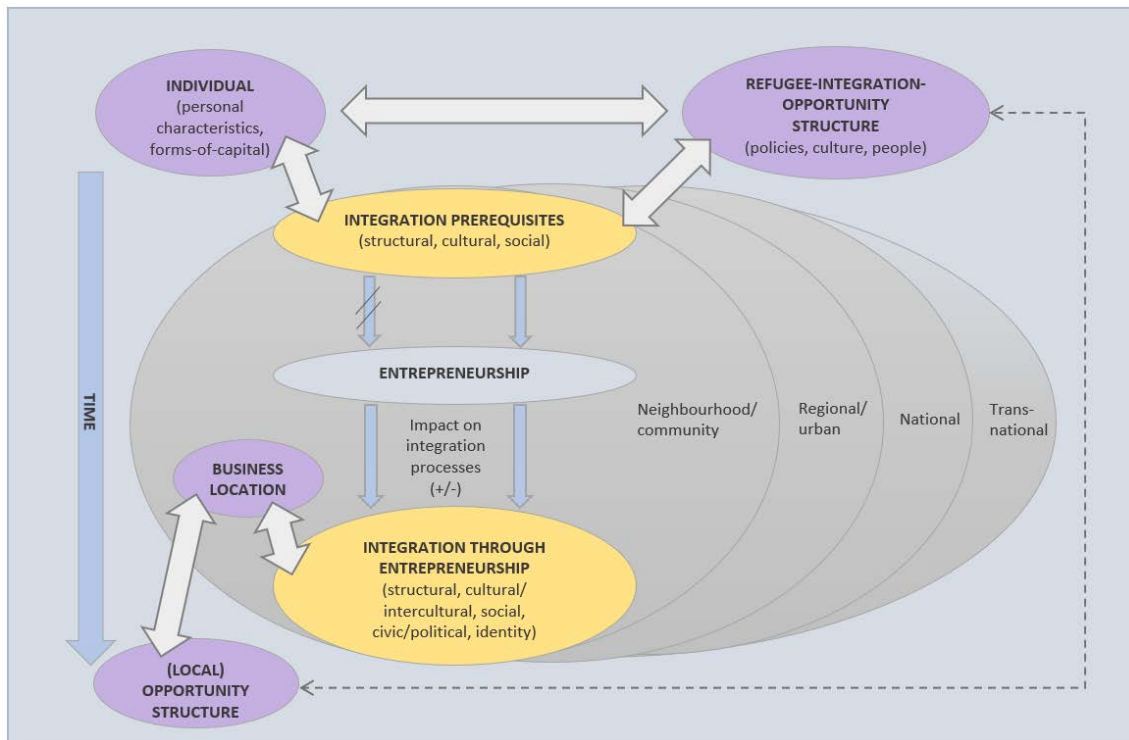


Figure 21: The relation between entrepreneurship and integration, and the main mediating factors. Policies define, for example, whether or not refugees can formally engage in entrepreneurship and if there are limitations to this engagement. (For example sectoral barriers and diploma recognition requirements.) Policies are also relevant as they define the formal support available to refugees, such as access to language classes.

Culture includes, but is not limited to, the ‘culture of doing business’ in a country. This business culture might be more or less open to entrepreneurship in general, and close or distant from the business culture in refugees’ home countries. Just as policies, culture impacts on the ease of engaging in entrepreneurship.

People refers to the stance of the population towards refugees, and the willingness to support refugees’ integration, whether actively or morally. ‘People’ also refers to the constellation of people on the neighbourhood, urban or country level, i.e. whether there are groups of co-ethnics or ‘co-migrants’ (cf. Rodgers et al., 2019) of a significant size whose presence and support might ease the transition into entrepreneurship. Finally,

'people' refers to the formal or informal support system for refugee-origin entrepreneurship.

These three factors interact, in turn, with the *individual* and their characteristics. Relevant personal characteristics include age, gender, the migration channel, and different resources (or 'forms-of-capital') such as the host country human-cultural capital and social capital. For instance, someone who has acquired a degree in the host country or has a recognised diploma from abroad might fit in the policy framework to engage in certain professions. Someone with a supportive social network in the host country might find it easier to overcome barriers towards entrepreneurship.¹³⁹ Similarly, (business-related and private) transnational social capital resources can ease the transition into entrepreneurship locally.¹⁴⁰ Someone with childcare responsibilities at home – typically women – might have less time to engage with the integration opportunity structure than someone without such responsibilities, and so on. Therefore, the individual's personal characteristics are also linked to the likelihood of holding necessary integration prerequisites for entrepreneurship, and thus their likelihood to engage in entrepreneurship.

The *(local) opportunity structure* (cf. Kloosterman et al., 1999) is another mediating factor as it defines the gaps in the (local) market in general, including those accessible to refugee-origin entrepreneurs. The market opportunity structure is closely linked to the refugee-integration-opportunity structure. For instance there might be local support available for refugees to analyse and enter the local markets. The opportunity structure also refers to available and accessible business locations for most refugee-origin entrepreneurs who might be spread across the city, but might also be more prevalent in some neighbourhoods than in others. Refugee-origin businesses might be located in the cosmopolitan city centre or rather in (super)diverse, marginal urban neighbourhoods.

¹³⁹ And the initial social network upon arrival in the host country is in turn influenced by the migration channel, linkages into (co-ethnic) communities and other contacts in the host country or city etc.

¹⁴⁰ As such, transnational social capital resources can be stepping stones towards entrepreneurship and can thus, somewhat counterintuitively, have a positive impact on integration processes in the host country.

The business location, then again, impacts on the pace, and direction of integration processes, and in relation to which spatial levels integration occurs.¹⁴¹

Time is the overarching mediating factor. First, the ‘refugee-integration-opportunity structure’ (Phillimore, 2020) is a fluid mediating factor as integration policies/politics and discourses around immigration and integration and entrepreneurship regulatory frameworks change over time. Second, individuals change over time: their personal characteristics (e.g. their legal status) change, and so do their host country-specific forms-of-capital which might increase or decrease the chance to engage in entrepreneurship.

7.3.4 *Intercultural integration as a complementary domain*

During data analysis through the lens of Spencer and Charsley’s (2016) conceptual integration model I reached a point where the captured experiences did not fit in the original model. Based on these insights, I suggested to include *intercultural integration* as an additional sub domain of integration processes.

My argument is that intercultural integration is a logical consequence of a non-normative view on integration, based on the principles of multidirectionality and engagement of different actors in the integration context. Intercultural integration emphasises that in contexts where people from different cultures live and coexist, integration is a multidirectional process of mutual learning, exchange and, eventually, adapting to each other, taking place between individuals from different backgrounds. In these contexts, integration is more than a two-way process, and even less so a monodirectional process of migrants’ adaptation to the context. In the long term, the context where migration and integration takes place is subject to changes caused by immigration and migrants’ participation in different spheres of society, too (cf. El-Mafaalani, 2018). Just as individual integration processes, these contextual integration processes take place in a subtle and gradual manner and can take years, decades or even generations.

Taking the complex and intertwined ways of co-existence in (super)diverse urban areas as a starting point, studies have introduced related notions of societal changes on the

¹⁴¹ The spatial level also includes transnational businesses that operate globally and can be simultaneously embedded (and integrated) in the local neighbourhood, and transnationally.

microlevel of the neighbourhood. Relating to research with migrant-origin businesses in (super)diverse areas of London, Hall (2015b) introduces the notion of *exchange*, describing the '*shared, agile practices*' occurring '*within and across affiliations of ethnicity and origin*' (p.2), and later the notion of '*participatory practices of reconfiguration*' (Hall, 2015a, p.853). Another concept closely linked to intercultural integration is '*commonplace diversity*' (Wessendorf, 2013), which characterises the urban habitus of co-living in (super)diverse neighbourhoods, whereby cultural diversity is perceived as a natural part of social life without necessarily being translated to private social connections.

None of these concepts however makes a direct link to the related integration processes. Deepening these ideas, intercultural integration subsumes the ways that people who share a space to live, work, eat, exercise, engage in religious activities and so forth impact on each other culturally and thus form new ways of co-living in (super)diverse urban spaces.

Refugee-origin entrepreneurs are involved in processes of intercultural integration in two ways. On the one hand, they are intercultural learners themselves as they adapt to the (cultural) expectations and needs of their customers, suppliers and other business contacts. Refugee-origin entrepreneurs operating in (super)diverse areas tend to be interculturally integrated, indeed *have* to be interculturally integrated due to the social nature of being an entrepreneur, and their economic dependency on customers from different backgrounds and walks of life. One mode of refugee-origin entrepreneurs' expression of intercultural integration is translanguaging (i.e. creatively applying mixed linguistic resources) as a mode of communication (cf. Tagg, 2015) and learning new languages to serve customers' needs. Another mode of practising intercultural integration appears when entrepreneurs adjust their products and businesses to their customers' (cultural) preferences and expectations (see Section 6.4).

On the other hand, refugee-origin entrepreneurs (or also: their businesses as physical meeting points) are central actors in facilitating a wider intercultural integration on the neighbourhood level and beyond. Some introduce new food and products to the area.

Some act as translators between different languages and cultures. And some businesses serve as hubs of intercultural integration, similar to what Lyon et al. (2007) describe as “community centres”, and information points for members of the (co-ethnic) community’ (p.368), where a sense of ‘community identity’ is developed. In that sense, it can be argued that by facilitating intercultural integration, refugee-origin entrepreneurs also contribute to the integration of others. However, exploring the ‘spill-over’ effects of entrepreneurship and integrating others goes beyond the scope of this study.

In summary, intercultural integration through entrepreneurship appears as a creative entrepreneurial adaptation in multicultural urban spaces, whereby refugee-origin entrepreneurs simultaneously participate in and contribute to a multicultural sub-culture on the neighbourhood level and beyond.

7.4 Summary

This chapter has discussed different trajectories of refugee-origin entrepreneurship in Birmingham and Cologne and assessed the study results against the existing literature.

On the one hand, I illuminated similarities of becoming an entrepreneur and integration across the two research contexts, and in relation to refugee-origin entrepreneurship. These include the wish to improve the current life and work condition, and future-oriented factors for entrepreneurship, some of them as the antidote to experiences as a refugee. Becoming an entrepreneur was outlined as a process of flexibly drawing on different forms of capital resources, including personal attributes. Attention was drawn to intercultural integration as a mode of integration through entrepreneurship that does not fit in a normative view on the concept. Finally, a generic conceptual framework for entrepreneurship and integration in the refugee context was introduced.

On the other hand, I illustrated emerging differences for refugee-origin entrepreneurship between contexts. The ease of starting a business and the availability of a support system stood out as two important factors for how (and presumably also: whether) aspiring refugee-origin entrepreneurs pursue their plans to engage in entrepreneurship. It was outlined how contexts shape different integration trajectories of refugee-origin

entrepreneurs. More precisely, in Germany the integration prerequisites to engage in entrepreneurship are higher than in the UK. These different integration starting points further translate into refugees' integration experiences through entrepreneurship.

Besides the role of the context for refugee-origin entrepreneurship and integration, time was highlighted as an important mediating factor, both during the process of becoming an entrepreneur (e.g. a shift of motivations over time) and the relation between entrepreneurship and integration.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION AND OUTLOOK

In the previous chapter, I have pulled together main insights and assessed them against what is known about motivational factors, processes of becoming an entrepreneur, and integration in refugee-origin entrepreneurship. This final chapter wraps up the thesis by reflecting on the study's contributions (Section 8.1) and limitations (Section 8.2), deriving implications for research, policy and practice (Sections 8.3 and 8.4) and providing a final statement (Section 8.5).

8.1 Contributions to research

This study has made conceptual and empirical contributions to the existing body of research.

Conceptual advancements were proposed in relation to a) refugee/migrant entrepreneurship and b) integration studies.

Building on Nee and Sanders' (2001) forms-of-capital model to explain 'immigrant incorporation' into entrepreneurship, I have suggested to add a fourth configuration of capital to the basic mix of social, financial, and human-cultural capital: the entrepreneurs' personal attributes (proactivity/perseverance, versatility and trust in oneself). These personal attributes were highlighted as mediating factors for refugee-origin entrepreneurs to exercise agency even in agency-constraining contexts. I argue that incorporating personal attributes into the 'resource' domain of the overarching mixed embeddedness model (Kloosterman et al., 1999; Kloosterman & Rath, 2001) would add to a more fine-grained understanding of the processes of 'becoming an entrepreneur' in migrant-origin entrepreneurship, and facilitate comparisons of these processes across contexts.

Relating to integration studies, the findings challenged normative views on integration in the context of (super)diverse, urban settings. 'Intercultural integration' was suggested as a complementary domain of integration to take account of the distinct interactions between people from different cultural backgrounds.

The study has made an *empirical contribution* by bringing together the integration model by Spencer and Charsley (2016) and Phillimore's (2020) concept of a refugee-integration-opportunity structure and testing them empirically. The theoretical linkage between the two constructs was explored for the first time by using unique datasets and narrative accounts from refugee-origin entrepreneurs in two contexts. As a result, I have developed a generic conceptual framework of entrepreneurship and integration that depicts processes of entrepreneurship and integration in different contexts. The framework might be tested empirically in the future.

8.2 Reflections on limitations

As with any research, this study is not free from limitations. The first limitation is related to the sampling strategy. By means of maximum variation sampling, the study captured various experiences and perspectives, and showed the heterogeneity of a group of migrants which tends to be presented as homogeneous in the literature (Heilbrunn & Iannone, 2020). In other words, creating maximum variation samples helped me to make sense of the distinctiveness of each city and its different populations. However, some sub-populations or refugee-origin entrepreneurs were potentially overlooked in the sampling process.

On the one hand, a prerequisite to participate in the interviews were English or German skills. Consequently potential interviewees with limited language skills in these languages were largely excluded from the sample. Their exclusion is a limiting factor especially to the case study in Birmingham, where I was aware from the literature and my own experience¹⁴² that a share of local, refugee-origin businesses are fully operated in languages other than English, and that some owners have limited or no English speaking skills. Excluding these businesses from the sample limited the ability to include more informal entrepreneurial actions. On the other hand, the majority of participants in

¹⁴² Specifically, several interviews with potential participants could not be initiated due to language barriers. These entrepreneurs did not speak English and operated their business in languages other than English. As I did not have access to volunteer or community interpreters who spoke the same language(s), and as hiring an interpreter was not an option due to funding constraints, ultimately these individuals were not included in the sample.

