

Migrant entrepreneurs as actors of structural change
A case study in Enschede



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ABSTRACT

This study was set to create a first understanding on whether non-Western migrant entrepreneurs of the second generation are contributing to urban innovations. It should become clear then if, and how they influence physical and social space through their location choices and activities. The aim of the research led to the following research question: *How do firm activities of non-Western migrant entrepreneurs of the second generation in Enschede influence or contribute to processes of urban innovation?*

With three sub questions an answer toward the research question was developed. First the characteristics of the migrant entrepreneurs in Enschede were revealed. Then the choices for a business location, and the location characteristics were discussed. Thirdly, business activities were analysed in relation to possible urban innovations.

To come to the results, first the aspects of mixed embeddedness and urban opportunity structures which contribute to entrepreneurship and firm activities of the second generation of non-Western migrant entrepreneurs were collected. This led to a valuable explanation of the urban innovations at hand, structured by an elaborate operationalisation. The research is based on data collected in the city of Enschede, since it is a city with a relatively large group of ethnic entrepreneurs, due to historical regional developments. Next to interviewing, a survey was conducted among the migrant entrepreneurs in Enschede. Also was the extensive desk research with a policy analysis and scientific literature supported by an expert interview with a senior advisor of the municipality of Enschede.

An important side note is the fact that this study has an explorative character, therefore sharing a broad scope of innovations. On the other side, however, many questions remain unanswered. Therefore, many recommendations have been done in the final chapter. Still, the complete operationalisation shared some valuable results, confirming theories and creating new knowledge, helping a future innovative urban landscape. Especially import proved the aspect of service innovations. Many second generation migrant entrepreneurs revealed they valued the quality of their services, and the will to help their customers to any length possible. Another interesting innovational aspect is the sharing of unique products with the region. Several entrepreneurs offered products otherwise unavailable in the region. From food, to vacations and from specialized physical therapist methods to customized webpages. Social innovations were revealed as well. Next to organisations aiming for a higher social welfare in the area as a business goal, the several activities entrepreneurs support or organise, lead to interesting innovational aspects for the city. A final conclusion was that migrant entrepreneurs actively contribute to mentoring a new generation, by recruiting interns and helping young unemployed people starting their careers.

Keywords: Urban innovations, social embeddedness, urban opportunity structures, migrant entrepreneurs

PREFACE & ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The desire to unravel the unknown often recurs as the starting point of new narratives. This study might serve the beginning of new explorations in the changes offered by migrant entrepreneurship. However, I experienced the writing of this thesis as a step in my personal development as well. The process of writing this thesis started in the autumn of 2014. It was the starting point of a period with many chances. Therefore the process from getting familiar with the research topic, to writing the preface of a finalised master thesis symbolises the experiences and sentiments from the last year in many aspects of my life. Confusion first, in the development of the research proposal and in formulating a conceptual framework, but also in choosing a career path. When the last one finally started with an intense but satisfying few months as a trainee spatial development, the struggle to find the time to end the thesis began. It was the support of my fellow trainees at BMC Implementatie, my family and my boyfriend that made it possible for me to finalise this study. I am sorry I made them wait quite a while, but at the same time I am grateful about the things I did accomplish over these two years. It is with a much increased self-knowledge and self-worth I am able to end this part of my life.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Project framework

Starting a business is not an individualistic activity. The idea often rises from an environment which enables or even forces someone to start an enterprise (Kloosterman, 2010). Unemployment and social exclusion are some of the examples given by Sahin (2012) which might be a direct cause to start a business, when being a migrant. Other aspects such as social capital and financial resources are also a part of this environment. Just like there are triggers to start up a business, these firms will trigger their physical surroundings as well and cause new actions and movements.

Sahin (2012) also argues that over the years, entrepreneurship by migrants has increased largely in the Netherlands. A logical increase, since about one million Muslims and about one million other migrants inhabit the Netherlands (Duyvendak, Van Niekerk & Hendriks, 2009). In her dissertation Sahin acknowledges the positive effects of migrant entrepreneurship on the prosperity of urban economies. These effects are instigated by the improved level of education by second generation migrants, combined with a better understanding of the Dutch market and a multicultural, more creative background (Engelen, 2010; Rušinović, 2006). These circumstances contribute to entrepreneurial successes of the second generation of ethnic businesspeople. Where on the one hand the possibilities for entrepreneurial success are bound by many external factors, entrepreneurship in itself also influences external spaces. These external spaces can be understood as places which are not directly linked to an entrepreneur by ownership, but which still are influenced by the entrepreneurs, as they cause changes in patterns of use or functionality. For example, the presence of enterprises might increase the number of visitors in that area. At the same time it might also cause new functions to rise as they are successfully combined with the newly created business. One could think of the set-up of new activities, an increase in food and catering services, or lounge places. These changes can be caused by the entrepreneur as well as by other stakeholders. It might even be possible that the architectural properties of newly build companies might influence the landscape. However, research on this subject, especially in relation to migrant entrepreneurship, is lacking.

The two paragraphs above are the starting point for this research, which is, as illustrated, situated at the crossroads of urban changes through entrepreneurship and the increase in migrant entrepreneurship in The Netherlands. Below, these aspects are further explained.

The economy of the 21st century has taken a post-industrial path, in which earlier dominant industries have been exchanged for personal and business services (Sassen, 2001). This post-industrial model as described by Saskia Sassen increases the size of the highly educated workforce and puts the knowledge industry at the centre of the economy (2001: 253). The European change from an industrial structure towards the resurgence of small and medium-sized enterprises also has made the presence of businesses run by migrant entrepreneurs more visible (Volery, 2007). Next to the increase in ethnic entrepreneurship

in the classical sectors such as the catering industry and the secular growth of entrepreneurship in the Netherlands, Engelen (2010: 14) argues that the increasingly better educated second generation of migrants (in comparison with the first generation) is able to develop themselves in this post-industrial path (Panteia, 2013:7). Second generation minority entrepreneurs are to be found more distributed over the various industries, and are able to gain in professionalism, value creation and profits in comparison with the first generation (Engelen, 2010).

Location choices for entrepreneurs are based on various reasons such as the networks of the entrepreneurs themselves, and the opportunities created by an area. One can think of (potential) agglomeration effects such as localisation and urbanisation economies as possible opportunities (Bosma & Sternberg, 2014: 1019). Urbanisation economies come into being when different industries and different sectors concentrate themselves in a specific area, and localisation economies pull a firm towards businesses of the same industry. These factors influence the choices of an entrepreneur, as well as they influence the future of the area. The development of new entrepreneurial activities in a neighbourhood might as well cause new activities or change daily routines of people who are already living or working in that place. Migrant entrepreneurs often choose to start their businesses in areas in which their networks are embedded. Since their settlement patterns seem to differ from those of entrepreneurs in general, it seems likely that their presence could have different outcomes on urban spaces as well. However, no research has been done on this theme so far.

1.2 Problem statement

In the past, migrant entrepreneurship was seen as a survival strategy to avoid the salaried employment which could not always secure a sufficient income for migrants. However, recent research challenges this assumption and demands for a new perspective on migrant entrepreneurship, since migrants have embraced entrepreneurship as a means of social and economic betterment for the community, and also to enter the mainstream level of their societies (Steyart & Katz, 2004). The second generation is able to seize economic opportunities due to higher education and a broad cultural background and uses its networks in a supportive manner. Therefore contexts of integration of foreigners and the beneficence of migrant businesses to the Dutch economy should be investigated through a new perspective. Although there have been some recent studies concerning this topic (Beckers & Blumberg, 2013; Engelen, 2010; Rušinović, 2006, Sahin 2012) most of them deal with aspects leading to business opportunities and the position of migrant entrepreneurs. With this study the focus should be placed on the effects on urban spaces and activities caused by second generation minority entrepreneurs, a perspective which seems missing in regional development literature. It should become more transparent whether ethnic entrepreneurship supports the increase of flows, clustering processes, or in any other way contributes to processes of urban innovation.

1.3 research objective

The aim of this research is to create a first understanding on whether non-Western migrant entrepreneurs of the second generation are contributing to urban innovations. It should

become clear then if, and how they influence physical space through their location choices and activities. Especially interesting in this research is the focus in migrant entrepreneurs, and to what extent the research population differs from entrepreneurs in general. This goal should be reached by first analysing what aspects of mixed embeddedness and which urban opportunity structures contribute to entrepreneurship and firm activities of second generation non-Western migrant entrepreneurs. This should be helpful in explaining the urban innovations that are at hand. The research is based on data collected in the city of Enschede, as a city with a relatively large group of ethnic entrepreneurs.