Cologne were recruited through formal institutions and gatekeepers, meaning that entrepreneurs with a lower social visibility (who engage less with formal institutions) were excluded from the research. The resulting limitation is that the results are not generalisable for the experiences of all refugee-origin entrepreneurs in the two cities, but rather provide a profile of possible configurations of refugee-origin entrepreneurship in these places.

The second limitation is related to the usage of labels. 'Refugee-origin entrepreneurs' are marked by a low social visibility, as there are no databases of individuals with these characteristics in Birmingham or Cologne. As a (sole) researcher, I found myself in the dilemma between identifying participants and having to approach them with a label that might not reflect their self-identification (cf. OECD, 2021). As the 'refugee' label can be particularly stigmatising (cf. Adeeko & Treanor, 2021), it is likely that I have excluded further potential participants who did not identify with this externally imposed and temporal label (anymore), for example those whose legal status has changed to a non-refugee status.¹⁴³ Again, this limitation impacts on the generalisability for refugee-origin entrepreneurship in the two case sites.

The third limitation is related to the timing of the study. Two major events have taken place since the beginning of this study in 2017 and data collection in 2018/19. 2016 to 2020 were the years of Brexit negotiations between the UK and the EU, which among many other insecurities posed a long period of uncertainty to entrepreneurs with business activities linked to both sides of the Channel. Whilst Brexit negotiations were still ongoing, from winter 2019/20 onwards the COVID-19 pandemic changed the lives of people worldwide within a short timeframe. While a series of lockdowns confined people in almost every single country to their homes or local areas, many lost their jobs, or were forced to put their work lives on hold, including many entrepreneurs.

¹⁴³ In addition, I was aware from the literature (e.g. Jones et al., 2014b) and indications from gatekeepers that some refugee-origin entrepreneurs of the 'new migrants' cohort run very successful, multi-million businesses in Birmingham. However, some potential respondents in Birmingham who fall into this category preferred not to be included in the study based on their refugee experience.

Researchers only begin to explore the short- and long-term effects of both the COVID-19 pandemic and Brexit on business models and the individuals behind the businesses, including those of migrant- and refugee-origin (David et al., 2021; O’Leary, 2019; OECD, 2020; Saridakis & Idris, 2021). As migrant-run businesses (including those of refugee-origin) tend to be smaller and based on a lower capital stock (OECD, 2020), it is likely that they were disproportionately affected by these two external events. Migrant- and refugee-origin businesses are also disproportionately represented in the hospitality sector which has been hit hard by the pandemic (ibid.).

This research gives insights in the world before these two major events. Each of these events have impacted and continue to impact on refugee-origin entrepreneurship, both in terms of nascent and existing businesses. Some of the issues and practices described in this study will change in the UK and Germany. However, the structural issues around refugees, entrepreneurship and integration addressed in this study still hold true. It is reasonable to assume that the core insights on entrepreneurship and integration processes are still transferrable to a post-Brexit and (post-)COVID-19 time.

8.3 Implications for future research

The implications for future research are of methodological and theoretical/conceptual nature.

8.3.1 Methodological implications

Future comparative studies on entrepreneurship and integration could include a *higher number of case study sites* to explore the role of the local context in relation to the national context more in-depth. A multiple case study with *more than one city per country* could give such in-depth insights into the role of local contexts.¹⁴⁴ This idea could not be realised in this study due to time and funding restrictions. Further opportunities lie in *cross-country comparisons*. Including more than two countries in the sample could provide deeper insights into the role of the national context and the nexus between

¹⁴⁴ For example looking at cities with a strong versus weak entrepreneurship ecosystem, or generating a sample including both smaller and bigger cities might generate further insights into the role of local contexts.

national, local and individual factors to enable or prohibit entrepreneurship among refugee-origin entrepreneurs.

Qualitative research studies could address some of the methodological shortcomings in this study. In order to *overcome language barriers*, and possibly cultural barriers a suggestion for future studies is to work with interpreters and interviewers covering various language skills and connections into communities, as it has been done in the studies by Edwards et al. (2016) or Villares-Varela et al. (2018).

Longitudinal studies of one cohort of refugee-origin entrepreneurs might provide in-depth insights on the interplay between contextual factors and engagement in entrepreneurship. Long-term studies of refugees' transition into entrepreneurship, including success factors, barriers and best practice examples ('role models') are also much needed to inform policy makers and decision makers at employment services (see next section).

Furthermore, the patterns and categories identified in this qualitative study might be tested in a *quantitative setting*, in order to generate insights on causal relationships between entrepreneurship and integration processes. One question in that regard might be whether a higher level of integration is supportive for successful entrepreneurship measured as business performance, growth, or entrepreneurs' satisfaction over time.¹⁴⁵

8.3.2 Theoretical implications

This study has built on existing theoretical concepts with the aim of testing and expanding them, rather than theory building. As common for case studies, I sought to explore processes and dynamics within a context-bound sphere – refugee-origin entrepreneurship in Birmingham and Cologne –, and aimed to achieve analytical rather than statistical generalisation (cf. Vershinina et al., 2011).

¹⁴⁵ Another analytical focus point might be the role and implication of gender for entrepreneurship and integration.

Extended integration concept, sensitive to changes in society

Integration was presented in Section 2.2.1 as a contested concept, with some researchers arguing that it is time to replace 'integration' with a less ideologically loaded concept. This study is a case in point to join the calls by Spencer and Charsley (2021), Grzymala-Kazłowska & Phillimore (2017) and others to not abandon the concept altogether. Rather, researchers can move away from a normative view on integration by focusing on the *processes* that occur when individuals and institutions interact. Using integration concepts as a heuristic lens – such as the one suggested by Spencer and Charsley (2016, 2021) – to look at interactions and relations in different domains of life helps to focus on what is actually of interest: the changes taking place in the lives of individuals or groups through interaction with other individuals, groups and institutions in a given context. Rather than asking about newcomers' integration into the wider host society the underlying questions might then be 'what happens in a person's life when they engage in a specific activity (e.g. entrepreneurship, marriage, joining a sports team etc.) in a host country?'

The benefit of using concepts such as integration as a heuristic lens is that they remain flexible and can be updated to changing conditions and observations. This was done in this study by suggesting 'intercultural integration' – defined as processes of interaction and adaptation between individuals and groups from a wide range of cultural backgrounds – as an extension of cultural integration in contexts where the concept of a majority culture does not hold true anymore. Future research on integration processes in similar spatial contexts might want to extend the concept of integration in that direction, to take account of new forms of 'becoming a part of' in (super)diverse urban contexts and wider changes in society.

Critical reflection of 'refugee entrepreneurship' and its future directions

The first reflection on refugee entrepreneurship refers to the positioning and further development of the emerging field. Although the number of studies in the field has risen over the last few years, refugee origin-entrepreneurship as a field is still in its infancy.

That means that there is still a chance for modifications regarding its future directions and its attachment to other, related disciplines.

The literature around refugee entrepreneurship is built around refugee entrepreneurs' distinctiveness in terms of refugee-specific characteristics, experiences and (legal) barriers. Yet, insights generated through the study of refugee-origin entrepreneurship might be relevant for other fields of entrepreneurship, for instance when it comes to revealing disadvantage mechanisms of minority groups (cf. Carter et al., 2015; Maalaoui et al., 2020). The first challenge of future 'refugee entrepreneurship' studies is thus to find a balance between highlighting group-specific particularities (i.e. specialisation of the field) and linking relevant theoretical/conceptual insights back to other entrepreneurship subfields (i.e. generalisability). Like that, a ghettoization of the subfield (cf. Baker & Welter, 2017) might still be avoided, whereby refugee entrepreneurship scholars would equally seek to avoid the 'othering' of refugee-origin entrepreneurs within the community of entrepreneurs, and try to preserve the distinctiveness of 'refugee entrepreneurship' as a field – thereby ironically contributing to a further 'othering' of refugee entrepreneurs.¹⁴⁶

A related, critical reflection refers to diversity and 'refugeeness' (cf. Piacentini, 2012) in refugee entrepreneurship studies. The diverse stories within the maximum variation sample in this study served as constant reminders that 'the' refugee experience does not exist, and that experiences linked to forced migration are much more fine-grained, subjective and diverse than the term 'refugee' manages to capture. Even refugee-origin entrepreneurs with similar characteristics in terms of country of origin, time of arrival, age, gender and education can make strikingly different experiences in the same context.

Drawing on this study, the contrasting stories of restaurant owners Ali and Amir (BHAM-ENT5 and -ENT9) and social entrepreneur Jabir (BHAM-ENT19), all of them Syrian-origin men in their twenties with higher education degrees from abroad, are just one example in this regard. While Jabir arrived as a student and sought asylum in order to stay in the

¹⁴⁶ Also see Högberg et al. (2016) on the dilemma of reproducing societal hierarchies by using labels related to migration and ethnicity.

UK, his fellow natives arrived around the same time, but crossed the Channel irregularly. All three started businesses, but did so from very different points in terms of social networks (mixed versus orientation on co-ethnic migrants), knowledge about starting a business (formal versus self-taught) and access to formal business support (via the 'mainstream' entrepreneurship ecosystem versus no formal support). Based on their migration channel, their (related) initial social contacts in the UK, their different language skills and so on they found themselves in very different integration-opportunity structures, albeit in the same city. Despite similar starting points in terms of personal characteristics, all of these refugee-related factors equally impacted on their processes of becoming entrepreneurs and on their integration processes. It is hence important to not only recognise, but also address the heterogeneity of refugee-origin entrepreneurs' trajectories to do justice to the diversity of refugee-origin entrepreneurship, which is by far not confined to disadvantage and micro-businesses.¹⁴⁷

Furthermore, beyond the state of seeking asylum and obtaining a refugee status the boundaries of what constitutes refugeeness become increasingly blurry. What constitutes a 'refugee'? Who is meant when we talk about refugees, and who is not? Is there a start and an ending point to the refugee experience?

A simple measure to address the non-linearity and open-endedness of refugeeness is to adjust the terminology from 'refugee' to 'refugee-origin' entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship. This small adjustment is a suggestion to put refugeeness out of the spotlight without abandoning its relevance for practical issues in becoming and being an entrepreneur. Refugee-origin entrepreneurship as a term retains a reminder that group differences exist in entrepreneurship as some groups of entrepreneurs face multifaceted challenges that others do not experience (cf. Desai et al., 2020; Martinez Dy, 2020), and that many initial disadvantages continue to have an effect even when (in this case) the legal refugee status is not acute anymore. What remains is still a label, but one that

¹⁴⁷ Exploring the role of the refugee migration channel more specifically than in this study (resettlement, irregular, secondary migration, change of legal status within the country) might be a purposeful endeavour in this regard.

focuses less on the short-term reality of refugeeness as a legal category (and the connotations related to this label), and more on the act of entrepreneurship.

8.4 Implications for policy and practice

Policy makers are increasingly interested in supporting refugee-origin entrepreneurship as a pathway to economic self-sufficiency. Often the question is how to provide target-group-specific support. If more is known about refugees' motivation to start a business, which obstacles they encounter, and which effects entrepreneurship can have on integration processes, policies and support structures can be designed accordingly. The different entrepreneurship and integration contexts in this study have translated into contrasting stories of refugee-origin entrepreneurship, and it is self-evident that each context requires distinct support measures. However, there are some general implications for policy and practice.

Normalising entrepreneurship for refugees

First of all, the starting point for policy makers and practitioners must be to recognise entrepreneurship as a valid way of labour market participation for refugees. That includes, but is not limited to, embedding entrepreneurship in the consulting services of the responsible bodies.

Although entrepreneurship is increasingly recognised as a mode of refugees' labour market integration, in practice this option is still treated as an exception rather than the rule. For instance, employment services and support structures are often not geared towards supporting refugees' access to entrepreneurship (also see Hartmann & Güllü, 2020). Especially for newly arrived refugees, holistic job counselling could include concrete information about the opportunities and obstacles of entrepreneurship (self-employment) in the host country, which might be very different from the home countries. Cooperation with local charities and projects can support this process of professional (re-)orientation with the option of entrepreneurship.¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, entrepreneurship does

¹⁴⁸ The project ActNow in Cologne, a business incubator for migrants and refugees, is a good example in this regard. While the focus of the project is on entrepreneurial knowledge and skills, its goal is not only to support self-employment, but also to open up alternative career perspectives.

not have to be a full-time job from the outset. Supporting hybrid entrepreneurship whereby wage employment or education and part-time entrepreneurship are combined might be a compromise to combine two strands of refugees' labour market integration.

Improve the framework conditions for refugee-origin entrepreneurship

Furthermore, host societies are called upon to improve the framework conditions for those refugees wanting to start a business, in order to tap into a potential that is still widely overlooked. Key challenges for (not only) refugee-origin entrepreneurs lie in accessing start-up capital, understanding the prevalent culture of 'doing business', including business-specific language and legal issues, and accessing relevant networks in the existing entrepreneurship ecosystems.

Granting refugees entitled to start a business access to subsidies of up to 5,000€, as done by some Jobcenters in Germany or providing small investment grants through business incubators, as done in one project in Birmingham, are starting points to support refugee-origin entrepreneurship. However, these comparatively small grants also force resource-poor aspiring entrepreneurs to think small. Promoting warranties via intermediaries might increase the ease of accessing start-up capital for refugee-origin entrepreneurs through banks and other formal sponsors, especially for newly arriving refugees with limited financial capacity and a temporary legal status. Training and mentoring programmes can smooth the way to entrepreneurship for newcomers.¹⁴⁹ Another option would be to formalise the typically informal 'apprentice entrepreneur' (Ram et al., 2001) training, whereby working for (co-ethnic) entrepreneurs in a given sector is treated as a pathway towards eventual self-employment.

Consider the diversity of refugee-origin entrepreneurs

Moreover, the support system needs to consider different backgrounds, motivations and needs of aspiring refugee-origin entrepreneurs. One group to be highlighted in that context are individuals with longstanding entrepreneurship experience from abroad, for

¹⁴⁹ Examples are the intercultural trainings offered by the Chamber of Industry and Commerce in Cologne, and the 'Business Leaders Project' in Birmingham, a cooperation between a charity and a university Business School which provides support to business owners overlooked by 'mainstream' bodies.

whom entrepreneurship is often without an alternative. They were here described as ‘focused entrepreneurs’, whose priority is to engage in entrepreneurship even at the cost of rigorous downsizing and sectoral changes compared to the business they used to have. These entrepreneurs can build on (aspects of) their managerial experience, and often on existing transnational (business) networks. They might rather need business-specific language training and pinpoint guidance on how to do business in the new context or how they can adapt their business to the legal and cultural technicalities of the host country than basic entrepreneurship training which might be helpful for less business-experienced ‘spontaneous entrepreneurs’.