1.4 Research questions

In order to reach this goal, the following research question, supported by three sub questions, should create a well-developed answer for the research problem:

How do firm activities of non-Western migrant entrepreneurs of the second generation in Enschede influence or contribute to processes of urban innovation?

Firm activities can range from the product or service a business offers to the personal activities of the business owner, when these activities are stimulated because of this person being a firm owner. Influence and contribution have a broad definition here as well. Migrant entrepreneurs might be able to change a process, they might be part of the process, or they might instigate the innovation.

The following sub questions should help develop an answer on the research question:

1. *What are the characteristics of non-western migrant entrepreneurs of the second generation in Enschede?*

This first subquestion aims to find out the background of these entrepreneurs. What drives them to start up a firm? How are they embedded in the social, political and cultural structures? Through this question the concept of mixed embeddedness (see theoretical framework) can be understood for this group of entrepreneurs. It should explain the personal situation and the framework in which entrepreneurs have positioned themselves. Another aspect of this question is that it should discuss the actual firm activities, which then can be related to the other aspects of the embeddedness concept.

2. *How are location choices for firms of migrant entrepreneurs made, and what are the characteristics of the areas of these locations?*

This next question deals with the second theoretical concept of urban opportunity structures. To what resources are ethnic entrepreneurs bound, and what conditions influence their location choices? As the first question fixates on the personal level, the second questions deals with the practical issues which are at hand. This means that it deals with financial resources and spatial or social advantages of certain neighbourhoods. Analysis of these areas might help for insights on the third question:

3. *To what extent can processes of urban innovation by entrepreneurship be distinguished in Enschede?*

To understand the role of migrant entrepreneurs as actors of change in urban innovation processes it is first of great importance to understand what is meant with urban innovations and more specifically what it means for the region of Enschede in context of this research. One could think of questions such as: to what extent are the industrial history and the presence of the University of Enschede of importance in this context? The innovative context in Enschede could eventually be related to firm activities of second generation migrant entrepreneurs and should in this way be the final question leading to an answer on the main research question.

The first two questions are supposed to generate knowledge on the choices and situations of ethnic entrepreneurs, which have to be linked to the last sub question on actual urban innovations. This way one can find out whether there is a link between ethnic culture and location, and how this influences business and society. The knowledge generated through these questions should provide an answer on the research question as it covers all its aspects.

1.5 Scientific and societal relevance

Scientific

Academic research in its pure form is always striving to acquire more knowledge. It has already been said that little is known on the contribution of ethnic entrepreneurs on the physical space. The explorations in this research are therefore relevant in their contribution to the ethnic entrepreneurial literature, and can be seen as a starting point for further research. The theoretical approach which combines urban opportunity structures with mixed embeddedness, leading to further insights on urban innovations (Kloosterman, 2010). Since literature on connections between these concepts is lacking, this thesis might give new insights on the changes created by ethnic entrepreneurs. Steyaert and Katz (2004) explored some important missing dimensions in contemporary research on entrepreneurship. There are many unsolved questions on the social and geographical aspects of entrepreneurship. By connecting theoretical concepts on migrant entrepreneurship to urban innovation processes in the city, this thesis puts a spotlight on some social aspects in this field.

Societal

Conducting a research in a field of study which is directly linked to urban environments, the societal relevance already seems present, as it deals with actions and interactions of, and between people in cities. As migrant entrepreneurs are a minority with an increasing influence on the Dutch economy it is valuable to understand their background, behaviour, activities and connections (Panteia, 2013; Rušinović, 2006). Many studies on migrant entrepreneurship only seem to focus on ethno-cultural characteristics, which minimizes the context in which migrant entrepreneurs are embedded (Kloosterman & Rath, 2000). Therefore this study contributes to a broader understanding of migrant entrepreneurship as a social phenomenon.

The topic of research is not only of importance for the city of Enschede, or the Twente region, as this region heavily relies on the city. This study might serve also as a starting point for research in other (former industrial) areas in (Western) Europe. Knowledge about the elements which enhance the development of urban innovations in an entrepreneurial environment, such as clustering of businesses,

Knowledge about the elements which enhance the development of urban innovations in an entrepreneurial environment with a second generation migrant population could help as well in designing policies, such as zoning schemes, and the ordering of business locations.

Chapter 2: Critical Literature Review – Migrant entrepreneurs & change

What has already been written in the past, and how can articles and theories be of use in regard to this research? This chapter explores the topic by shedding a brief light on some of the most relevant articles in regard to the subject of the study. It will share the most important sources and their conclusions in regard to migrant entrepreneurs, previous research on entrepreneurialism, and urban innovations.

2.1 Entrepreneurship

In the classic sense, entrepreneurship involves ‘the development of a business from the ground up, coming up with an idea, and turning it into a profitable business’ (Brooks, 2015). Entrepreneurship stimulates the economic and social development of societies, and can be seen as a source for job creation, knowledge spillovers and the stimulation of competition for example (Sahin, 2012; Essers, 2008).

Research in the field of entrepreneurship, and particularly on the societal dimensions, has been extensive over the last decades, but it also lacks a conceptual framework, argue Shane & Venkataraman (2000). Therefore they tried to develop a better understanding of the concept by analysing the already existing research on the topic. Based on different sources, they finally concluded into a framework which focuses on the existence, discovery and exploitation of opportunities and the influence of individuals and opportunities, in a framework which is more expansive than firm creation (Shane & Venkataram, 2000). This thesis fits in Shane and Venkataraman’s framework in the exploration of opportunities and choices for migrant entrepreneurs, and the analysis of their developments. It takes a place in this field of research in the societal domains, as it focuses on the processes of urban innovations.

To analyse entrepreneurship from a societal point of view, Steyaert and Katz (2004) distinguish a geographical, discursive and social dimension, which combined give an outline of the space in which entrepreneurship can be inscribed. The geographical dimension focuses on the point of view in entrepreneurship research. Silicon Valley for example, dominates many studies, since it is an area filled with opportunities and new entrepreneurial phenomena. However, while analysing the subject, many other spatial aspects are of importance as well. Entrepreneurship could be connected to geographical concepts such as networks, clusters, districts, or research parks. For instance, this thesis tries to analyse entrepreneurship in relation to personal and firm networks in Enschede, as a former industrial area with a large number of migrant entrepreneurs. From a discursive outlook, entrepreneurship research not solely takes an economic perspective, romanticized by the heroic innovative and creative businessmen, but a ‘multidimensional sense’ has been included in the field, since cultural, gender, ecological and civic discourses have become more present (Steyaert & Katz, 2004; Essers, 2008). Finally, the social dimension in entrepreneurial research has deviated the viewpoint from the individual who starts a business to the processes between the multiple actors involved in the development of a firm. The research has become more about networks, opportunities and processes, and less about one sole person (Steyart & Katz, 2004). It deals with the everyday interactions in places, between people (de Certeau, 1984).

Possibilities for interaction are one reason for the uneven distribution of entrepreneurial activities between places (Sternberg & Bosma, 2014). Guesnier (1994) emphasizes the region-specific aspects of these activities, and how starting a business may be influenced by the region, and vice versa. Therefore it is essential to be aware of the places involved in this research, as will be discussed in the method section.

The interactions, mentioned above, can be seen as the social capital in entrepreneurship. Although the concept of social capital knows an overwhelming use in explaining all informal engagements, it seems worthwhile to engage on this concept in relation to entrepreneurship, as it helps in the understanding of the concept in relation to this research. Social capital is described by Bourdieu (1986) as:

the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationship of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a credential which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word.

To purchase and secure social capital one needs an ongoing investment in the development of these relationships. In the entrepreneurial research field, Anderson, Park and Jack register the wrong application of the term too often, and redefine social capital as a 'revolving mutual fund of traded and un-traded interdependencies' (2007). The benefits of social capital range from access to other inputs that entrepreneurs themselves do not possess, to assistance in providing and diffusing critical information and essential resources and from accelerating the start-up process to the probability of sales and profitability (Davidsson and Honig, 2003). Market opportunities are another example of how interaction, as a condition of social capital could become beneficent for entrepreneurs (Anderson, Park & Jack, 2007). Being a part of urban opportunity structures, social capital creates possibilities for (starting) entrepreneurs, as the networks, as a manifestation of social capital give access to information and advice, resources and problem solving (Hoang & Antoncic, 2003).

With this background the main aspects on entrepreneurship in regard to this thesis are shown, and should provide for an introduction on the theme.

2.2 Migrant entrepreneurs in the Netherlands

After the introductory paragraph, now the lens focuses on migrant entrepreneurs specifically. The section includes a definition of migrant entrepreneurship, research on their position in the Netherlands, in past and present, and differences between first and second generation migrant entrepreneurs.

First, a general interpretation of ethnic, or migrant, entrepreneurs has been given by Drori, Honig and Wright (2009), who describe them as 'entrepreneurs whose group membership is tied to a common cultural heritage or origin, and are known to out-group members as having such traits.' The entrepreneur is an 'immigrant, often with distinctive language and customs, engaged in formal, informal, or illegal self-employment, and / or businesses in adopted country'. In line with this description, Aldrich and Waldinger (1990) describe ethnic entrepreneurship as 'a set of connections and regular patterns of

interaction among people sharing common national background or migration experiences'. This understanding of the concept, after comparing several sources, has become the one which is used in this research.

Immigrants are often grouped in first- second- and third-generation migrants. The first generation migrants are born outside the Netherlands and travelled to the country themselves (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS), 2012). The group of second generation migrants can be interpreted more ambiguously. Although CBS (2012) operates a definition which states that this group comprehends all immigrants who are born in the Netherlands with at least one foreign-born parent, many scholars in the international field operate a broader interpretation. Often, immigrants who entered a country being younger than 12 years old, are seen as second-generation migrants as well (Rušinović, 2006). During the data gathering for this research, some of the, in strict form (as defined by the CBS) first generation migrants, truly felt being a second-generation migrants, since they saw their parents as the first generation. For these reasons the wider understanding of the second-generation migrants is used here.

Through time, and through generations, the position of migrant entrepreneurs has changed. Immigrant entrepreneurship has been associated with traditional, mainly low-skilled and labor-intensive businesses. Other connotations are the unpaid family labor and the large clientele with a similar background (Rušinović, 2006). From the disadvantage theoretical point of view it is thought that these businesses started out of a necessity, because of lack of language skills and education combined with the decline of industrial work (Fregetto, 2004). And even though this has often been the case, this is a one sided viewpoint. After World War II, many migrants came to Europe to fulfill unskilled vacancies in the industrial sector. When eventually these migrants started to settle down, the demand for ethnic goods and services increased. And who better than co-ethnics would be able to fulfill this demand? So the demand for these products, as well as the rise of the service industry have stimulated ethnic entrepreneurship at first (Volery, 2007). Rušinović (2006) argues that immigrant entrepreneurs these days have become more active in different sectors, such as service industries and IT. Second-generation migrants often choose to become an entrepreneur, being educated and integrated. They are often embedded in different, also more formal, networks, and more active in mainstream markets than the previous generation. These differences also lead to more business successes for these generations (Rušinović, 2006). However, the informal networks of the second-generation is still of importance in the operational management of the businesses.

The ethnic background of the entrepreneur has also broadened up. According to Kloosterman, Van der Leun and Rath (2007), not only the Italian, Chinese, Turkish, Moroccan and Hindu entrepreneur become more visible, also Egyptian, Ghanaian, Iraqi, Iranian, Pakistani and Somali entrepreneurs are more and more present. So especially entrepreneurs with a non-Western (according to the CBS-definition) background have become an increasing part of the field (Van den Tillaart, 2007). And it is not only diversity which increases, in comparison with the number of native entrepreneurs, Van den Tillaart (2007) argues that the number of migrant entrepreneurs is on the rise. All of this implies a larger influence of migrant entrepreneurs on society and economics. But to what extent is their increase in numbers of influence for urban innovations?

2.3 Urban innovations

Entrepreneurship might lead to all kind of developments. One might think of product or service innovations, but changes might also be more external, in a sense that they can also influence neighbouring places or people, who are not directly involved in the operation, but gain advantages due to their proximity. So what is understood with innovations in the previous sections? And what is known about urban innovations in relation to (migrant) entrepreneurship already? This section elaborates on the practical aspects, whereas theoretical backgrounds will be given in the following chapter.

Innovation in general can be seen as new developments which improve a previous situation, or solve existing problems. For example, 'a product is innovative if it satisfies new market needs or existing market needs in a new way' (Maranville, 1992). Innovation, by entrepreneurs, is required to break with established development paths and to undermine established competencies, and to introduce new companies (Baumol, 2002). Note, not all new companies are innovative (Autio et al., 2014). Not even 30% of the new ventures is said to develop a product which was new to their clients (Reynolds et al., 2005; Bosma et al., 2009).

Previous section implies that entrepreneurial innovations regard the product, the service or the business in itself. This is not always the case. The urban innovations, which are discussed here, comprehend a field much broader than the service or the product in itself. This thesis deals with the urban innovations which can be seen as processes that make the city a better place, or work better. Not specifically by new technologies or governmental structures, but by the role of entrepreneurs as actors of change in the city (Morley, Proudfoot, Burns, 1980). One can think of improvement of the street scene, setting up activities with neighbouring organizations, citizens or entrepreneurs, or political activities, strengthened by the networks, developed through a business. These improvements might not always be of a major scale, they can involve local developments as well, and might be short-term or long-term (Morley et al. 1980).

Morley et al. (1980) separated innovative actions in various sections. First the independent organization is mentioned, with their properties. The location, character and maintenance of an enterprise and networks are all aspects that could be parts in innovative aspects. Another class of urban innovations they name is the infrastructure. Although Morley et al have used it to describe more structural and large scale developments, in the frame of this thesis we might downscale this aspect. In that light, we could think about parking arrangements or firm accessibility for instance. Also, it might contain actions of entrepreneurs (probably grouped) in order to attain infrastructural adjustments on the street, like sidewalk reparations or the introduction of a bus stop.

A Project by the European Foundation for Improvement of Living and Working Conditions included an analysis in urban innovations. This work considered employment as one of the most, and increasingly, vital themes and tried to stimulate policymakers to focus on this aspect (Dalglish, Lawless, Vigar, 1994). The creation of employment might be an important innovator as it enables people to stay in a region, and have an income with which they are able to consume for their needs, (partially) also in this region.

The various sources above indicate a broad understanding of the concept of urban innovation. In a practical sense, urban innovations vary from the way a company displays their window and the sidewalk, to their activity in neighbourhood projects. The broad

scenery sketched by Morley et al. (1980), creates an interesting background for the theoretical approaches. The various examples, the role of scale in innovation and networks are all of importance, but need more structure through the connection of some more structured theories.

2.4 Regional development and local entrepreneurship

Now we need to connect innovation with the local (migrant) entrepreneur. How does the entrepreneur relate to the regional development in a broader sense? This question is of importance since regional development indicates processes of urban innovation (OECD, 2015). First we need to be aware of the development of entrepreneurship in the Netherlands. The 2014 report of the Dutch Chamber of Commerce reveals an increase in enterprises, especially in the service industry. This is mostly caused by self-employed persons, but through small and medium enterprises (SME) as well (Kamer van Koophandel, 2015). There are various ways in which entrepreneurs might contribute to regional development. For example, by attracting other businesses, through gentrification or by attracting employees. According to Kloosterman and Van der Leun (1999), immigrant businesses strengthen local economies on neighbourhood level, through offering specific goods and services, jobs, nodes of information and role models. Their statement was based on research on neighbourhood-level, and focuses on processes of commercial gentrification, and their message to policy-makers is that they should target on the creation of cheap commercial properties, in order to enhance immigrant-driven commercial gentrification. Besides benefits in the neighbourhood, the main argument here is that migrant entrepreneurs create economic benefits, also in a regional context. Since a city such as Enschede, in which this research is placed, holds a relatively larger number of migrant citizens and entrepreneurs, of the second generation, than other areas in the Netherlands, due to historical economic opportunities, one could argue that this area also benefits more from immigrant businesses.

Last decades the European economy has been restructured from employment in large firms to self-employment in small firms (this also applies to the Netherlands). This shift was especially visible among immigrants (Baycan-Levent & Nijkamp, 2009), as ethnics are generally more likely to start a business than native-born people with similar skills (Fairlie & Meyer, 1996). Most important factors in this context are assimilation, the time since the actual migration and the level of education (Fairlie & Meyer, 1996; Borjas, 1986).

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

Now the research topic has been described and introduced in a framework of literature, the most important theoretical concepts should be discussed. Since the problem

statement argues to deal with a knowledge gap, which means that it is difficult to stimulate entrepreneurial innovations by second generation migrants, this chapter explains some concepts through which aspects of migrant entrepreneurship, found during the data gathering process, could be analysed. First, urban opportunity structures will be discussed, being an important factor contributing to the 'level' of embeddedness of an entrepreneur. Then the innovation theory will be further explored, first by theorizing innovation in itself, and then by connecting it to the geographical dimension of the city and the region. These frameworks should then lead to the practical operationalisation of urban innovations.