Capture entrepreneurial aspirations of refugees

Relatedly, capturing the entrepreneurial aspirations (and more generally the professional aspirations) of newly arriving refugees would help to assess the potential of refugee-origin entrepreneurship from the outset, and to provide support structures accordingly.

8.5 Final statement

In summary, this study has explored why and how refugees become entrepreneurs in their host country, and how entrepreneurship is related to their integration processes in different country and city contexts. To address this topic, the two cases of refugee-origin entrepreneurship and integration in Birmingham and Cologne were explored by means of qualitative research, involving 42 refugee-origin entrepreneurs and 13 key informants as interview participants. I have considered the aspects of ‘becoming an entrepreneur’ and ‘entrepreneurship and integration’ separately and through two theoretical main lenses: mixed embeddedness and a conceptual framework for integration.

Refugee-origin entrepreneurs and their experiences were in the centre of the research. I have sought for overlapping experiences between individuals and across contexts, an exercise that was far from straightforward given the maximum variation character of the sample. At the same time, the findings allowed to cast some differences between contexts, individuals and (to a smaller extent) changes over time into sharper relief.

Entrepreneurship is increasingly recognised as an alternative pathway of labour market participation for refugees. However, little is known about the integration processes of refugee-origin entrepreneurs, and how the interplay between the entrepreneurial agents and the policy, socio-cultural and wider entrepreneurship context in the reception context shapes these processes.

Understanding the status quo of refugee-origin entrepreneurship in different contexts, including how the entrepreneurial actors themselves perceive their trajectories into and through entrepreneurship, can help to design suitable tools to support entrepreneurship among refugees. This study has been one building block towards this aim.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Journal articles and book chapters published on the topic of entrepreneurship and integration.

The following table is primarily based on the Scopus online database, using the search terms ‘refugees/forced migration AND entrepreneurship AND integration’, ‘(im)migrant(s)/(im)migration AND entrepreneurship AND integration’ in the Scopus online database, as well as a variation with ‘self-employment’ instead of ‘entrepreneurship’. One book chapter in German language (Leicht, 2018) was added to the thus generated list.

Article	Country	Main theme(s)	Method	Key findings
Alrawadieh, Z., Karayilan, E. & Cetin, G. (2018) ‘Understanding the challenges of refugee entrepreneurship in tourism and hospitality’, <i>The Service Industry Journal</i> , pp.1-24.	Turkey	Refugee-origin entrepreneurs in the tourism and hospitality sector; challenges	Qualitative	Challenges for refugee-origin entrepreneurs: legislative and administrative, financial, socio-cultural and market-related obstacles; entrepreneurship has the potential to help refugees integrate into the host society
Beckers, P. & Blumberg, B.S. (2013) ‘Immigrant entrepreneurship on the move: a longitudinal analysis of first- and second-generation immigrant entrepreneurship in the Netherlands’, <i>Entrepreneurship & Regional Development</i> , Vol. 25, Nos. 7–8, 654-691.	Netherlands	Impact of migrant integration on entrepreneurship performance; intergenerational differences; longitudinal study	Quantitative	High levels of human capital and social integration foster entrepreneurial success, but are no guarantee of good business prospects; heterogeneity across different migrant groups
Brzozowski, J.; Lasek, A. (2019) ‘The impact of self-employment on the economic integration of immigrants: Evidence from Germany’, <i>Journal of Entrepreneurship, Management and Innovation (JEMI)</i> , vol. 15, Issue 2, pp.11-28.	Germany	Economic integration through entrepreneurship	Quantitative	Positive relationship between current self-employment and economic integration; but immigrants with previous self-employment experience in Germany are less integrated than the average; host countries should be more cautious in promoting entrepreneurship as a perfect strategy to improve economic integration
Embricos, A. (2020), From Refugee to Entrepreneur? Challenges to Refugee Self-reliance in Berlin, Germany, <i>Journal of Refugee Studies</i> , vol. 33, No. 1, pp.245-267.	Germany	Refugee self-reliance through entrepreneurship	Qualitative	Entrepreneurship has several benefits for social inclusion and cultivates a sense of self-sufficiency, but it is not a ‘fast track’ to economic self-reliance; refugee entrepreneurs face three main challenges: access to financing and start-up capital; lack of skills and knowledge, and lack of social networks
Freudenberg, J. & Halberstadt, J. (2018), How to Integrate Refugees Into the Workforce – Different	Germany	Vocational integration of refugees through entrepreneurship; literature review	Literature review	A greater emphasis on (social) entrepreneurial approaches to facilitate the integration of refugees into workforce and society is needed; a typology of refugee

Opportunities for (Social) Entrepreneurship, <i>Management Issues – Problemy Zarzadzania</i> , vol. 16, no. 1(73), pp.40-60.				Integration via entrepreneurial activities is suggested
Haghigi, A. M. & Lynch, P.(2012), Entrepreneurship and the social integration of new minorities: Iranian hospitality entrepreneurs in Scotland, <i>Tourism Review</i> , vol. 67, no. 1 2012, pp.4-10.	Scotland	The role of hospitality and tourism entrepreneurship in the integration process of new minorities; using the example of Iranian hospitality entrepreneurs in Scotland	Qualitative	Hospitality entrepreneurship can act both as a facilitator and as a barrier to integration of new minorities
Harima, A.; Freudenstadt, J., Halberstadt, J. (2019), Functional domains of business incubators for refugee entrepreneurs, <i>Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy</i> , vol. 14 No. 5, pp.687-711.	Germany	Vocational integration of refugees through entrepreneurship; role of business incubators	Qualitative	Entrepreneurship can be a possible means of vocational integration for refugees; one way of supporting this process are business incubators
Heilbrunn, S. (2019), Against all odds: refugees bricoleuring in the void, <i>International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research</i> , vol. 25, no. 5, pp.1045-1064.	Israel	Refugee entrepreneurship in a refugee camp; entrepreneurship in an adverse context	Qualitative	Issues of social and economic integration are not as acute for refugees in camps, as they know that their situation is temporary; entrepreneurship is more focused on creating a social space and sense-making
Leicht, R. (2018), Die Bedeutung von Migrantenunternehmen für die Integrations- und Wirtschaftspolitik in den Kommunen, in: F. Gesemann und R. Roth (Hrsg.), <i>Handbuch Lokale Integrationspolitik</i> , pp.525-547.	Germany	The role of migrant-origin entrepreneurship for social mobility and integration	Quantitative	Entrepreneurship increases the chances of social upward mobility and structural integration substantially; migrants contribute to labour market integration in general
Lyon, F., Sepulveda, L. & Syrett, S. (2007) 'Enterprising refugees: Contributions and challenges in deprived urban areas', <i>Local Economy</i> , vol. 22, no. 4, pp.362-375.	UK	Role and impact of enterprise within refugee communities in England; constraints faced by refugee-origin entrepreneurs	Qualitative	Entrepreneurship can play an important role in the process of social and economic integration of refugees within deprived areas of London; refugee enterprises contribute to the local economy and social cohesion of deprived urban areas
Mago, S. (2020) 'Migrant entrepreneurship, social integration and development in Africa', <i>Journal of Small Business & Entrepreneurship</i> , pp .1-37	(South) Africa	Literature review on the role of entrepreneurship in integrating locals and migrants socially; focus on the African context	Literature review	Primary studies reviewed did not confirm that migrant entrepreneurship promotes social integration between locals and migrants; however, social integration promotes migrant entrepreneurship

Meister, A. D. & Mauer, R. (2018) 'Understanding refugee entrepreneurship incubation – an embeddedness perspective', <i>International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research</i> , vol. 25 No. 5, pp.1065-1092.	Germany	The particularities and impact of business incubation for refugees' entrepreneurial development and embeddedness in the host country	Qualitative	Business incubators are a counterbalance to a lack of embeddedness and barriers to refugee-origin entrepreneurs in the host country
Obschonka, M.; Hahn, E. & Bajwa, N. H. (2018) 'Personal agency in newly arrived refugees: The role of personality, entrepreneurial cognitions and intentions, and career adaptability', <i>Journal of Vocational Behavior</i> , no. 105, pp.173-184.	Germany	Role of personal agency for (structural) integration into the 'mainstream society'; entrepreneurial cognitions and intentions of newly arrived refugees	Quantitative	The study emphasises the important role of personal agency entrepreneurial cognitions and underlying personality factors for refugees' early integration process
Sheperd, D., Saade, F. P. & Wincent, J. (2019) 'How to circumvent adversity? Refugee-entrepreneurs' resilience in the face of substantial and persistent adversity', <i>Journal of Business Venturing</i> , vol. 35, no. 4, pp.1-26	Israel	Resilience; relations between entrepreneurial action and integration activities	Qualitative	Refugees' social integration activities are initiated and facilitated by engaging in entrepreneurial action with non-similar others; resilience outcomes help individuals to both engage in integration activities and build the social capability of resilience; strong feelings of togetherness in the camp
Shneikat, B. & Alrawadieh, Z. (2019) 'Unraveling refugee entrepreneurship and its role in integration: empirical evidence from the hospitality industry', <i>The Service Industries Journal</i> , vol. 39, no. 9-10, pp.741-761	Turkey	Entrepreneurship in tourism and relation to refugees' integration	Qualitative	Entrepreneurial activities (in the hospitality sector) support refugees' integration into the socioeconomic fabric of the host country
Wauters, B. & Lambrecht, J. (2006) 'Refugee entrepreneurship in Belgium: Potential and practice', <i>The International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal</i> , vol. 2, no. 4, pp.509-525.	Belgium	Potential for entrepreneurship among refugees in Belgium; amount and characteristics and economic success of self-employed refugees	Quantitative	High aspirations for entrepreneurship among new refugees; active refugee entrepreneurs earn less than other entrepreneurs; refugee entrepreneurship has more potential for integration, if supported by the host country
Wauters, B. & Lambrecht, J. (2008) 'Barriers to refugee entrepreneurship in Belgium: Towards an explanatory model', <i>Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies</i> , vol. 34, no. 6, pp.895-915.	Belgium	Exploring characteristics of refugee-origin entrepreneurs and the opportunity structure in Belgium; explaining the lack of business success	Qualitative	Refugees experience high barriers towards entrepreneurship; promoting refugee entrepreneurship would assist refugees integration into the host society

Appendix 2: Consent forms and interview schedules for entrepreneurs and key informants, English and German

Consent form for entrepreneurs

This page will be stored separately for data protection and enhanced security.

INTERVIEW ID (country-city- "ENT"-interview number)	
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DETAILS OF THE INTERVIEWEE

	DETAILS (<i>orally or derived from business card, if agreed by the respondent</i>)
RESPONDENT'S NAME AND SURNAME	
COMPANY NAME (if applicable)	
CITY, LOCAL DISTRICT, STREET	
TELEPHONE NUMBER (business)	
MOBILE NUMBER	
E-MAIL	
WEB ADDRESS (if applicable)	

<p>NOTES:</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
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Refugee Entrepreneurship in German and British Cities

Thank you once again for your participation in this study. Our conversation will give us the opportunity to talk about your personal experiences with being an (aspiring) entrepreneur in Birmingham/Cologne. This will help me a lot to understand the living conditions of entrepreneurs with refugee background in Birmingham/Cologne better. More concretely, I will ask you questions about your migration and job history, your (planned) business, why and how you started it, your experience with integration in Birmingham/Cologne, and your future plans.

I would like to audio record this interview, so I do not have to take notes and can focus better on your answers. However, if you would prefer not to be recorded, let me know.

A. Details of the interview

Interview ID (country-city-"ENT"-interview number):	Place of Interview
Date of Interview/...../.....	Length of Interview minutes
NOTES:	

B. Semi-structured interview

1 Migration, job trajectories and motivation to start a business

Introduction: First, I would like to get to know you a bit better and learn more about why you started a business or are planning to start a business in Birmingham/Cologne.

Migration

Starting question: Tell me about your **migration** from when you left your home country to when you arrived in the UK/Germany?

Possible sub-questions:

When did you **leave** your country?

Why did you leave your country?

When did you **arrive** in the UK/Germany? Did you arrive alone or with anybody else? With whom?

Did you live in **other countries** after you had left your home country and before you moved to the UK/Germany? If so, to which country or countries?

What were the **reasons** you came to the **UK/Germany**? Did you live in other UK/German cities before Birmingham/Cologne – which ones? Why did you move to Birmingham/Cologne?

Did you **know anybody here** before you came to Birmingham/Cologne? Whom?

Education

Starting question: What **kind of schools** did you visit in your home country (or other countries)?

Possible sub-questions:

What kind of general and professional **qualifications** do you have?

Where did you obtain your qualifications, i.e. in which country/countries?

Did you have your **degrees recognized** in the UK/Germany? How did that go?

Professional history

Starting question: Tell me about the **jobs** you have held before – in the UK/Germany or elsewhere?

Possible sub-questions:

What kind of jobs did you do before you came to the UK/Germany – in your home country and other countries?

What was your **main job**? And other jobs?

Have you run a business before or were **self-employed** before? What kind of business was that? How long have you run it for?

What **kind of work** did you do since you arrived in the **UK/Germany**? Where did you work? (*Prompt for jobs and duration*)

Motivation to start a business

Starting question: **Why** did you decide to open a business/become self-employed in the UK/Germany?

Possible sub-questions:

When did you for the **first time** think “I want to start a business in the UK/Germany”? – i.e. was that before, during or after coming to the UK/Germany?

Has your **migration as a refugee** played a role for your decision to become self-employed here? In what way?

Imagine you didn't have a business here: **What kind of job** would you like to do **instead**?

Would you rather be **self-employed or in paid employment** here in the UK/Germany? *If job:* Why did/do you start a business anyway? Did you try to find a job in the first place?

2 The business

Introduction: With the next few questions, I would like to learn more about your (planned) business.

Starting question: Tell me about your **(planned) business**? – Whatever comes to your mind when you think about it.

Possible sub-questions, if participant is not sure what to say:

What **kind of business** are you running or planning to run?

Did you start/are you starting it **by yourself or with somebody else**? With whom?

Are you the **single owner** of the business or with someone else? Who else is the owner of the business?

Why did you decide to open exactly **this kind of business**, i.e. in this sector?

Describe the **place or places** where your business is active? i.e. do you focus on this city, the region, the whole country or on transnational markets?

Do you buy **products or services from** your home country or **other countries**? Where do you get these products from?

Do you **sell products** or services to your home country or **other countries**?

Further questions about the business:

How many people are **formally employed** in your business? What are they doing?

And how many other people are **somehow involved** in your business? (*If applicable, probe for their role, who they are and what they are doing.*)

Do you **provide help**, in return, to your helpers? How and what kind of help is that?

Who from your **family** helps with the company?

3 Starting and running a business in the UK

Introduction: In the next part of the interview I would like to learn more about how you start(ed) your business and how you are running it.

Starting the business

Starting question: Tell me **step by step**: What did you do from the moment you had the idea to start a business in Birmingham/Cologne?

Possible sub-questions:

How did you **find out how to start** a business in the UK/Germany?

How did you **find out if there is a market/demand** for your product(s)?

Who has helped you to start your business, if anybody? How have they helped you?

What kind of **bureaucratic issues** came up when you started your business?

Which **authorities and organisations** did you have to visit?

Did you have to **register** your business somewhere? Where?

Where did you go for **advice** how to start your business?

How did you find out about your business **location**?

Which **permits or qualifications** did you need to open your business? How did you obtain them?

What else did you need to **learn before starting** your business? How did you acquire that knowledge?

Further questions about starting the business:

What went easy when you started your business? What was **challenging**? How have you tackled these challenges?

How has your **previous experience** helped you to start the business here? (*Probe for role of work and migration experience.*)

How important was it to **know German/English** when starting a business? Please give examples when you had to know German/English?

What is **different from your home country** when starting a business in the UK/Germany?

Running the business

Starting question: Tell me about your **everyday work** as a business owner?

Possible sub-questions:

What do your **working days** usually look like?

(From) **where do you mainly work** for your business? Which other places do you work from?

How many hours are you working every day? And per week?

What has changed for you since you started/decided to start your own business?

Financing (Financial capital)

Starting question: **Where** did you **obtain capital** to start your business?

Further questions:

Have you tried to get any **external finance** for your business, e.g. a loan from a bank? Tell me more about it?

Have you tried to get any **other financial support**, such as grants or stipends? Tell me more about it?

Where do you get **finance for capital investment** in your business?

Language use (Human capital)

Starting question: In your **everyday life**, when do you use which language or **languages**?

Possible sub-questions:

What language do you speak at home?

And at work?

And with friends?

4 Social networks (Social capital)

Social contacts in everyday life

Starting question: Who are your **main contact persons** at the moment, in the UK/Germany and in other countries?

Possible sub-question:

How many of your **family members** live in the UK/Germany? Who is back home or in a different country?

Further question about social contacts:

Are you a member of any **associations or organizations** in your private life? Tell me more about it?

Possible sub-question:

Are you involved with the **local community**? With **local religious groups**? With **local support organisations**? Tell me about it?

Social networks around the business

Introduction: I would like to get a better understanding of your **social network around your business**, i.e. the persons and organisations that are somehow related to your business. *Summarize which contacts have already been mentioned in the previous questions, e.g. employees and helpers, business incubators, Job Centre.*

Starting question: Who else are you in touch with because of your business, i.e. **persons and organisations**? Tell me about these persons and organisations?

Possible sub-questions:

Are you part of a **network** with other entrepreneurs? Tell me about it? *Probe for more information, e.g. location, level of formality, ethnicity of members, frequency and kind of meetings and activities.*

Where do you get your products/equipment from? Who are your **suppliers/partners**?

Who are the customers of your business or who do you expect to be your customers? *Probe for more information:* Where are they located? Are they British/German -born or other immigrants? From which countries are they? How do you get **new customers**?

Where do you go to seek **advice** for your business? Who do you ask for help?

Further question about the social business network:

Who did you get to know since you decided to start a business? *Probe for more information, e.g. ethnicity and context of acquaintance.*

5 Birmingham/Cologne as business location

Starting question: How is Birmingham/Cologne as a place to run your business?

Possible sub-questions:

What is **positive** about [city] as business location?

What is **negative** about [city] as a business location?

Further question about [city] as business location:

How strong is the **competition** in your business sector in your city? Who are your competitors?

6 Entrepreneurship and integration

Introduction: One central topic of my research is the link between entrepreneurship and integration. The next set of questions will be about your experience in this matter.

Starting question: Have you heard about “integration” before?

a) *If yes:* What does it mean for you to be “integrated” into a society? And what does it mean for you to be “not integrated”?

b) *If no:* In my understanding, being integrated means that as a migrant you feel like you are an **accepted part** of British/German society and can **identify** yourself with the society of the host country. It also means that you can participate in the different parts of social life as much as anybody else. For example that you are in touch with people from different communities, i.e. British-/German-born people. *If helpful, show integration model chart.*

Sub-questions:

How well would you say are you **integrated in the neighbourhood** where you run your business on a scale from 1 to 10, 1 meaning “not integrated at all” and 10 meaning “very well integrated”? Why is that?

And how well would you say you are you **integrated into the British society/German society** on a scale from 1 to 10, 1 meaning “not integrated at all” and 10 meaning “very well integrated”? Why is that?

How has your **feeling of belonging** to British/German society changed since you started your business? Do you **feel** more or less **as a part of 'British society'/'German society'** in comparison to before starting your business? Why?

7 Future plans and aspirations

Introduction: With the next set of questions, I would like to hear how you see your future.

Starting question: What are your **plans for the future**?

Possible sub-questions:

Where would you like to live?

Do you see yourself owning a business in the future, working for a different company or anything else – e.g. studying? *If applicable:* What are your main **plans for your business?** – i.e. keep it the way it is? Expanding? Or opening a new business?

What is the **role of your business** for your future?

Have you thought of continuing your **education** in the UK/Germany? What kind of education? Have you taken any steps – tell me about it?

8 Final questions

Introduction: Now I have some general questions about refugee entrepreneurship in the UK/Germany. Afterwards we will go through a set of brief summarizing questions about yourself and your business.

Question 1: What **advice** would you give to other refugees who want to start their own business in the UK/Germany?

Question 2: Are there **challenges** for refugees to open a business that other migrants or British/German people do not have? Which ones?

Question 3: How could opening a business in the UK/Germany made easier for refugees?

Question 4: Is there anything else you would like to mention about refugee entrepreneurship?

Question 5: Do you know other entrepreneurs with a refugee background who might be willing to speak to me as part of this research?

C. Socio-demographic summary and business data

– please fill in; any information is processed anonymously –

Interview ID (country-city-“ENT”-interview number):

.....

	DETAILS
GENDER	<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
AGE	_____ years
MARITAL STATUS	<input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed <input type="checkbox"/> Single <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____
NUMBER OF CHILDREN	_____
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	_____
CURRENT LEGAL STATUS	<input type="checkbox"/> Asylum seeker – application in progress <input type="checkbox"/> Recognized refugee <input type="checkbox"/> Subsidiary protection <input type="checkbox"/> British/German citizenship <input type="checkbox"/> Dual Citizenship <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
YEAR OF ARRIVAL TO THE UK	_____
MODE OF MIGRATION TO THE UK	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-organised <input type="checkbox"/> Resettlement programme <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____
HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION	<input type="checkbox"/> No formal qualification <input type="checkbox"/> Attended primary school <input type="checkbox"/> Attended general secondary school <input type="checkbox"/> Attended vocational secondary school <input type="checkbox"/> Attended high school <input type="checkbox"/> Attended college/university <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ → Field of studies/training (if applicable): _____ → Diploma: <input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no

ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEVEL <i>(self-assessment)</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> 'I find English/German very difficult' <input type="checkbox"/> 'I find English/German somewhat difficult' <input type="checkbox"/> 'I can manage adequately in most situations' <input type="checkbox"/> 'I am fairly fluent' <input type="checkbox"/> 'I feel fully fluent'
MAIN OCCUPATION IN THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	<input type="checkbox"/> Paid employment, profession: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed, profession: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Student <input type="checkbox"/> Not in employment NOTES:
STATE OF BUSINESS	<input type="checkbox"/> Established business (>5 years) <input type="checkbox"/> Established business (1-5 years) <input type="checkbox"/> In the start-up phase (<1 year) <input type="checkbox"/> In the pre-start-up phase (aspiring entrepreneur) NOTES:
DATE (YEAR AND MONTH) OF BUSINESS LAUNCH/..... <input type="checkbox"/> Not applicable yet
LOCATION	<input type="checkbox"/> Birmingham <input type="checkbox"/> Cologne <input type="checkbox"/> Other:
BUSINESS SECTOR	<input type="checkbox"/> Hospitality: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> IT: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Retail: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Service: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Social enterprise: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
(FUTURE) LEGAL STATUS OF THE BUSINESS	<input type="checkbox"/> Limited company <input type="checkbox"/> Sole trader <input type="checkbox"/> Social enterprise <input type="checkbox"/> Cooperative <input type="checkbox"/> Joint partnership <input type="checkbox"/> Limited liability partnership (LLP) <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____

	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know NOTES:
NUMBER OF FORMAL EMPLOYEES	<input type="checkbox"/> _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Not applicable NOTES:
NUMBER OF OTHER HELPERS	<input type="checkbox"/> _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Not applicable NOTES:
INITIAL CAPITAL TO START THE BUSINESS	<input type="checkbox"/> <£10.000 <input type="checkbox"/> <£25.000 <input type="checkbox"/> £25.000-49.999 <input type="checkbox"/> £50.000-99.999 <input type="checkbox"/> £100.000-300.000 <input type="checkbox"/> >£300.000 <input type="checkbox"/> Not applicable yet <input type="checkbox"/> Not specified
BUSINESS PERFORMANCE	The business... <input type="checkbox"/> ...makes a very comfortable living possible. <input type="checkbox"/> ...gives a good return. <input type="checkbox"/> ...makes an acceptable living possible. <input type="checkbox"/> ...produces enough to get by. <input type="checkbox"/> ...means that it is very difficult to make ends meet/pay the bills. <input type="checkbox"/> Not applicable yet
YEARLY TURNOVER <i>(approximate)</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> £ _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Not applicable yet <input type="checkbox"/> Not specified

D Next steps

Interview ID (country-city-“ENT”-interview number):

.....

FOLLOW-UP	Agrees to be contacted for further questions YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> Is interested in receiving summary of main results YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> Wants to proof-read own interview transcript YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>
MOST PREFERRED CONTACT METHOD <i>(if applicable)</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> Email <input type="checkbox"/> Phone (business) <input type="checkbox"/> Phone (mobile) <input type="checkbox"/> Other
NOTES

THANK YOU ONCE AGAIN FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!

This page will be stored separately for data protection and enhanced security.

INTERVIEW ID (country-city number-“KI”-interview number)

DETAILS OF THE KEY PERSON AND ORGANISATION

	DETAILS
RESPONDENT’S NAME AND SURNAME	
ORGANISATION NAME	
LOCATION	
DATE OF ENTRY INTO THE ORGANISATION	
DEPARTMENT (if applicable)	
NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES (at location and in total, if there are several locations)	
DATE OF PROJECT START (if applicable)	
ROLE OF THE INTERVIEWEE IN THE ORGANISATION AND/OR PROJECT	
TELEPHONE NUMBER	
E-MAIL	
WEB ADDRESS (if applicable)	

NOTES:

.....

.....

.....

Semi-structured interview guide: Key informants

Refugee Entrepreneurship in German and British Cities

Thank you once again for your participation in this study. Our conversation will give us the opportunity to explore relevant aspects that you have come across in your work with former refugees who have set up their businesses here. This will help me a lot to understanding of the conditions for entrepreneurship among refugees in the UK and Birmingham better. More concretely, I will ask you questions about yourself and your organisation’s work, the businesses of entrepreneurial refugees in Birmingham, barriers and enablers for entrepreneurship, Birmingham as a business location, and about the relation between entrepreneurship and integration.

I would like to audio record this interview, so I do not have to take notes and can focus better on your answers. However, if you would prefer not to be recorded, let me know.

A. Details of the interview

Interview ID (country-city-“KI”-interview number):	Place of Interview
Date of Interview/...../.....	Length of Interview minutes
NOTES:	

B. Information about the key informant and the organisation

	DETAILS
ROLE OF THE INTERVIEWEE	
LOCATION	<input type="checkbox"/> Birmingham <input type="checkbox"/> Other:
KIND OF ORGANISATION (<i>if applicable</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/> NGO/charity <input type="checkbox"/> Community organisation <input type="checkbox"/> Employer’s association <input type="checkbox"/> Social Enterprise <input type="checkbox"/> Commercial enterprise <input type="checkbox"/> Language school <input type="checkbox"/> Other:

NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES (<i>at location and in total</i>)	Location: _____ employees Total: _____ employees
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERVIEWEE (<i>if applicable</i>)	_____
INFORMATION ABOUT THE PROJECT (<i>if applicable</i>)	Kind of project: _____ Start date: _____ End date: _____
NOTES

C. Semi-structured interview

Please note: In the following questions, I will use the term ‘entrepreneurial refugees’ or simply ‘entrepreneurs’ for persons (men and women) who came to Europe as asylum seekers or refugees, and who have either started a business in Birmingham or are currently planning to start a business here.

1 The organisation’s and interviewee’s work

Introduction: First I would like to learn more about **your organisation/project** and **your role** in it. *If the person is not part of an organisation or project, adjust questions accordingly.*

Starting question: Tell me about **your organisation’s work**?

Sub-questions:

How does your organisation **work with entrepreneurial refugees**? *Probe for more information, e.g. kind and content of training or advice, target groups, how participants are chosen.*

What is **your role** in the organisation/project? **Since when** have you worked there?

Since when does your organisation/project support refugees with their business foundation?

How many entrepreneurial refugees has your organisation worked with so far? And yourself? And how many entrepreneurial refugees is your organisation currently supporting?

2 Entrepreneurial refugees and their businesses in Birmingham

Introduction: I'm interested to learn more about how **entrepreneurial refugees start and run businesses** in Birmingham. I would like to invite you to think of individual stories and examples that you have come across in your work throughout the set of questions.