3.1 Urban opportunity structures

When space is put in context, becomes defined, one is allowed to define it as a place. Places can be defined through specific physical characteristics; one can create (imaginary) borders around it, and build up an identity around it (Tuan, 1977; Anderson, 1983). When it comes to the analysis of opportunities which support the start-up of a firm, it is of importance to be aware of this notion (Boissevain et al. 1990). Opportunities will vary per country and region, and whether they are meaningful for a starting entrepreneur will therefore be variable to the place in which he or she is starting his business (Razin & Light, 1998). The analysis of urban opportunity structures for ethnic entrepreneurs in this chapter shows a structural approach, as structuralists suggest that external factors in the host environment, like discrimination and the entry barriers in the labor market, are often caused by lack in education and language barriers (Dana, 2004). Therefore they decide to start their own business, sometimes as a last resort. On the other hand, there is the cultural approach, which argues that culturally determined features can lead to a favor in self-employment. It is often said for example that some ethnic groups are identified by a strong solidarity, a willingness to work hard, and flexibility (Rekers, Van Kempen, 2000). However, the generalization in these two arguments does feel inadequate and limited in analysing migrant entrepreneurship, and therefore a more broad point of analysis has been chosen (Waldinger, 1990).

Urban opportunity structures in the context of this research can best be described as the possibilities for the development of a business, generated by the specific characteristics of a city. These are mainly the 'hard' or measurable and manifested aspects at hand, in contrast to other aspects such as social networks, and personal behavior, which also can influence entrepreneurial developments. The next section will incorporate the broader, or 'softer', sides of the spectrum as well, in an exploration of mixed embeddedness as a framework for entrepreneurial research. First though, urban opportunity structures are discussed, as it is significant for this thesis. The characteristics of the urban and entrepreneurial environment of Enschede will impact the data which are found during this research, and therefore form an important framework for the empirical analysis. The many aspects of urban opportunity structures, collected during the literature research, differ strongly in relevance. This paragraph therefore collects those which are relevant to entrepreneurship and migrant entrepreneurship specifically.

Opportunity structures can be found on the demand side, think of the existence of an accessible customer base, or the accessibility for customers (Beckers & Blumberg, 2013). However, they can also be found on the supply side, such as the affordability of an

appropriate business location. Political and institutional factors can be added to these, such as national and local rules and legislations, institutions and laws, all of these influencing the ability to start up a firm and make it a successful one (Kloosterman, 2010).

Economic and labour market opportunities are often named as one of the most important chances for entrepreneurs. The unemployment situation, type of welfare state, economic and labour market policies all influence entrepreneurial decisions in a certain way (Murie & Musterd, 2004). When job opportunities are low, starting a business will grow more interesting. So the question is: what are the changes to get a job versus the chances to start a sustainable business (Zhou, 2007)? The level of accessibility to social security might also be a consideration in these decision-making processes, as well as other economical and labour market policies. Another aspect in the socio-economic context is the community development in an area. When organizations are present in a neighbourhood, which are able to strengthen the sense of community, future entrepreneurs might receive help or advice more easily than when they are acting on their own (Murie & Musterd, 2004).

Volery (2004) accentuates that the requirements for starting a company in the markets in which migrant entrepreneurs are involved, are mainly set by the characteristics of low barriers, when it comes to the required capital, educational qualifications, production scale, labor-intensity and added value. This means that the urban environment has to be suitable to facilitate this. Although it might be easy to start up, it is also a lot more difficult to create benefits, which means that the low threshold also instigates a high rate of failure. Entrepreneurs try to prevent this by seizing some other opportunities, such as the application of informal practices in respect to taxes, labor regulations, minimum wages and the employment of family members or immigrants without documents (Kloosterman & Rath, 2002). This also means that the area needs to facilitate the possibilities for informal practices, such as family, migrants without papers, and a not too strict level of control or at least the possibility to gain knowledge on informal practices.

On the small scale level of the neighbourhood, Beckers and Kloosterman (2012) have distinguished some important aspects that influence business functioning as well. These dimensions are a little more specific than the ones already mentioned earlier, but fit in their range. Important factors can be the accessibility and parking possibilities, the local market prosperity, especially when the firm is focused on local needs, the local liveability, the proximity of local amenities and other economic activities, and the availability, quality, size and representativeness of local business spaces (Sleutjes & Völker, 2012). So there is the opportunity of the local social embeddedness, the facilities in a neighbourhood that will stimulate business success, the cost-saving potential when it comes to rents and investments needed, the convenience when it comes to accessibility for the entrepreneur him, or herself and for the customer as well, the market potential, and the spatial needs (Beckers & Kloosterman, 2012).

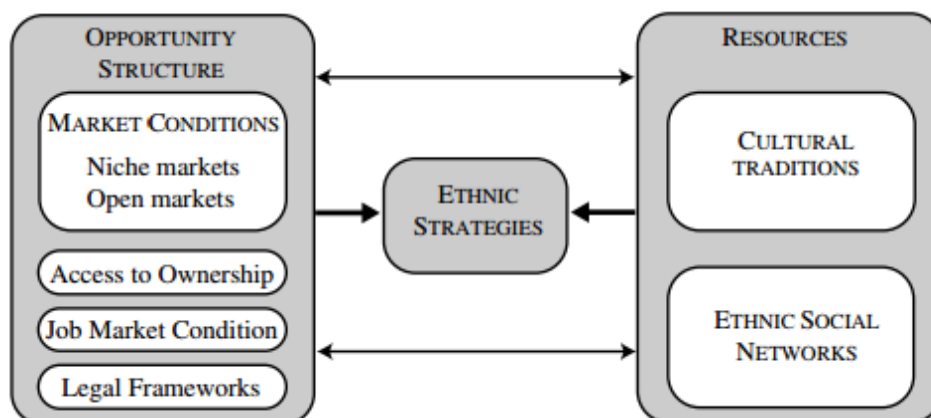
Another important physical aspect is the urban planning style, although indirectly. The density of the area might influence the customerbase or the access to employees. Also the diversity of functions might influence networks one has access to (Baum & Palmer, 2002). The demographic characteristics of a neighbourhood will also have an impact on the potential supply of an entrepreneur, as well as on the demand for their products, as Rekers and Van Kempen (2000) argue. Other spatial opportunities of importance are customer

related. The cleanliness, security and availability of parking space impacts choices, but also the image of the local area might have a large role in the decision making process according to Beckers and Kloosterman (2012). They also name expansion possibilities as a part of the opportunity structures.

Some opportunities specifically belong to migrant entrepreneurs, and are defined as the ethnic dimensions in the opportunity structures (Volery, 2004). The influence of these dimensions can range widely and they might turn into opportunities, but they might also be a problem. Volery names: the cultural differences between host and home country, the level of discrimination an entrepreneur has to face, the progression of social integration of the ethnic group, the experiences one has gone through in their new hometown, age and gender, and the education level of the entrepreneur.

Another interesting aspect that needs some further exploration are the local policies, rules, regulations, support regimes and zoning regulations which affect entrepreneurship (Beckers & Kloosterman, 2012). Each municipality might have developed its own policies in stimulating entrepreneurship, or support migrants. There might also be some neighbourhood development programs, and those will even influence chances on a more local level. Zoning schemes are especially interesting in this case since they are deciding in the purpose of a specific place. By structuring places, starting entrepreneurs are often limited to specific areas in their city, or specific branches, as some places allow for specific pursuits.

Waldinger et al. (1990) took the urban opportunity structure a step further into a model in which they combined these structures with the resources of migrants. They focused on the idea that opportunities also emerged from the development of a new ethnic community. So it was not only the existing urban structure, but also the new demography in a neighbourhood that created resources, in a different way. Therefore the interactive model of ethnic entrepreneurship was developed. The interaction between the two main dimensions of the opportunity structure and the resources develop the ethnic strategies, enabling entrepreneurship (Volery, 2004).



Figuur 3.1: Interactive model of ethnic entrepreneurship development. Source: Volery, 2004: 24.

This model is useful in answering the first two sub questions leading towards a conclusion on the impact of second generation migrant entrepreneurs in Enschede. It structures the

urban opportunity structures and includes ethnic resources in order to complement the external factor. This way it will help in analysing the characteristics of entrepreneurs and the location choices they make in relation to the characteristics of these places.