Question 1:

How would you **describe the businesses** of entrepreneurial refugees in Birmingham?

Sub-questions:

Which **economic sectors** do they cover? Why do they open exactly these kinds of businesses?

What is the **size** of their businesses? (e.g. microenterprise, family business, number of employees)

Where in Birmingham do entrepreneurial refugees open their businesses? Could you describe the areas? What are their reasons to open businesses in these areas? How do they find about suitable locations?

What is the **geographical focus** of their businesses – are they active locally, in the whole region, country-wide or transnationally? Please give some examples?

How well are the businesses going? What is the **survival rate** of the businesses – also in comparison to new businesses of locals? Why do businesses cease?

Question 1:

How would you **summarize the characteristics of the entrepreneurial refugees** who you have worked with?

Are their socio-demographic characteristics **different from other UK entrepreneurs**? How?

In detail: What is their

- *age distribution,*
- *gender distribution,*
- *countries of origin,*
- *migration pathway (e.g. irregular migration, resettlement scheme, lived in other countries during migration),*
- *length of stay in host country,*

- *education levels,*
- *qualifications,*
- *language levels at the time of founding,*
- *work experience before founding a business.*

Sub-questions about previous work experience:

How many of them were **self-employed** before they came to the UK? (as a share of all entrepreneurial refugees)

What **kind of businesses** did they have before? Are those businesses similar or different from the ones they have started here?

How do they use their **previous experience as business owners** for their business in the UK?

How do they use their **previous education** for their business in the UK?

Do they tend to be overqualified, just **rightly qualified** or underqualified **for the sector** in which they become self-employed?

Question 3:

What are the **main reasons** for refugees **to open a business in the UK**?

Sub-questions about business foundation:

When does the **idea to open a business in the UK** first come up – i.e. before, during or after migration? Is there a **general pattern**?

Does the **experience of forced migration** play a role for the decision to open a business here? If yes, in what way?

What is the role of the **entrepreneurial culture in the home country** for the decision to open a business here?

Would some entrepreneurial refugees **prefer to be in employment** instead? *If yes:* Why do they start a business anyway?

Question 4:

How much **financial capital** do the entrepreneurial refugees who you've worked with need to start a business? Where do they obtain the necessary funding to start their business?

Question 5:

What is the **role** of refugee-run businesses **for the city and region**?

Possible sub-questions:

What is the **role** of refugee-run businesses **for the local economy**? How many of them offer **apprenticeships**?

What is the **role** of refugee-run businesses **for the social life** in Birmingham?

3 Birmingham as business location for refugees

Introduction: The following questions are about **Birmingham as business location** for entrepreneurial refugees. I'm particularly interested in what makes Birmingham different from other UK cities as a business location.

Question 1:

How would you describe **Birmingham as a business location** for entrepreneurial refugees?

Sub-questions:

What is **positive** about Birmingham as business location for refugees in comparison to other places in the country?

What is **negative** about Birmingham as a business location for refugees in comparison to other places in the country?

Question 2:

How easy is it for refugees – in comparison to other UL cities – **to start a business** in Birmingham?

Question 3:

Imagine you were an aspiring entrepreneur with a refugee background yourself: **Where** would you **seek advice**? Who would you ask for help?

Question 4:

In reality: **Where do refugees**, who want to start a business in Birmingham **turn to**? How do you use the existing advisory structures and networks? (e.g. start-up events, offers of Chambers)

Question 5:

Which **migrant organisations and migrant-run business networks** are there in Birmingham? To what extent do entrepreneurial refugees participate in those networks?

4 Challenges and supporting factors for refugee entrepreneurship in the UK

Introduction: The next interview part is about **challenges and supporting factors** for entrepreneurship among refugees.

Question 1:

Which factors enable entrepreneurial refugees to start and run a business? Think about personal factors (such as language skills, qualifications, financial means or networks) as well as structural factors (such as support for business founders).

Question 2:

Which **challenges** do entrepreneurial refugees face when they start a business in the UK? Are these challenges different from those of other entrepreneurs? Think about personal factors, as well as structural factors.

Question 3:

What is already done in the UK to meet the challenges of refugees and other migrants to start a business?

Question 4:

What could be improved in the UK to make it easier for refugees and other migrants to start a business?

5 Entrepreneurship and integration

Introduction: One main topic of my PhD research is the **link between entrepreneurship and integration**. The next few questions are therefore related to this topic. Once again, I would like to invite you to think of individual stories and examples that you have come across in your work.

Starting question: Have you heard about “integration” before?

a) *If yes:* What does it mean for you to be “integrated” into a society? And what does it mean for you to be “not integrated”?

b) *If no:* In my understanding, being integrated means that as a migrant you feel like you are an **accepted part** of British/German society and can **identify** yourself with the society of the host country. It also means that you can participate in the different parts of social life as much as anybody else. For example, that you are in touch with people from different communities, i.e. British-/German-born people. *If helpful, show integration model chart.*

Question 1:

Would you say that **entrepreneurship overall supports** refugees` **integration**? Why (not)? *Probe for individual stories.*

Question 2:

Are refugees who are already well-integrated more likely to start a business in the UK? Or refugees who are not well-integrated yet? Why is that? Probe for individual stories.

6 Final questions

Question 1: What advice would you give to refugees or other migrants who want to start their own business in the UK?

Question 2: Do you know anybody else who is in touch with entrepreneurial refugees in Birmingham and might be willing to speak to me as part of this research?

Question 3: Do you know any (aspiring) entrepreneurs with refugee background in Birmingham who might be willing to be interviewed about their experiences?

Question 4: Is there anything else you would like to mention about refugee entrepreneurship?

D. Next steps

Interview ID (country-city-“KI”-interview number):

.....

FOLLOW-UP	Agrees to be contacted for further questions YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> Is interested in receiving summary of main results YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> Wants to proof-read own interview transcript YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>
MOST PREFERRED CONTACT METHOD	Email <input type="checkbox"/> Phone <input type="checkbox"/> Other <input type="checkbox"/>
NOTES

THANK YOU ONCE AGAIN FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!

Diese Seite wird zum Zwecke des Datenschutzes und der erhöhten Sicherheit getrennt
aufbewahrt.

INTERVIEW ID (Land-Stadt-“ENT”- Interviewnummer)	
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PERSÖNLICHE ANGABEN DES/DER BEFRAGTEN

	PERSÖNLICHE ANGABEN (<i>mündlich oder der Visitenkarte entnommen, falls der/die Befragte zustimmt</i>)
VOR- UND NACHNAME DES/DER BEFRAGTEN	
NAME DES UNTERNEHMENS (falls zutreffend)	
STADT, STADTTEIL, STRAÙE	
TELEFONNUMMER (Unternehmen)	
HANDYNUMMER	
E-MAIL	
HOMEPAGE (falls zutreffend)	

NOTIZEN:

Berufliche Selbständigkeit von Geflüchteten in deutschen und britischen Großstädten

Noch einmal vielen Dank, dass Du an dieser Studie teilnimmst. Unser Gespräch wird uns die Möglichkeit geben, über Deine persönliche Erfahrung als (zukünftige/r) Unternehmer/in in Köln zu sprechen. Es wird mir sehr dabei helfen, die Lebenssituationen von Unternehmern mit Fluchtgeschichte in Köln besser zu verstehen. Ganz konkret werde ich Dir Fragen zu Deiner Migration und Deinem beruflichen Weg stellen, zu Deinem (geplanten) Unternehmen, warum und wie Du das Unternehmen gegründet hast oder gründen möchtest, Deine Erfahrung rund um die Integration in Köln und Deine Pläne für die Zukunft. Ich würde das Interview gerne mit dem Aufnahmegerät aufnehmen, damit ich keine Notizen machen muss und mich besser auf Deine Antworten konzentrieren kann. Wenn Du das aber nicht möchtest, gib mir Bescheid.

A. Angaben zum Interview

Interview ID (Land-Stadt-"ENT"-Interviewnummer):	Befragungsort
Befragungsdatum/...../.....	Dauer des Interviews Minuten
NOTIZEN:	

B. Teilstrukturiertes Interview

1 Migration, berufliche Laufbahn und Motivation für die Unternehmensgründung

Einführung: Zuerst würde ich Dich gerne besser kennenlernen und mehr darüber erfahren, warum Du Dich in Köln/Birmingham selbständig gemacht hast oder machen möchtest.

Migration

Einstiegsfrage: Erzähle mir einmal von **Deinem Migrationsweg** ab dem Zeitpunkt, zu dem Du Dein Heimatland verlassen hast und bis Du in Deutschland angekommen bist?

Possible sub-questions:

Wann hast Du Dein Heimatland verlassen?

Warum hast Du Dein Heimatland verlassen?

Wann bist Du in **Deutschland angekommen**? Warst Du alleine oder war noch jemand anderes mit dabei? Wer?

Hast Du zwischen [Heimatland] und Deutschland noch in **anderen Ländern** gelebt? Falls ja, in welchem Land oder in welchen Ländern?

Aus welchen **Gründen** bist Du **nach Deutschland** gekommen? Hast Du vor Köln in anderen deutschen Städten gelebt – in welchen? Warum bist Du dann nach Köln gezogen?

Hast Du hier **irgendjemanden gekannt**, bevor Du nach Köln gekommen bist? Wen?

Bildung

Einstiegsfrage: Was für **Schulen** hast Du in Deinem Heimatland (oder in anderen Ländern) **besucht**?

Mögliche Unterfragen:

Welche **Bildungsabschlüsse** und berufliche **Qualifikationen** hast du?

Wo hast Du diese **Qualifikationen erworben**, d.h. in welchem Land/in welchen Ländern?

Berufsweg

Einstiegsfrage: Erzähle mir über die die **Jobs**, die Du bisher hattest – in Deutschland oder anderswo?

Mögliche Unterfragen:

Was für **Jobs** hast Du gehabt, **bevor** Du nach **Deutschland** gekommen bist?

Was war Dein **Hauptberuf**? Und welche **andere Jobs** hattest Du?

Hattest Du schon mal ein eigenes Unternehmen oder hast **selbständig gearbeitet**? Was für ein Unternehmen war das? Wie lange hast Du es gehabt?

Und **welche Jobs** hattest Du bisher in **Deutschland**? Wo hast Du gearbeitet?
(*Nachhaken, welche Jobs der/die Befragte hatte und wie lange*)

Motivation zur Unternehmensgründung

Einstiegsfrage: **Warum** hast Du Dich entschieden, in Deutschland ein Unternehmen zu gründen/Dich **selbständig** zu machen?

Mögliche Unterfragen:

Wann hast Du **zum ersten Mal** gedacht „Ich möchte in Deutschland ein Unternehmen gründen“? – Also war das vor, während oder nachdem Du nach Deutschland gekommen bist?

Hat Deine **Migration als Geflüchtete/r** eine Rolle bei der Entscheidung gespielt, Dich hier selbständig zu machen? Inwiefern?

Stelle Dir vor, Du hättest hier kein eigenes Unternehmen: Was für eine **Arbeit** würdest Du **stattdessen** gerne haben?

Würdest Du hier in Deutschland **lieber selbständig arbeiten oder einen Job** haben?

Falls Job: Warum hast Du trotzdem ein Unternehmen gegründet?

2 Das Unternehmen

Einführung: Mit den nächsten Fragen möchte ich gerne mehr über Dein (geplantes) Unternehmen erfahren.

Einstiegsfrage: Erzähle mir von Deinem (**geplanten**) **Unternehmen**? – Was auch immer Dir in den Kopf kommt, wenn Du an Dein Unternehmen denkst.

Mögliche Unterfragen, falls der/die Teilnehmer/in nicht weiß, was er/sie erzählen soll:

Was für ein Unternehmen hast Du oder planst Du?

Hast Du es **selbst gegründet**/gründest Du es alleine oder **mit jemand anderem**? Mit wem?

Bist Du der einzige Unternehmensinhaber oder gibt es noch **weitere Inhaber**? Wen?

Warum hast Du Dich für **genau dieses Unternehmen**, also in diesem Sektor, entschieden?

Beschreibe einmal den **Ort oder die Orte**, wo das Unternehmen aktiv ist? Also ist es auf diese Stadt, die Region, das ganze Land oder auf transnationale Märkte spezialisiert?

Kauft Ihr **Produkte oder Dienstleistungen** aus Deinem Heimatland oder **aus anderen Ländern**? Woher bekommt Ihr diese Produkte?

Verkauft Ihr **Produkte oder Dienstleistungen** in Dein Heimatland oder **in andere Länder**?

Weitere Fragen über das Unternehmen:

Wie viele **Mitarbeiter** arbeiten formal bzw. offiziell für Dein Unternehmen? Was sind ihre Aufgaben?

Und wie viele **andere Personen** sind außerdem in Deinem Unternehmen tätig? (*Falls zutreffend, nach deren Rolle fragen und um wie viele Personen es sich handelt.*)

Hilfst Du im Gegenzug Deinen Helfern? Womit oder wobei hilfst Du ihnen?

3 In Deutschland ein Unternehmen gründen und führen

Einführung: Im nächsten Teil des Interviews würde ich gerne mehr darüber erfahren, wie Du Dein Unternehmen gründest/gegründet hast und wie Du es führst.

Ein Unternehmen gründen

Einstiegsfrage: Erzähle mir einmal **Schritt für Schritt:** Was hast Du getan, nachdem Du die Idee hattest, ein Unternehmen in Köln zu gründen?

Possible sub-questions:

Wie hast Du herausgefunden, **wie man in Deutschland ein Unternehmen gründen** kann?

Wie hast Du herausgefunden, **ob** es einen **Markt/Bedarf** für Dein Produkt gibt?

Wer hat Dir bei der Unternehmensgründung **geholfen**, falls zutreffend? Wie hat diese Hilfe ausgesehen?

Welche **bürokratischen Angelegenheiten** gab es bei der Unternehmensgründung?

Zu welchen **Behörden und Organisationen** musstest Du gehen?

Musstest Du Dein Unternehmen irgendwo **registrieren**? Wo?

Wo hast Du Dir **Rat für die Unternehmensgründung** gesucht?

Wie bist Du auf Deinen **Unternehmensstandort** aufmerksam geworden?

Welche **Genehmigungen oder Qualifikationen** hast Du gebraucht, um Dein Unternehmen zu gründen? Wie hast Du diese Nachweise bekommen?