3.2 Mixed Embeddedness

Following up on the concept of urban opportunity structures, which showed the many external aspects influencing (migrant) entrepreneurship, we find the mixed embeddedness model. It further develops the opportunity structures into a model which includes the existing structures of local economy and institutional factors (Volery, 2004).

Razin and Light (1998) argue that the urban opportunity structures alone are not enough in order to analyse entrepreneurship. The characteristics of the local ethnic community, such as the specific location of ethnic networks, and the personal embeddedness are of importance as well. One has to make a difference between national, regional and local structures to understand entrepreneurial processes. The time and place-specific elements here play an important role. Through the mixed embeddedness model a crucial link is created between social, economic and institutional contexts (Kloosterman, Van der Leun & Rath, 1999).

This mixed embeddedness model is based on the following three assumptions:

1. The opportunities must not be blocked by barriers which are too high to enter or by government regulations;
2. An opportunity must be recognized through the eyes of a potential entrepreneur as one that can provide sufficient returns;
3. An entrepreneur must be able to seize an opportunity in a tangible way (Volery, 2004).

So the institutional barriers such as national and local rules and regulations that create business opportunities are a first necessity. Then the economic barriers must be low, in order to have access to resources, markets to sell and market openings. Kloosterman (2010) also emphasizes the importance of social embeddedness. This he describes as the ability to start a business by being able to rely on social capital. The networks, the ties that link migrants, former migrants and non-migrants to home, as well as destination areas by the bonds of kinship and a shared community origins influence the migration process, entrepreneurial decisions and future plans (Massey, 1988). The network can influence many other decisions as well in the process of starting a business. Having a network could facilitate the job search, hiring, recruitment and training, and the organization of information flows (Waldinger, 1994). The proximity of the various connections of an entrepreneur is of importance as well (Ram et al. 2000). Contacts living nearby are of much more importance than those living farther away as they are able to help more easily. Another benefit might be the decrease in economic risks one has to take when starting a business.

Economic capital is an interesting dimension as migrant entrepreneurs often face bank loan difficulties. Due to competitive market sectors, the absence of a track record, language difficulties and discrimination issues, it is often more difficult to get help from financial institutions being a migrant entrepreneur (Jones & Ram, 1998; Volery, 2004). For

this reason they often have to reach out to their relatives. By savings, gifts or arranged loans from relatives or others within their ethnic community they often are able to start their business.

In the framework Kloosterman sketches, he first creates a model of the opportunity structures. Here, he created the typology which splits markets according to accessibility (human capital) and growth potential.

It is important to acknowledge that even though the concept is applicable to all entrepreneurs, migrant entrepreneurs, and also those of a new generation differ in results from native entrepreneurs. They address other resources regarding to human capital and the access to financial capital, and they might face different legal barriers.

Kloosterman, Van der Leun and Rath (1999), developed the concept of mixed embeddedness in order to combine actors, as well as opportunity structures in one analytical framework. In a way this analytical framework places the resources of an entrepreneur and the opportunity structures in a model that should explain variable patterns in migrant entrepreneurship. It also makes it possible to look to space-specific aspects. This framework can therefore form the basis of an explanation for the occurring characteristics and activities of second generation migrant entrepreneurs in Enschede. The urban opportunity structures, in combination with personal characteristics, as parts of the mixed embeddedness, will be put in a measurable operationalisation in the last paragraph of this chapter, in order to make the theory applicable for this research.

3.3 Innovation theory

First two paragraphs in this chapter deal with the characteristics of migrant entrepreneurs, in order to analyse the empirical data to answer the first two questions. However, the third question, and the research question as well, deal with the concept of urban innovation, and in what ways migrant entrepreneurs of the second generation contribute to it.

When reading on innovation, one often starts with Joseph A. Schumpeter. One of his most important conclusions includes the notion that 'creative response of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurial innovation are the primary determinants of economic change' (Frank, 1998). Schumpeter thought of development as something which is caused by discontinuous, spontaneous and dynamic change, caused by entrepreneurs doing things in new ways. He accentuates the strong personality of the entrepreneur that is able to create changes (Śledzik, 2013).

Lundvall et al. (2007) contrast two modes of this innovation. The first is the 'science technology and innovation mode' and the second is the 'doing using and interacting mode', which relies on informal processes of learning and experience based know-how. In the explorations of this study, the latter will be discussed, as the urban innovations which are thought of in this research mostly lie in this field. These innovations are less formal, and not always directly visible, in comparison to scientific developments for example. Also, they might be an unintended by-product of a firm's design, production and marketing activities (Lundvall et al. 2007). It is these more 'soft' developments which we are looking for in urban innovations.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, theory often focuses on business innovations alone, in the context of the firms. It remains rather challenging to find literature on how innovative behavior of entrepreneurs might lead to urban innovations in

a broader sense. However, in research on urban innovations a broader context is necessary (Morley et al. 1980). Autio et al. (2014) created a framework contextualizing innovation. Based on the notion that contexts in which agents choose to act (or not), are influenced by policy action, they sketched the framework which explains the many influences and struggles at hand (Audretsch et al., 2007). Entrepreneurs, situated in a context of continuing development, as they aim to be, or to become a successful company, fit in this context as the agents of innovation. Urban innovations fit in the contextual framework described by Autio et al (2014), within the spatial context, one of the six they have distinguished, being:

- Industry and technology
- Organizational
- Institutional and policy
- Social
- Temporal
- Spatial

The social and the spatial dimensions deserve some elaboration here, being two important dimensions for this research. First, the social context covers the relations between entrepreneurs, trading partners, financiers, incumbent firms and neighbouring people and organisations (Autio et al. 2014). Creating new knowledge is highly depending on the exchange and interaction between actors, and therefore innovation always relates to networks and relations. In this sense, migrant entrepreneurs might impact their neighbourhoods in various ways. In a study on immigrant entrepreneurs and neighbourhood revitalization, Borges-Mendez et al (2005) distinguished several manners in which ethnic entrepreneurship contributes to strengthening or increase of social innovations. They listed:

- “Reviving commerce and investment in areas that had declined
- Providing needed products and services
- Addressing the particular needs of distinctive ethnic niches
- Expanding beyond those niches
- Incubating new businesses and, in some instances mentoring new ethnic entrepreneurs
- Attracting new customers
- Providing some employment opportunities
- Enhancing public safety”

The last innovation distinguished in this study was the improvement of the physical quality and appearance of the buildings in which they operate and their surrounding areas (Borges-Mendez et al. 2005). This can be seen as a dimension of the other important aspect here, which was the spatial concept. All the developments mentioned above might not directly recall incredible urban innovations. However, in their own way, they are a part of changes in an urban environment, improving society, economy or space. Gradually, and combined, they could lead to a more liveable environment.

On another note, it is important to know that entrepreneurial innovation can vary by region within a country, and across industries (Autio et al.). Often regional comparisons are made (Pike et al. 2006). Schoonhoven and Romanelli (2001) opposed to the lack of

situational context, and focused on the importance of the local and the individual context in determining success and innovation. Since there is a necessity for entrepreneurs to work together in a community to achieve success, the spatial context has become a vital aspect of innovation (Van Gelderen, Verduyn & Masurel, 2012).

This research chooses to focus on a very local level of urban innovations. How are migrant entrepreneurs of the second generation involved in innovational aspects in their city? And do their activities or behaviour influence only the direct entrepreneurial neighbourhood? Or the whole city, or a project in other parts of the city?

Now what actually instigates innovation? A study of Feldman and Audretsch (1999) shares an interesting perspective on this question. Their research looks at specialization versus diversity, and concludes that specific economic activities in one specific geographical area do not promote innovative output. The results even suggest an opposing effect. Diversity seems to be more conducive to innovation than specialization. They add that the results also suggest 'that the degree of local competition for new ideas within a city is more conducive to innovative activity than is local monopoly' (Feldman & Audretsch, 1999). Needless to add probably, the most natural context in which economy and innovation prosper, is the metropolitan area, as communication is facilitated in the most optimal way (Lucas, 1993). The same research concludes that innovative activity tends to be lower within a narrow industry, than when it is diversified across a complementary set of industries, sharing a common science base. Therefore it is valuable to look into the business diversity in Enschede, also considering the technological university in the area.

Besides the business diversity in an area, social networks also influence innovativeness (Leyden et al. 2014). This means that spatial and economic policies will largely influence the innovative behavior of entrepreneurs. Immigration policies also play a large part in innovative behavior, as many countries favor entrepreneurial migrants through their visa systems (Autio et al. 2014).

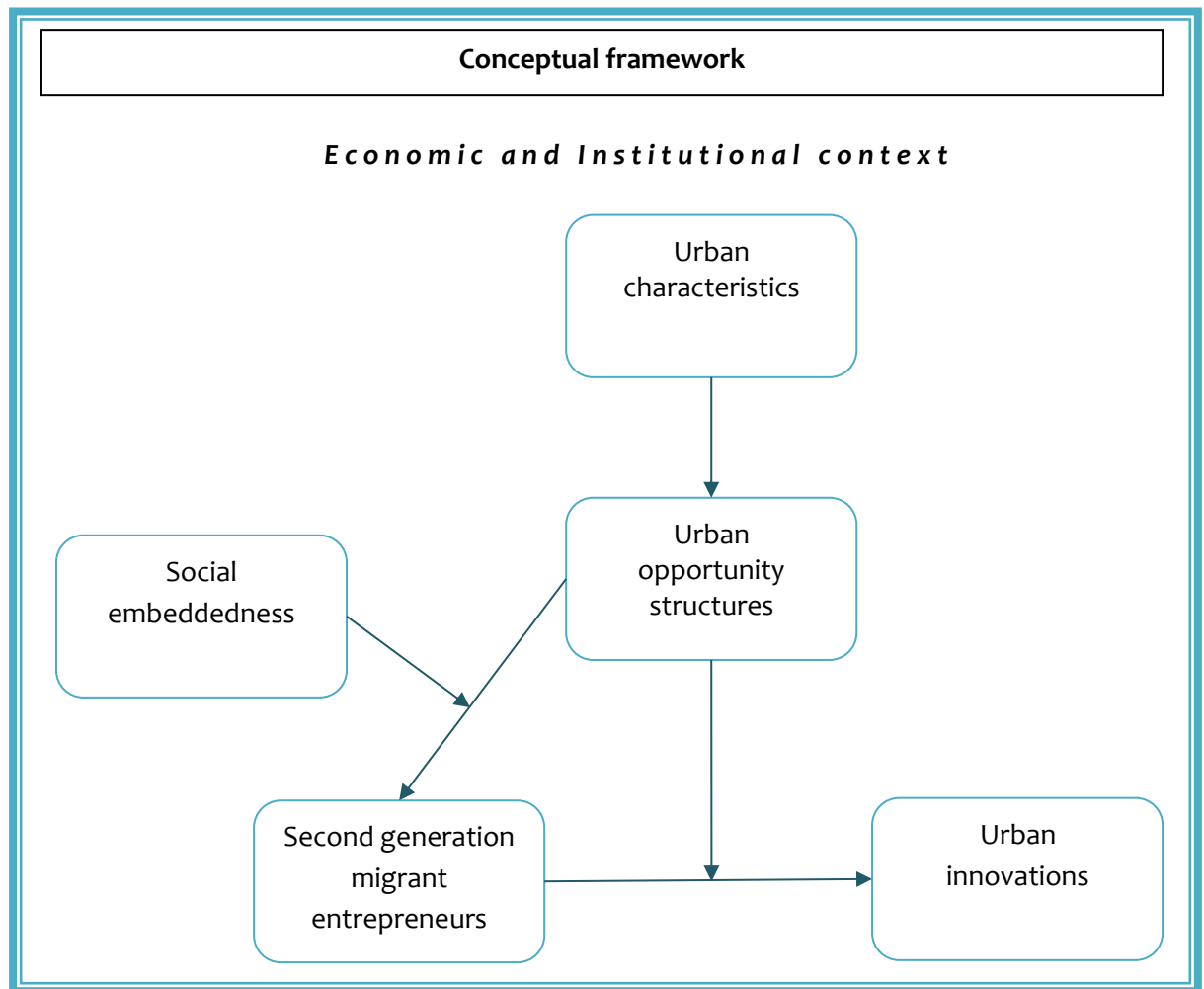
In the light of policies and legislations, and social networks, the innovative character of the second generation migrant entrepreneur in Enschede will be analysed. To what extent are they able, or willing to improve the urban space? The operationalisation paragraph will take this issue further and puts urban innovations in their practical dimensions. The theoretical model can be used as a guide in the exploration of the phenomenon, structuring urban innovations at hand.

3.4 Operationalisation

Collecting valuable data means creating a careful operationalisation. The concepts defined above have to become visible and accessible. By creating a conceptual model the relations between the concepts are explained, and therefore it becomes easier to develop the operationalisation. Where the theoretical paragraphs above created the first framework, this section comes to concrete aspects which lead to a clear explanation of urban innovations. By combining the theoretical literature and other studies, most important dimensions on urban innovations are selected and put in the innovation framework from

Autio et al. (2014). For each dimension indicators are constructed, which are the perceivable phenomena that back up these dimensions (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007; Vennix, 2012).

The figure below shows the conceptual model, in which all dimensions act in a social and economic context. This context includes rules, legislations, institutions, welfare of the region, et cetera. In the model we see the second generation migrant entrepreneur as the main agent, who is as a person placed in a social context, in this model framed as the 'social embeddedness'. This concept contains networks, social and ethnic backgrounds, personal characteristics and opportunities. Then the first influencers are the urban characteristics, which are the physical aspects of the place at hand, in this case Enschede. What is the structure of the city, what types of buildings are there to be found, what are the vacancy rates and how well is the infrastructure developed? All these concrete aspects then are an influence on the urban opportunity structure. However, this concept is much broader than that. Not only the physical structures, but also institutional and economic structures that are related to the area, are of great importance. These form an important aspect of the context in which a migrant entrepreneur is embedded. These, as a whole are the main influences in the process in which migrant entrepreneurs are able to come to urban innovations.



The underlying concepts have been connected through this model, and now we need to translate this model towards a concrete research instrument which makes it possible to gather the accurate data, through the means of the operationalisation. The dimensions in the operationalisation model outlined here are partially based on the results of the study of Borges-Mendez et al. (2005), analysing the innovative aspects of migrant entrepreneurs in some neighbourhoods in Boston. A careful adaptation has been made, to make it applicable to the case of Enschede and in order to assure that all issues are explored. Therefore the operationalisation consists of a more complete set of dimensions, created through careful analysis and discussions. In order to develop a valid operationalisation it is important that the concepts are well defined. The indicators should not be vague in any way as well (Yin, 2014). Yin also argues that in order to meet validity requirements, the indicators should match the dimensions carefully. The operationalisation is first outlined below, and then explained more thorough in order to meet these demands.

Processes of Urban Innovation by non-western second generation migrant entrepreneurs in Enschede		
Characteristics of non-western second generation migrant entrepreneurs		
	Personal background	Education
		Age
		Ethnicity
		Gender
		Place of birth
	Professional background	Work experience
		Motives for starting a business
		Year of start
		Years of existence of (current) business
		The available financial capital
		Juridical form of firm
Social embeddedness of non-western second generation migrant entrepreneurs		
	Network	Personal relations in the location area of the business
		Feeling of connectedness to the neighbourhood of the business
		Background of customers
		Membership of entrepreneurial organisations
		Strength of the ethnic network of the entrepreneur
Urban Opportunity Structures		
	Urban characteristics	Accessibilty for customers
		availability of business locations
		Availability of financially affordable business locations
		Availability of business locations with the needed amount of space
		Type of neighbourhood of business location
		Diversity of buildings of the neighbourhood of the business location
		Diversity of functions in the neighbourhood of the business location
		Local livability
		Ethnic demography of the neighbourhood
	Economic context	Existence of local customerbase
		Local market prosperity
		Job opportunities in the region
		Entrepreneurial opportunities in the region
		Need for employees
		Access to employees
		Support of business networks
		Support during the start-up through business support networks
	Institutional context	Land use legislation through zoning schemes

		Opportunities for municipal support
		opportunities for support through regional governmental organisations
		Opportunities for support through national (semi-) governmental organisations
Contexts of urban innovations		
1	Improving physical quality and appearance of buildings in which entrepreneurs operate	Renovations inside or outside the building since the start of the business, which are visible from the outside.
2	Improving physical surroundings of the buildings in which entrepreneurs operate	The entrepreneur takes actions to improve the surroundings by himself
		The entrepreneur takes action to improve surroundings through interactions with municipalities
		The entrepreneur takes action to improve surroundings through actions with other stakeholders in the direct neighbourhood
3	Safety of public areas	Making arrangements about infrastructures, deliveries, and parking solutions
		Creating more activity by the presence of customers in the neighbourhood
		Strengthening public safety through activity/flows of people
4	Addressing the particular needs of distinctive ethnic niches	Ethnicity of the customer population
		Type of products or services of the entrepreneur
5	Expanding beyond the specific ethnic niches	Type of products or services of the entrepreneur
		Diversity of the products or services of the entrepreneur
		Development of the types and diversity of products the entrepreneur offers
6	Incubating new businesses and mentoring new ethnic entrepreneurs	Stimulating others to start a business
		Mentoring others in their development
7	Attracting new customers	Development of customer area
		Development of number of customers
8	Providing employment opportunities	Creating job opportunities
		Number of employees
		Helping in governmental employment programs
		Owning a business in career or personal coaching
9	The provision of needed products or services	Sell a unique product / service
		Sell a product / service out of necessity in the neighbourhood
10	Strengthening social cohesion in the neighborhood	Sponsoring
		Organizing activities
		Formal contacts within the neighbourhood
		Informal contacts within the neighbourhood