Was musstest Du sonst noch **lernen, um Dein Unternehmen zu gründen**? Wie hast Du Dir dieses Wissen angeeignet?

Weitere Fragen zur Unternehmensgründung:

Was war bei der Unternehmensgründung **einfach**? Was war **schwierig**? Wie hast Du diese Hindernisse überwunden?

Inwiefern hat Deine **bisherige Erfahrung** Dir dabei geholfen, hier ein Unternehmen zu gründen? (*Zur Rolle bisheriger Arbeits- und Migrationserfahrung nachhaken.*)

Wie wichtig war es für die Unternehmensgründung, **Deutsch** zu können? Kannst Du Beispiele dafür nennen, als Du Deutsch können musstest?

Was ist in Deutschland bei der Unternehmensgründung **anders als in Deinem Heimatland**?

Ein Unternehmen führen

Einführungsfrage: Berichte mir einmal von Deinem **Arbeitsalltag** als Unternehmer?

Mögliche Unterfragen:

Wie sehen Deine **Arbeitstage** normalerweise aus?

Wo/von wo aus arbeitest Du hauptsächlich für Dein Unternehmen? Und an welchen anderen Orten?

Wie viele **Stunden** arbeitest Du jeden Tag? Und pro Woche?

Was hat sich für Dich **verändert**, seitdem Du Dein eigenes Unternehmen gegründet hast?

Finanzierung (Finanzielles Kapital)

Einstiegsfrage: Woher hast Du das **Kapital für** Deine **Unternehmensgründung** bekommen?

Weitere Fragen:

Hast Du versucht, **externe Finanzierung** für Dein Unternehmen zu bekommen, z. B. einen Kredit von einer Bank? Erzähle mir mehr darüber?

Hast Du sonst noch irgendwo nach **finanzieller Unterstützung** gesucht, z. B. nach einer Förderung oder ein Stipendium? Erzähle mir mehr darüber?

Woher bekommst Du **Kapital für Investitionen** in Dein Unternehmen?

Sprachgebrauch (Humankapital)

Einstiegsfrage: Wann sprichst Du in Deinem **Alltag** welche Sprache oder **Sprachen**?

Mögliche Unterfragen:

Welche Sprache oder Sprachen sprichst Du zuhause?

Und in der Arbeit?

Und mit Freunden?

4 Soziale Netzwerke (Sozialkapital)

Soziale Kontakte im Alltag

Einstiegsfrage: Mit welchen **Personen** hast Du zurzeit **am meisten Kontakt**, in Deutschland und in anderen Ländern?

Mögliche Unterfrage:

Wie viele Deiner **Familienmitglieder** leben in **Deutschland**? Wer ist noch daheim oder in einem anderen Land?

Weitere Frage zu sozialen Kontakten:

Bist du privat Mitglied von irgendwelchen **Vereinen oder Organisationen**? Erzähle mir mehr davon?

Mögliche Unterfrage:

Bist du in die **Gemeinde** vor Ort involviert? In **religiöse Organisationen** hier vor Ort? In **örtliche Unterstützungsorganisationen**? Erzähle mir mehr davon?

Soziale Netzwerke rund um das Unternehmen

Einführung: Ich würde gerne mehr über das **soziale Umfeld rund um Dein Unternehmen** erfahren, also über die Personen und Organisationen, die auf irgendeine Weise mit Deinem Unternehmen zu tun haben. *Zusammenfassen, welche Kontakte in vorherigen Fragen erwähnt wurden, z.B. Angestellte und Helfer, Business-Inkubatoren, das Arbeitsamt.*

Einstiegsfrage: Mit wem hast Du über Dein Unternehmen sonst noch Kontakt, also mit welchen **Personen und Organisationen**? Erzähle mir einmal mehr von diesen Personen und Organisationen?

Mögliche Unterfragen:

Bist Du Teil eines **Unternehmernetzwerkes**? Erzähle mir mehr davon? *Weitere Informationen erfragen, z.B. Standort, Level der Formalität, Ethnizität der Mitglieder, Häufigkeit und Art der Treffen und Unternehmungen.*

Woher bekommst Du Deine Produkte/Geräte? Wer sind Deine **Lieferanten/Partner**?

Wer sind Deine **Kunden** bzw. wer werden voraussichtlich die Kunden Deines Unternehmens sein? *Nachhaken:* Wo befinden sich die Kunden? Sind die Kunden Deutsche oder haben sie einen Migrationshintergrund? Aus welchen Ländern kommen sie? Wie gewinnst Du **neue Kunden**?

Wo bekommst Du **Beratung** rund um Dein Unternehmen? Wen fragst Du dafür nach Unterstützung?

Weitere Frage zum Netzwerk rund um das Unternehmen:

Wen hast Du kennengelernt, seitdem Du Dich für ein Unternehmen in Köln entschieden hast? *Weitere Informationen erfragen, z.B. Ethnizität dieser Personen und Kontext des Kennenlernens.*

5 Köln als Unternehmensstandort

Einstiegsfrage: Wie ist **Köln als Standort** für Dein Unternehmen?

Mögliche Unterfragen:

Was ist **gut** an Köln als Standort?

Was ist **schlecht** an Köln als Standort?

Weitere Frage zu Köln als Unternehmensstandort:

Wie groß ist der **Wettbewerb** in Deinem Unternehmenssektor in Köln? Wer sind Deine Konkurrenten?

6 Berufliche Selbständigkeit und Integration

Einführung: Ein Hauptthema meiner Recherche ist die **Verbindung zwischen beruflicher Selbständigkeit und Integration**. Die nächsten Fragen drehen sich um Deine Erfahrungen damit.

Einstiegsfrage: Hast Du schon einmal von "Integration" gehört?

a) *Falls ja:* Was heißt es für Dich, in eine Gesellschaft "integriert" zu sein? Und was heißt es für Dich, „nicht integriert“ zu sein?

b) *Falls nein:* Für mich bedeutet integriert zu sein, wenn man sich als Zuwanderer als ein **akzeptierter Teil** der deutschen Gesellschaft fühlt und sich mit der Gesellschaft **identifizieren** kann. Integriert sein heißt auch, dass man wie jeder andere **an den verschiedenen Teilen des sozialen Lebens teilnehmen** kann. Das zeigt sich zum Beispiel daran, dass man mit Menschen verschiedener Herkunft, also Einheimischen und Zuwanderern, in Kontakt ist. *Falls hilfreich, Abbildung mit Integrationsmodell zeigen.*

Unterfragen:

Wie gut würdest Du sagen bist Du **in das Viertel integriert**, in dem Dein Unternehmen ist? Wo würdest Du Dich auf einer Skala von 1 bis 10 einordnen, wenn 1 bedeutet „gar nicht integriert“ und 10 „sehr gut integriert“? Woran liegt das?

Und wie gut würdest Du sagen bist Du **in die deutsche Gesellschaft insgesamt integriert**? Wo würdest Du Dich auf einer Skala von 1 bis 10 einordnen, wenn 1 bedeutet „gar nicht integriert“ und 10 „sehr gut integriert“? Woran liegt das?

Wie hat Dein **Gefühl der Zugehörigkeit** zur deutschen Gesellschaft sich verändert, seitdem Du ein Unternehmen gegründet hast? Fühlst Du Dich heute mehr oder weniger als **Teil der deutschen Gesellschaft**, im Vergleich zu der Zeit vor Deinem Unternehmen? Warum?

7 Zukunftspläne und Ziele

Einführung: Mit den nächsten Fragen möchte ich gerne mehr darüber erfahren, wie Du Deine Zukunft siehst.

Einstiegsfrage: Was sind Deine **Pläne für die Zukunft**?

Mögliche Unterfragen:

Wo möchtest Du gerne leben?

Denkst Du, dass Du in der Zukunft weiterhin selbständig sein wirst, in einem anderen Unternehmen beschäftigt bist, oder etwas anderes machst – z.B. studieren? *Falls zutreffend:* Was sind Deine **Pläne für Dein Unternehmen**? – Soll es so bleiben, wie es ist? Möchtest Du es erweitern? Oder ein neues Unternehmen aufbauen?

Welche Rolle spielt Dein Unternehmen für Deine Zukunft?

Hast Du darüber nachgedacht, in Deutschland noch einmal etwas zu **lernen oder zu studieren**? Falls ja, was und in welchem Bereich? Hast Du schon etwas dafür unternommen – erzähl mir davon?

8 Abschlussfragen

Einführung: Nun habe ich noch ein paar allgemeine Fragen über „Geflüchtete und Unternehmensgründung“ in Deutschland. Danach gehen wir nur noch ein paar kurze Fragen zu Dir und Deinem Unternehmen durch.

Frage 1: Welchen **Rat** würdest Du anderen Geflüchteten geben, die sich in Deutschland selbständig machen möchten?

Frage 2: Gibt es für Geflüchtete bei der Unternehmensgründung **Herausforderungen**, die andere Migranten oder Deutsche nicht haben? Welche Herausforderungen?

Frage 3: Wie könnte man es in Deutschland für Geflüchtete einfacher machen, ein Unternehmen zu gründen?

Frage 4: Gibt es sonst noch etwas, das Du zum Thema „Geflüchtete und Unternehmensgründung“ sagen möchtest?

Frage 5: Kennst Du andere Unternehmer, die als Geflüchtete nach Deutschland gekommen sind und die sich von mir für mein Projekt befragen lassen würden?

C. Sozio-demografische Zusammenfassung und Unternehmensdaten

– bitte ausfüllen; die Daten werden anonym weiterverarbeitet –

Interview ID (Land-Stadt-“ENT“-Interviewnummer):

.....

	ANGABEN
GESCHLECHT	<input type="checkbox"/> Männlich <input type="checkbox"/> Weiblich
ALTER	_____ Jahre
FAMILIEINSTAND	<input type="checkbox"/> Verheiratet <input type="checkbox"/> Verwitwet <input type="checkbox"/> Alleinstehend <input type="checkbox"/> Anderer Familienstand _____
ANZAHL KINDER	_____
HERKUNFTSLAND	_____
AKTUELLER RECHTSSTATUS	<input type="checkbox"/> Asylbewerber/in (Bewerbung läuft) <input type="checkbox"/> Anerkannter Flüchtling: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Subsidiärer Schutz <input type="checkbox"/> Deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft <input type="checkbox"/> Doppelte Staatsbürgerschaft <input type="checkbox"/> Anderer Status _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Weiß nicht

JAHR DER ANKUNFT IN DEUTSCHLAND	_____
MIGRATIONSWEG	<input type="checkbox"/> Selbstorganisiert <input type="checkbox"/> Resettlement-Programm <input type="checkbox"/> Anderer Migrationsweg _____
HÖCHSTE BESUCHTE BILDUNGSEINRICHTUNG	<input type="checkbox"/> Kein formaler Abschluss <input type="checkbox"/> Grundschule besucht <input type="checkbox"/> Sekundarschule besucht <input type="checkbox"/> Berufliche Sekundarschule besucht <input type="checkbox"/> Weiterführende Schule (high school) besucht <input type="checkbox"/> Fachhochschule/Universität besucht <input type="checkbox"/> Andere Bildungseinrichtung _____ → Bereich des Studiums/der Ausbildung (<i>falls zutreffend</i>): _____ → Abschluss: <input type="checkbox"/> ja <input type="checkbox"/> nein
DEUTSCHES SPRACHNIVEAU (<i>Selbsteinschätzung</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/> 'I finde Deutsch sehr schwer' <input type="checkbox"/> 'I finde Deutsch etwas schwer' <input type="checkbox"/> 'Ich kann mich in den meisten Situationen angemessen ausdrücken' <input type="checkbox"/> 'Ich spreche ziemlich fließend Deutsch' <input type="checkbox"/> 'Ich spreche fließend Deutsch'
HAUPTBERUF IM HEIMATLAND	<input type="checkbox"/> Bezahlte Anstellung als _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Selbständig als _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Arbeitslos NOTIZEN:
UNTERNEHMENSSTATUS	<input type="checkbox"/> Etabliertes Unternehmen (>5 years) <input type="checkbox"/> Etabliertes Unternehmen (1-5 years) <input type="checkbox"/> In der Gründungsphase (<1 year) <input type="checkbox"/> Vor der Gründungsphase (angehender Unternehmer)

	<p>NOTIZEN:</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
DATUM (JAHR UND MONAT) DER UNTERNEHMENSGRÜNDUNG	<p>...../.....</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Noch nicht zutreffend</p>
ORT	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Köln</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Anderer Ort:</p>
WIRTSCHAFTSSEKTOR	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Gastgewerbe: _____</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> IT: _____</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Einzelhandel: _____</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Dienstleistung: _____</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Sozialunternehmen: _____</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Anderer Sektor: _____</p>
(ZUKÜNFTIGE) RECHTSFORM DES UNTERNEHMENS	<p><input type="checkbox"/> GmbH</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Einzelunternehmer</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Sozialunternehmen</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Genossenschaft</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Personengesellschaft</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Limited liability partnership (LLP)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Andere Form: _____</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Weiß nicht</p> <p>NOTIZEN:</p>
ANZAHL FORMAL ANGESTELLTER BESCHÄFTIGTER	<p><input type="checkbox"/> _____</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Nicht zutreffend</p> <p>NOTIZEN:</p>
ANZAHL WEITERER HELFER	<p><input type="checkbox"/> _____</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Nicht zutreffend</p> <p>NOTIZEN:</p>
STARTKAPITAL	<p><input type="checkbox"/> <10.000€</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <25.000€</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 25.000-49.999€</p>

	<input type="checkbox"/> 50.000-99.999€ <input type="checkbox"/> 100.000-300.000€ <input type="checkbox"/> >300.000€ <input type="checkbox"/> Noch nicht zutreffend <input type="checkbox"/> Nicht angegeben
GESCHÄFTSLEISTUNG	Mit dem Ertrag aus dem Unternehmen... <input type="checkbox"/> ...kann ich ein angenehmes Leben führen. <input type="checkbox"/> ...kommt am Ende des Monats genug heraus. <input type="checkbox"/> ...kann ich ein annehmbares Leben führen. <input type="checkbox"/> ...komme ich gerade zurecht. <input type="checkbox"/> ...ist es schwierig, über die Runden zu kommen/meine Rechnungen zu bezahlen. <input type="checkbox"/> Noch nicht zutreffend.
JÄHRLICHER UMSATZ (<i>grobe Schätzung</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/> _____ Euro <input type="checkbox"/> Noch nicht zutreffend <input type="checkbox"/> Nicht angegeben

D Nächste Schritte

Interview ID (Land-Stadt-"ENT"-Interviewnummer):

.....