		Participating in activities with (a number of) citizens
		Participating in activities with (a number of) entrepreneurs
		Participating in formal neighbourhood/city activities
		Have a business that is focused on social relations in the neighbourhood
		Act as an (informal) ambassador of migration
11	Acting entrepreneurs in the refugee-debate	Act as an (informal) ambassador of migration

Table 3.1: Operationalisation

The main theoretical concept which is the centre of this research process is ‘urban innovation’. The dimensions that indicate these innovations can be separated between the spatial context, focusing on the urban characteristics and the socio-economic context, which centralizes the urban opportunity structures and the social embeddedness of the migrant entrepreneur. This division is derived from the two strands of the framework of innovation of Autio et al. (2014): the spatial context and the social context, and will be discussed further in the sixth chapter.

The first dimension in the context of spatiality is the improving role of second generation migrant entrepreneurs on the physical quality and appearance of their business place. This dimension focuses on innovations in regard to the infrastructures, the physical neighbourhood innovation, but also on public safety. An observational analysis, in combination with interview data provides information on whether an entrepreneur made visible renovations.

Not only the building in itself might have changed since an entrepreneur entered the place, but also physical surroundings of the workplace might have changed over time, for example by cleaning up green spaces or sidewalks in the neighbourhood, asking the municipality for specific developments, or taking action with others, residents as well as other entrepreneurs, to make changes in the physical appearance of the area.

The third dimension in the spatial context is the enhancement of the safety of public spaces. This can have a practical as well as a human approach. The first might include arrangements about parking spaces, infrastructures and deliveries. Those arrangements create safer places since traffic is better structured, and conflicts and incidents are being prevented. The second entails the presence of customers, providing regular activity in the streets, and therefore creating a livelier and safer area.

The socio-economic context contains seven more dimensions with various indicators. In this part of the operationalisation the focus has been put on the softer aspects of societal innovations. This is shown first by addressing the question whether an entrepreneur takes care of the fulfillment of particular needs for a specific ethnic group in the area. The analysis on this aspect can be made through questions on the background of customers and the types of products a business is offering. The following question then has to find out whether an entrepreneur is going further than this specific need, and if he or she also expands beyond these specific needs (if an entrepreneur focuses on ethnic needs at all).

The same indicators can be used as for the previous dimension, but the development of the enterprise should be added. By analysing the process of the products or services a business is offering, one might find out how intentions, demands or interest has changed over time.

The sixth dimension contributes to knowledge on the educative aspect of innovation. To what extent do migrant businesses contribute to new entrepreneurship? For example, entrepreneurs might take part in the education of young people by providing internships, helping friends or family starting a business or advising in other ways.

Attracting customers from an increasing area over time might indicate that the service has some innovative features, lacking in other parts of the region. Therefore this might be a valuable dimension, measured through the development in the number of customers and the geographical clientele of the business.

By providing job opportunities (8), entrepreneurs stimulate urban innovation as they enable more people to live in the geographical area, consume products and goods in this area and create activity. Their connection to a job might also mean their 'more permanent' connection to the area, which also strengthens their local networks. This way the job not only impacts themselves, but also the people surrounding them. Not only the number of employees is useful as an indicator, the development of new job positions over time will say a lot about processes of change. Then there is the possibility of entrepreneurs working together with municipalities or educational organisations in programs to decrease unemployment. This way, not only a job opportunity is given. People get a change to change their lives, to start over. Of course, the business in itself can lead to innovation by its sole activities. A local business in personal coaching or other development programs is a way to create urban innovation in itself.

The ninth dimension involves the provision of actually needed products. Does the entrepreneur sell a product or provide for a service which was previously not even there in the neighbourhood. Or does an entrepreneur provide for or sell a product which did not exist at all previously? The renewing aspect of the business in itself is the innovative part here.

Then there is the dimension that deals with the strengthening of the social cohesion in the neighbourhood. This is a rather broad dimension, since social cohesion can be developed in various ways. In this study I focus on some aspects which are relevant for entrepreneurs as interactors, through formal or through personal means. Sponsoring can be a way to gain publicity, but it also is a way for the entrepreneur to get involved with the things that matter in a neighbourhood, and to give something back (Mack, 1999). Whether this is a football club or the realisation of the playground, the entrepreneur becomes involved, and therefore cares about the future of this organisation or project. The second indicator is the organisation of events. To what extent are entrepreneurs participating in or setting up themselves, some kind of event for the neighbourhood. This could include some in-store events to get acquainted with the neighbourhood, or any other activity which involves some kind of organized get together.

The third and fourth indicator deal with the contacts in the neighbourhood. For example: sharing a coffee with the neighbouring firm (formal) or family (informal), just for fun, or to make arrangements. The dimension purely focuses on the communication between people, and not the results of these get-togethers.

Even though a business might not be able or willing to organise an activity, it still can participate in other neighbourhood activities like going to community activities. Here again a distinction has been made between citizens and other entrepreneurs. One can also think about getting together to object to new disadvantaging developments in the neighbourhoods. This is an example of what is meant with the seventh indicator. But it can also include membership in a neighbourhood council, or a local or regional entrepreneur's council. Also, being a member of the municipal council, or a local political party is included here. Even though this might not be a direct result of the business, it is a result of the entrepreneurial character of a business owner, as he enjoys, or truly feels the need of improving his living and working area. Also, a business which is focused on improving social cohesion in itself of course is an indicator of improving social cohesion in the area.

Finally, the ethnic entrepreneur is able to take a role upon him or herself as an ambassador for migrants in general. Over the last year many refugees have come to the Netherlands, and what more powerful message to send to the scared or ill-informed citizen than the successful entrepreneur with a similar background? This part of the social innovations has been analysed through the analysis of the social media activity of entrepreneurs, and to what extent their contributions there are related to the refugee-crisis.

Now the operationalisation has been shared, the following chapter deals with the practicalities, and backgrounds which come to the process of gathering and analysing data. In this chapter the research approach will be discussed, as well as the used methods, the case at hand, and issues regarding ethics, validity and reliability.

4.1 Research approach

In many fields, research has taken a spatial turn, attending to the spatiality of various other fields, such as the spatial dimensions of entrepreneurship. This increase in the field of study also has caused a more careful approach to qualitative research, therefore also increasing the value of the approach at hand (DeLyser et al., 2010). Qualitative research reveals behavior or phenomena through in-depth studies of the topic at hand, and constructs hypotheses through them (QRCA, 2015). The results are of a more descriptive than predictive character. Quantitative research on the other hand tries to reveal patterns and generalizations through the collection of data of a sample of the research population at hand. Although this research also includes survey data, the number of respondents asks for a careful analysis of the data, which also only consist of a very specific group of respondents. Being careful in generalizations and using various instruments, this thesis has a more qualitative character.

Little research has been done on the actual contribution of immigrant entrepreneurs to urban innovations in the context of spatiality and geography. Since this research has a very broad character, as the operationalisation already revealed, this research has an exploratory approach, collecting data and trying to develop theory through this.

The ontological position of this thesis is mostly subjectivist. This stream of thought suggests that social phenomena are created from the perceptions and consequent actions of social actors (Saunders et al. 2009: 111). Although existing objective structures will take a large role in settlement patterns and the arrival of urban innovations, the way migrant entrepreneurs themselves make choices are the guiding principle here, as they are the acting agents in this study.

Due to the dynamic character of the research subject, it is more appropriate to take in a subjectivist or constructionist position, since urban innovations will always be under influence of social interactions, bound in space and time. Kloosterman (2010) for example, states how the social embeddedness is of importance for the opportunities of a migrant entrepreneur. Since networks in which one is situated are variable, one can also argue that a subjective position is more relevant than an objective position. The results of this study will, next to the empirical data which are also collected, highly depend on the opinions of the respondents involved in this research, as well as the interpretation of their information. Therefore, we should be aware of the constructionist aspects in this research, and only make conclusions through the combination of the various methods (Creswell, 2013).