FOLLOW-UP	Ist damit einverstanden, für weitere Fragen kontaktiert zu werden JA <input type="checkbox"/> NEIN <input type="checkbox"/> Ist an einer Zusammenfassung der wichtigsten Ergebnisse interessiert JA <input type="checkbox"/> NEIN <input type="checkbox"/> Möchte das Interviewtranskript gegenlesen JA <input type="checkbox"/> NEIN <input type="checkbox"/>
BEVORZUGTE KONTAKTMETHODE (<i>falls zutreffend</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/> E-Mail <input type="checkbox"/> Telefon (geschäftlich) <input type="checkbox"/> Telefon (mobil) <input type="checkbox"/> Andere Kontaktmethode
NOTIZEN

NOCH EINMAL VIELEN DANK FÜR DIE TEILNAHME!

Diese Seite wird zum Zwecke des Datenschutzes und der erhöhten Sicherheit getrennt
aufbewahrt.

INTERVIEW ID (Land-Stadt-“KI”-
Interviewnummer)

PERSÖNLICHE ANGABEN ZUR SCHLÜSSELPERSON UND ORGANISATION

	ANGABEN
VOR- UND NACHNAME DES/DER BEFRAGTEN	
NAME DER ORGANISATION	
STADT, STADTTEIL, STRAÙE	
TEIL DER ORGANISATION SEIT (DATUM)	
ABTEILUNG (falls zutreffend)	
ANZAHL DER MITARBEITER (am Standort und insgesamt, falls mehrere Standorte)	
PROJEKT LÄUFT SEIT (DATUM; falls zutreffend)	
ROLLE DES/DER BEFRAGTEN IN DER ORGANISATION UND/ODER DEM PROJEKT	
TELEFONNUMMER	
E-MAIL	
HOMEPAGE (falls zutreffend)	

NOTIZEN:

.....

.....

.....

Teilstrukturiertes Interview: Leitfaden für Schlüsselpersonen

Berufliche Selbständigkeit von Geflüchteten in deutschen und britischen Großstädten

Noch einmal vielen Dank, dass Sie an dieser Studie teilnehmen. Unser Gespräch wird uns die Möglichkeit geben, über Ihre persönliche Erfahrung in der Zusammenarbeit mit Geflüchteten, die sich selbstständig gemacht haben, zu sprechen. Das wird mir sehr dabei helfen, die Bedingungen für berufliche Selbständigkeit von Geflüchteten in Deutschland und Köln besser zu verstehen. Ganz konkret werde ich Ihnen Fragen zu Ihrer Arbeit und der Arbeit Ihrer Organisation stellen, zu den Unternehmen Geflüchteter in Köln, zu den Hindernissen und Erfolgsfaktoren für berufliche Selbständigkeit, zum Wirtschaftsstandort Köln sowie zum Zusammenhang von beruflicher Selbständigkeit und Integration.

Ich würde das Interview gerne mit dem Aufnahmegerät aufnehmen, damit ich keine Notizen machen muss und mich besser auf Ihre Antworten konzentrieren kann. Wenn Sie das aber nicht möchten, sagen Sie mir Bescheid.

A. Angaben zum Interview

Interview ID (Land-Stadt-"KI"-Interviewnummer):	Befragungsort
Befragungsdatum/...../.....	Dauer des Interviews minutes
NOTIZEN:	

B. Informationen zur Schlüsselperson und der Organisation

	ANGABEN
ROLLE DES/DER BEFRAGTEN	
ORT	<input type="checkbox"/> Köln <input type="checkbox"/> Anderer Ort:
ART DER ORGANISATION (<i>falls zutreffend</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/> NGO/Wohlfahrtsverband <input type="checkbox"/> Gemeindeorganisation <input type="checkbox"/> Arbeitgeberverband <input type="checkbox"/> Sozialunternehmen <input type="checkbox"/> Wirtschaftliches Unternehmen

	<input type="checkbox"/> Sprachschule <input type="checkbox"/> Other:
ANZAHL DER ANGESTELLTEN (in der Zweigstelle und insgesamt)	Zweigstelle: _____ Angestellte Insgesamt: _____ Angestellte
ABTEILUNG DES/DER BEFRAGTEN <i>(falls zutreffend)</i>	_____
INFORMATION ÜBER DAS PROJEKT <i>(falls zutreffend)</i>	Projektart: _____ Startdatum: _____ Enddatum: _____
NOTIZEN

C. Teilstrukturiertes Interview

Hinweis: Im Folgenden verwende ich den Begriff „Gründer mit Fluchtgeschichte“ oder einfach „Gründer“ für Personen (Männer und Frauen), die als Geflüchtete nach Europa gekommen sind und sich in Köln beruflich selbstständig gemacht haben oder dies aktuell planen.

1 Die Organisation und die Tätigkeit des/der Befragten

Einführung: Zunächst würde ich gerne mehr über **Ihre Organisation/Ihr Projekt** und **Ihre Rolle** darin erfahren. *Falls die Person nicht Teil einer Organisation oder eines Projekts ist, Fragen dementsprechend anpassen.*

Einstiegsfrage: Erzählen Sie mir einmal über **die Arbeit Ihrer Organisation?**

Unterfragen:

Wie arbeitet Ihre Organisation **mit Gründern mit Fluchtgeschichte** zusammen?
Weitere Informationen erfragen, z.B. Art und Inhalt des Trainings oder der Beratung, Zielgruppen, wie Teilnehmer ausgewählt werden.

Was ist **Ihre Rolle** in der Organisation/dem Projekt? **Seit wann** arbeiten Sie für die Organisation/das Projekt?

Seit wann unterstützt Ihre Organisation/Ihr Projekt (die Gründung von) Unternehmen, die von Geflüchteten geführt werden?

Mit wie vielen Gründern mit Fluchtgeschichte hat Ihre Organisation bisher zusammengearbeitet? Und Sie selbst? Und wie viele Gründer mit Fluchtgeschichte unterstützen Ihre Organisation zurzeit?

2 Die Betriebe von Gründern mit Fluchtgeschichte in Köln

Einführung: Mich interessiert, wie **die Unternehmen und der Gründungsprozess von Geflüchteten in Köln** aussehen. Ich möchte Sie einladen, während des gesamten Fragensatzes über einzelne Geschichten und Beispiele nachzudenken, die Ihnen in Ihrer Arbeit begegnet sind.

Frage 1:

Wie würden sie die **Unternehmen** der Gründer mit Fluchtgeschichte in Köln **beschreiben**?

Unterfragen:

Welche **Wirtschaftszweige** decken sie ab? Warum eröffnen sie genau diese Art von Unternehmen?

Wie groß sind ihre Unternehmen? (z.B. Kleinstunternehmen, Familienunternehmen, Anzahl der Angestellten)

Wo eröffnen Gründer mit Fluchtgeschichte ihre Unternehmen in Köln? Könnten Sie die Gegenden beschreiben? Aus welchen Gründen lassen sie sich in diesen Gegenden nieder? Wie finden sie geeignete Standorte?

Was ist der **geografische Fokus** ihrer Unternehmen – sind sie lokal, in der ganzen Region, landesweit oder transnational tätig? Bitte nennen Sie ein paar Beispiele.

Wie gut laufen die Unternehmen? Wie hoch ist die **Überlebensrate** der Unternehmen – auch im Vergleich zu Neugründungen von Einheimischen? Aus welchen Gründen schließen Unternehmen wieder?

Frage 2:

Wie würden Sie die Eigenschaften der **Gründer mit Fluchtgeschichte**, mit denen Sie zusammengearbeitet haben, **zusammenfassen**?

Unterscheidet sich ihr sozio-demographisches Profil **von anderen Gründern in Deutschland**? Inwiefern?

Im Detail: Was ist ihre

- *Altersverteilung,*
- *Geschlechterverteilung,*
- *Herkunftsländern,*
- *Migrationsweg (z.B. selbstorganisiert, Resettlement-Programm, während der Migration in anderen Ländern gelebt),*
- *Dauer des Aufenthalts in Deutschland,*
- *Bildungsstand,*
- *mitgebrachte Abschlüsse,*
- *Sprachniveau zum Zeitpunkt der Gründung,*
- *Arbeitserfahrung vor der Gründung.*

Unterfragen zur bisherigen Berufserfahrung:

Wie viele Gründer mit Fluchtgeschichte waren bereits selbstständig, bevor sie nach Deutschland gekommen sind? (Als Anteil aller Gründer mit Fluchtgeschichte ausgedrückt.)

Welche Unternehmen hatten sie vorher? Sind diese Unternehmen ähnlich oder unterscheiden sich von denen, die sie hier gegründet haben?

Wie nutzen sie ihre **bisherigen Erfahrungen** mit beruflicher Selbständigkeit für ihre Unternehmen in Deutschland?

Wie nutzen sie ihre **bisherige (Aus-)Bildung** für ihr Unternehmen in Deutschland?

Sind sie tendenziell überqualifiziert, genau **richtig qualifiziert** oder unterqualifiziert **für den Bereich**, in dem sie sich selbständig machen?

Frage 3:

Was sind die **Hauptgründe**, warum sich Geflüchtete **in Deutschland selbständig machen**?

Weitere Fragen zur Gründung:

Wann entsteht die **Idee, in Deutschland zu gründen** – also vor, während oder nach der Migration? Gibt es hierbei ein **erkennbares Muster**?

Spielt die **Erfahrung der Fluchtmigration** eine Rolle für die Entscheidung, hier ein Unternehmen zu eröffnen? Wenn ja, inwiefern?

Welche Rolle spielt die **unternehmerische Kultur im Heimatland** für die Entscheidung, hier ein Unternehmen zu eröffnen?

Würden einige Gründer mit Fluchtgeschichte **lieber in abhängiger Beschäftigung** arbeiten? *Falls ja*: Warum gründen sie trotzdem?

Frage 4:

Wie viel **finanzielles Kapital** brauchen die Geflüchteten, mit denen Sie gearbeitet haben, um ein Unternehmen zu gründen? Woher bekommen sie die nötige Finanzierung, um ihr Unternehmen zu gründen?

Frage 5:

Welche **Rolle** spielen Unternehmen von Geflüchteten **für die Stadt und Region**?

Mögliche Unterfrage:

Welche **Rolle** spielen Unternehmen von Geflüchteten **für die lokale Wirtschaft**?
Wie viele darunter bilden im dualen System aus?

Welche **Rolle** spielen Unternehmen von Geflüchteten **für das soziale Miteinander** in Köln?

3 Köln als Unternehmensstandort für Geflüchtete

Einführung: In den folgenden Fragen geht es um **Köln als Unternehmensstandort** für Gründer mit Fluchtgeschichte. Mich interessiert insbesondere, was Köln im Vergleich zu anderen Städten in Deutschland als Wirtschaftsstandort ausmacht.

Frage 1:

Wie würden Sie **Köln generell als Wirtschaftsstandort** beschreiben?

Unterfragen:

Wodurch zeichnet sich Köln als Wirtschaftsstandort im Vergleich zu anderen Orten in Deutschland **positiv** aus?

Was ist an Köln als Wirtschaftsstandort im Vergleich zu anderen Orten in Deutschland **schlecht**?

Frage 2:

Wie leicht ist es für Geflüchtete – im Vergleich zu anderen Städten in Deutschland –, **in Köln zu gründen**?

Frage 3:

Stellen Sie sich vor, Sie wären selbst ein angehender Gründer mit Fluchthintergrund: **Wo** würden Sie sich **beraten lassen**? Wen würden Sie um Hilfe bitten?

Frage 4:

An wen wenden sich Geflüchtete, die in Köln ein Unternehmen gründen wollen tatsächlich? Inwiefern nutzen sie die bestehenden Beratungsstrukturen und Netzwerke? (z.B. Jobcenter, Beratungsangebote der Industrie- und Handelskammer bzw. Handwerkskammer)

Frage 5:

Welche **Migrantennetzwerke und Migrantenunternehmernetzwerke** gibt es in Köln? Inwiefern beteiligen sich Gründer mit Fluchtgeschichte Geflüchtete daran?

4 Herausforderungen und fördernde Faktoren für die Selbständigkeit Geflüchteter in Deutschland

Einführung: Im nächsten Interviewteil geht es um **Herausforderungen und fördernde Faktoren** für die Selbständigkeit Geflüchteter.

Frage 1:

Welche Faktoren ermöglichen es Gründern mit Fluchtgeschichte, ein Unternehmen **zu gründen** und zu führen? Denken Sie an persönliche Faktoren (wie Sprachkenntnisse, Qualifikationen, finanzielle Mittel oder Netzwerke) und strukturelle Faktoren (wie die Unterstützungsangebote für Gründer).

Frage 2:

Welchen **Herausforderungen** begegnen Gründer mit Fluchtgeschichte bei der Unternehmensgründung? Unterscheiden diese Herausforderungen sich von denen anderer Gründer? Denken Sie sowohl an persönliche als an strukturelle Faktoren.

Frage 3:

Was wird in Deutschland schon gemacht, um den Herausforderungen von Flüchtlingen und anderen Migranten bei der Unternehmensgründung zu begegnen?

Frage 4:

Was könnte in Deutschland verbessert werden, um Flüchtlingen und anderen Migranten die Unternehmensgründung zu erleichtern?

5 Berufliche Selbständigkeit und Integration

Einführung: Ein Hauptthema meiner Doktorarbeit ist die **Verbindung zwischen beruflicher Selbständigkeit und Integration**. Die nächsten Fragen drehen sich daher um

dieses Thema. Ich möchte Sie noch einmal einladen, über einzelne Geschichten und Beispiele nachzudenken, die Ihnen in Ihrer Arbeit begegnet sind.

Einstiegsfrage:

Haben Sie schon einmal von "Integration" gehört?

a) *Falls ja:* Was heißt es für Sie, in eine Gesellschaft "integriert" zu sein? Und was heißt es für Sie, „nicht integriert“ zu sein?

b) *Falls nein:* Für mich bedeutet integriert zu sein, wenn man sich als Zuwanderer als ein **akzeptierter Teil** der deutschen Gesellschaft fühlt und sich mit der Gesellschaft **identifizieren** kann. Integriert sein heißt auch, dass man wie jeder andere **an den verschiedenen Teilen des sozialen Lebens teilnehmen** kann. Das zeigt sich zum Beispiel daran, dass man mit Menschen verschiedener Herkunft, also Einheimischen und Zuwanderern, in Kontakt ist. *Falls hilfreich, Abbildung mit Integrationsmodell zeigen.*

Frage 1:

Würden Sie sagen, dass **berufliche Selbständigkeit insgesamt die Integration** Geflüchteter **unterstützt**? Warum (nicht)? *Nach individuellen Geschichten fragen.*

Frage 2:

Neigen eher Geflüchtete, die bereits gut integriert sind dazu, ein Unternehmen in Deutschland zu gründen? Oder Geflüchtete, die noch nicht gut integriert sind? Warum? *Nach individuellen Geschichten fragen.*

6 Schlussfragen

Frage 1: Welchen Rat würden Sie Geflüchteten oder anderen Migranten geben, die sich in Deutschland selbständig machen möchten?

Frage 2: Kennen Sie jemanden, der wie Sie mit vielen Gründern mit Fluchtgeschichte in Köln im Kontakt steht und sich als Teil dieser Studie von mir interviewen lassen würde?

Frage 3: Kennen Sie (angehende) Gründer mit Fluchtgeschichte in Köln, die sich als Teil dieser Studie von mir befragen lassen würden?

Frage 4: Gibt es sonst noch etwas, das Sie gerne zum Thema "berufliche Selbständigkeit von Geflüchteten" sagen möchten?

D. Nächste Schritte

FOLLOW-UP	<p>Ist damit einverstanden, für weitere Fragen kontaktiert zu werden JA <input type="checkbox"/> NEIN <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Ist an einer Zusammenfassung der wichtigsten Ergebnisse interessiert JA <input type="checkbox"/> NEIN <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Möchte das Interviewtranskript geglesen JA <input type="checkbox"/> NEIN <input type="checkbox"/></p>
BEVORZUGTE KONTAKTMETHODE	<p>Email <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Telefon <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Andere Kontaktmethode <input type="checkbox"/></p>
NOTIZEN	<p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>

NOCH EINMAL VIELEN DANK FÜR IHRE TEILNAHME!

Appendix 3: Codebook research questions 1-3

Final Code System – Themes, Categories and Codes (see Section 3.5.5)

Coding legend:

Bold and underlined: corresponding research question

Bold = themes

Italic = categories

Unformatted text = second-order codes and aggregated first-order codes (indented)

Entrepreneurs' perspectives
<u>Research question 1: Decision to start a business</u>
Individual motivational factors
<i>Individual resources (related to the past)</i>
Experience/human and cultural capital
Entrepreneurship experience (in country of origin/other country)
Sectoral experience (country of origin/other country)
Both sectoral and business ownership experience
Family business background
Culture of entrepreneurship in country of origin
Sharing own culture
<i>Self-concept (related to the present)</i>
Positive emotions towards business
Passion for self-employment in general
Passion for the profession
Passion for developing ideas
Entrepreneurial self-image
Being an active person
Ability to do it
Willingness to take risks
<i>Future self (related to the future)</i>
Hope
Recreation of situation at home
Better future through business
Socio-economic mobility
Financial improvement
Financial security
Career development
Independence

Independence <i>from</i> the benefit system
Independence <i>within</i> the benefit system
Working for someone else is not an option
Flexibility
Flexibility to structure the day
Flexibility to combine work and family obligations (in country of destination/country of origin)
Entrepreneurship as a safe space
Control
Control over income
Control over life
Contribution to society
Employing other migrants
Being an active and useful citizen
Giving something back to the country
Contextual motivational factors
<i>Push factors</i>
Blocked mobility
Alternative to underemployment
Alternative to low-paid job
Discrimination
Lack of alternatives
Not possible to find a job
Initial plan did not work out
Wish to move on with life
<i>Pull factors</i>
Ease of starting a business
Not difficult to start a business
Faster than other pathways
Less local language proficiency needed
Market opportunities
Entrepreneurial role models
Availability of support system
<u>Research question 2: Starting a business in the UK/Germany</u>
Social resources
<i>Formal resources to start a business</i>

Intersection formal/informal

Informal resources to start a business

Human capital

Learning about the system

Education

Professional experience

Spoken languages

Access to financial resources

Indirect financial support

The entrepreneurial agent: personal attributes

Research question 3: Entrepreneurship and integration

Entrepreneurship and structural integration

Structural (incl. language)

Socioeconomic mobility

Entrepreneurship and social integration

Entrepreneurship and cultural/intercultural integration

Entrepreneurship and civic/political integration

Entrepreneurship and identity integration

Key informants' perspectives

Overarching themes and categories (descriptive)

The city context

Information about businesses

Kinds of businesses

Locations, spatial orientation

Customers/target groups

Who starts a business, characteristics

The context: starting and running a business

City/regional level

Actors

Enablers

Barriers

Country level

Enablers

Barriers

Research question 1: Decision to start a business

Decision to start a business - perceived individual factors

Experience/human capital

Independence

Flexibility

Socio-economic mobility

Survival

Control

Culture of self-employment in COO

Decision to start a business - perceived contextual factors

Blocked mobility

Alternative to underemployment/low-paid job

Negative experiences with the labour market

Discrimination

Lack of alternatives

Not possible to find a job

Ease of starting a business

Not difficult to start a business

Faster than other pathways

Less local language proficiency needed

Entrepreneurial role models

Research question 2: Starting a business - resources

Social resources

Human capital resources

Financial resources

Perceived personal enablers

Perceived personal barriers

Research question 3: Entrepreneurship and integration

Entrepreneurship and structural integration (incl. language)

Entrepreneurship and socio-cultural integration

Appendix 4: The sample

Table: Sample overview in Birmingham and Cologne – refugee-origin entrepreneurs (n=42; * = active entrepreneur; ** = aspiring entrepreneur).

	<i>Gen-der</i>	<i>Age group</i>	<i>Country of origin</i>	<i>Time of arrival</i>	<i>Mode of migration to Europe</i>	<i>Business sector</i>	<i>Type and status of business</i>
Birmingham							
<i>Joseph (BHAM-ENT1)</i>	M	35-44	Rwanda	2001-2005	Self-organised	Service, high-skilled	Digital marketing service*
<i>Suleymaan (BHAM-ENT2)</i>	M	35-44	Somaliland	2001-2005	Self-organised	Social enterprise	Property management**
<i>Amadi (BHAM-ENT3)</i>	M	45-54	Ethiopia	2006-2010	Self-organised	Hospitality	Internet café*
<i>Hani (BHAM-ENT4)</i>	F	55-60	Somalia	2001-2005	Self-organised	Retail	Tailor*
<i>Ali (BHAM-ENT5)</i>	M	25-34	Syria	2011-2015	Self-organised	Hospitality	Syrian restaurant*
<i>Omer (BHAM-ENT6)</i>	M	35-44	Sudan	1996-2000	Self-organised	Retail / service	Mobile phone shop / barber*
<i>Imaan (BHAM-ENT7)</i>	M	35-44	Somalia	2001-2005	Self-organised	Hospitality	Event venue / restaurant*
<i>Hodan (BHAM-ENT8)</i>	F	45-54	Somalia	2001-2005	Self-organised	Retail	Tailor*
<i>Amir (BHAM-ENT9)</i>	M	25-34	Syria	2011-2015	Self-organised	Hospitality	Syrian restaurant*
<i>Saif (BHAM-ENT10)</i>	M	55-60	Syria	After 2015	Resettlement programme	Service / social enterprise	IT repair shop / ICT training**
<i>Ahmad (BHAM-ENT11)</i>	M	35-44	Syria	After 2015	Resettlement programme	Retail / social enterprise	Tailor / tailor courses**
<i>Alia (BHAM-ENT12)</i>	F	35-44	Syria	After 2015	Resettlement programme	Retail / social enterprise	Upcycling shop for clothing from Middle Eastern countries**
<i>Jamilah (BHAM-ENT13)</i>	F	45-54	Somalia	1996-2000	Self-organised	Retail	Somali clothing shop*
<i>Hibaaq (BHAM-ENT14)</i>	F	35-44	Somalia	2001-2005	Self-organised	Social enterprise	Somali language classes for children**
<i>Sahra (BHAM-ENT15)</i>	F	45-54	Somalia	1991-1995	Resettlement programme	Service / retail	Hairdresser's / clothes shop*
<i>Mousa (BHAM-ENT16)</i>	M	55-60	Egypt	1996-2000	Self-organised	Retail	Islamic book store*
<i>Abdirahim (BHAM-ENT17)</i>	M	45-54	Somalia	2006-2010	Self-organised	Retail	Minimarket*
<i>Nadheer (BHAM-ENT18)</i>	M	25-34	Yemen	1996-2000	Family reunification	Retail	Minimarket / butchery*
<i>Jabir (BHAM-ENT19)</i>	M	25-35	Syria	After 2015	Self-organised	Social enterprise	Business support*

<i>Felipe</i> (BHAM-ENT20)	M	35-45	Mexico	2011-2015	Self-organised	Hospitality	Latin American restaurant**
Cologne							
<i>Banu</i> (COLOGNE-ENT1)	F	35-44	Iran	1991-1995	Family reunification	Service	Hairdresser's*
<i>Ephrem</i> (COLOGNE-ENT2)	M	35-44	Ethiopia	1991-1995	Self-organised	Social enterprise	Training and consulting for migrants*
<i>Amin</i> (COLOGNE-ENT3)	M	35-44	Iran	1991-1995	Self-organised	Retail	Kiosk, bakery*
<i>Mehrdad</i> (COLOGNE-ENT4)	M	35-44	Iran	2011-2015	Self-organised	Hospitality	Snack bar*
<i>Yasin</i> (COLOGNE-ENT5)	M	45-54	Iraq	2001-2005	Self-organised	Retail	Car service station*
<i>Aman</i> (COLOGNE-ENT6)	M	35-44	Iraq	2006-2010	Self-organised	Hospitality	Middle Eastern restaurant*
<i>Neda</i> (COLOGNE-ENT7)	F	55-60	Iran	2001-2005	Self-organised	Hospitality	Burger restaurant*
<i>Shadi</i> (COLOGNE-ENT8)	F	45-54	Iran	2001-2005	Self-organised	Retail	Persian pastry shop*
<i>Abbas</i> (COLOGNE-ENT9)	M	35-44	Syria	2011-2015	Self-organised	Service	Tailor**
<i>Mehdi</i> (COLOGNE-ENT10)	M	45-54	Iran	2011-2015	Self-organised	Service	Goldsmith*
<i>Hadi</i> (COLOGNE-ENT11)	M	45-54	Syria	2011-2015	Resettlement programme	Retail	Export of medical equipment**
<i>Tariq</i> (COLOGNE-ENT12)	M	18-24	Afghanistan	2011-2015	Self-organised	Hospitality	Shisha bar*
<i>Jamal</i> (COLOGNE-ENT13)	M	18-24	Syria	2011-2015	Self-organised	Retail	Cheese factory**
<i>Walid</i> (COLOGNE-ENT14)	M	45-54	Syria	2011-2015	Self-organised	Retail	Cookie factory**
<i>Yusuf</i> (COLOGNE-ENT15)	M	35-44	Syria	2011-2015	Self-organised	Service	Print and copy shop**
<i>Ammar</i> (COLOGNE-ENT16)	M	35-44	Iraq	1996-2000	Self-organised	Hospitality	Pizzeria*
<i>Zamir</i> (COLOGNE-ENT17)	M	35-44	Iraq	2001-2005	Self-organised	Service	Hairdresser's*
<i>Ray</i> (COLOGNE-ENT18)	M	25-34	Guinea	2006-2010	Self-organised	Retail	Afro shop and café*
<i>Stepan</i> (COLOGNE-ENT19)	M	35-44	Armenia	2011-2015	Self-organised	Retail	Online retail, innovative products from abroad**
<i>Farid</i> (COLOGNE-ENT20)	M	25-34	Syria	2011-2015	Self-organised	Retail	Spices wholesale**
<i>Rima</i> (COLOGNE-ENT21)	F	25-34	Syria	2011-2015	Self-organised	Hospitality	Syrian-style café**
<i>Sheri</i> (COLOGNE-ENT22)	F	35-44	Iran	After 2015	Self-organised	Service	Innovative sports centre**

Table: Sample overview in Birmingham and Cologne – key informants (n=13).

	<i>Gen-der</i>	<i>Country of origin</i>	<i>Linked to formal organisation</i>	<i>Organisation</i>	<i>Job title/role</i>
Birmingham					
<i>Asad (BHAM-K11)</i>	M	Somalia	No	n. a.	Social entrepreneur with links into several migrant/refugee communities; former refugee
<i>Salman (BHAM-K12)</i>	M	UK	Yes	Charity	Community worker
<i>Jo (BHAM-K13)</i>	M	Melanesia	Yes	Charity	Community worker/researcher; former refugee
<i>Brian (BHAM-K14)</i>	M	UK	Yes	Social enterprise	Community worker
<i>Yasmiin (BHAM-K15)</i>	F	Netherlands (2 nd generation Somali)	No	n. a.	Entrepreneur with links into several migrant/refugee communities
<i>Mary (BHAM-K16)</i>	F	UK (2 nd generation immigrant)	Yes	Business incubator for refugees and other migrants	Entrepreneurship trainer, project worker
Cologne					
<i>Johanna (COLOGNE-K11)</i>	F	Germany	Yes	Business incubator for refugees and other migrants	Entrepreneurship trainer, project lead
<i>Lina (COLOGNE-K12)</i>	F	Germany (2 nd generation immigrant)	Yes	Business incubator for refugees and other migrants	Entrepreneurship trainer, project worker
<i>Joachim (COLOGNE-K13)</i>	M	Germany	Yes	City Council	Entrepreneurship consultant
<i>Pauline (COLOGNE-K14)</i>	F	Germany	Yes	Jobcentre/ Integration Point	Integration consultant, project lead
<i>Silke (COLOGNE-K15)</i>	F	Germany	Yes	Chamber of Industry and Commerce	Entrepreneurship consultant
<i>Esra (COLOGNE-K16)</i>	F	Germany (2 nd generation immigrant)	Yes	Jobcentre	Entrepreneurship consultant
<i>Esin (COLOGNE-K17)</i>	F	Germany (2 nd generation immigrant)	Yes	Jobcentre	Integration consultant for refugees