The epistemological position of this research is situated more in the interpretivist tradition. As said before, it seems unlikely that changes in urban environments derive purely from axioms. Therefore the positivist approach seems too much founded on generating laws and patterns to be useful in this context. As Saunders et al. (2009: 116) argue, the interpretivist position is desirable in complex situations, where particular

circumstances meet particular individuals in a specific place and time. These specifications need to be understood by the researcher, and she has to envisage the point of view of these particular individuals.

4.2 Methods & Instruments

First the choice for Enschede should be explained? With our research group it was already early in the process decided that the Twente region would be the focus area of our theses. There were several reasons for this. A relatively large population of migrants lives in this area, due to the economic history of the region, as explained in chapter five. Since many of those migrants came to the Netherlands in the 1960's or 1970's, it is very likely that their children, the second generation is of an age that enables them to start a business. Serving other members of their ethnic community in order to satisfy their specific 'ethnic' desires for goods or services is often an important incentive for a migrant to start a business according to Greene & Owen (2004). This implies that a concentration of larger ethnic groups in a geographical area will enhance this process.

As a reminder, let's take a look at the research questions again:

How do firm activities of non-Western migrant entrepreneurs of the second generation in Enschede influence or contribute to processes of urban innovation?

Subquestions:

1. *What are the characteristics of non-western migrant entrepreneurs of the second generation in Enschede?*
2. *How are location choices for firms of migrant entrepreneurs made, and what are the characteristics of the areas of these locations?*
3. *To what extent can processes of urban innovation by entrepreneurship be distinguished in Enschede?*

When starting this research, it was immediately clear that this study would become a holistic case study, focusing on an area with a relatively large number of migrant entrepreneurs and a second generation which was old enough to start a business at all. The project adopted a mixed-method approach, in order to provide a comprehensive but also detailed picture for the region. So the second generation migrant entrepreneurs in that specific area would become the 'entity' of the study. The specifics will become clear further on in this chapter, but first I want to explain more on the decision for a case study. Doorewaard and Verschuren (2007), distinguish five types of research. The survey research entails a study with a large population answering standardized questions, and thereby the research will gain a broader view on the topic at hand. By simulating the real world in a closed space, experiments can be executed, in order to understand real world processes and phenomena, without influencing the real world. The case study contains an in-depth research on a specific topic. The grounded theory approach is used to come to new

theoretical approaches by doing empirical analysis and compare concepts. Finally there is the desk research, which entails a study through analysis of literature, articles or other written sources. It is not uncommon that these strategies are used to complement each other, which is also the case in this research. The character of this research is a case study, since it focuses on a phenomena in a specific geographical area. Earlier I said that the case study has a holistic character. This means that all aspects of the phenomenon are being analysed (Creswell, 2013). Multiple entrepreneurs in different branches and neighbourhoods are being asked to contribute to the research, and all kinds of urban innovations are being explored here. It is important to be aware of the fact that the case study always lacks representativeness (Fisher, 2010). So what happens in Enschede does not necessarily have to happen in other cities, even if demography or historic backgrounds are similar, one should not immediately assume that other places deal with a similar situation. For example because of the specific urban characteristics of a city (Volery, 2007). The case study does however make it possible to make generalizations, for example when it comes to processes (Fisher, 2010). In this specific case this could mean that a socio-economic context could facilitate a particular kind of innovation.

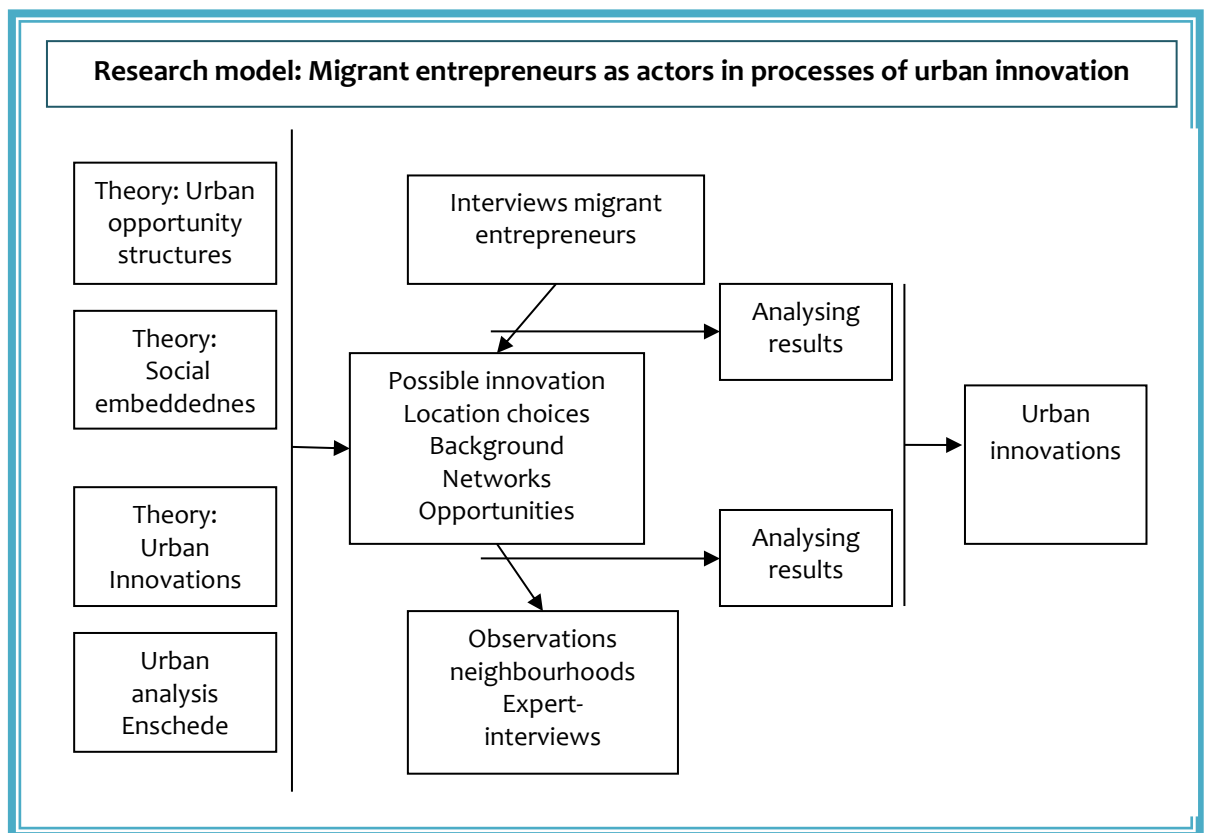
In finding an answer to the research questions, we need to discuss them separately, since they do not ask for a similar approach. The first sub question will demand a broad knowledge of the background of the migrant entrepreneurs in Enschede. Some general data might be provided by national databases, but to understand the motives behind starting a business, a survey or interview questions will be more appropriate. Therefore, this question will be answered by desk research in regard to general information about migration, survey data and interview results. The combination of these instruments will then make it possible to come to more reliable results.

The interviewguide, as well as the survey for the respondents has been added in the appendices. They are in Dutch since the interviews and the analysis were carried out in Dutch. As language already provided a slight barrier for some of the respondents, the step to translate the transcripts directly to English would make the data analysis less trustworthy, and interesting comments might have gone lost. Therefore, the step to translation has been made after the data analysis, but in collecting the results.

Questions in the survey range from basic questions on age, gender, type of business and year of startup, to activity in the neighbourhood (with formal as well as informal contacts), type of business location and customerbase.

To analyse location choices in the second sub question, survey data as well as in-depth interview results are valuable. Besides, it is also important here to understand the institutional context here. What is the economic situation in the area, or for individuals, and to what extent are migrants or entrepreneurs supported by local governmental organizations? Therefore, expert-interviews are valuable in this part of the research. The third question then again is a combination of the three ways to gather information: surveys, interviews and expert interviews. However, here is a new approach which also might be valuable. Through the observation of the build environment, by photo-analysis, it is possible to look at patterns in the physical environment, and this might show us to what extent urban innovations take place in the direct neighbourhood of businesses. In order to answer the research question then, the variation of multiple methods is used.

Below the research process has been formatted into a model. The first phase deals with desk research on the three main theoretical concepts and on the backgrounds of Enschede as a case. The results of these process are a perspective on the possible innovations, location choices for entrepreneurs, aspects of social, economic and institutional backgrounds and networks and the urban opportunity structures. To relate these to the specific case at hand, interviews with migrant entrepreneurs will be performed, complemented with expert interviews with municipal employees and a photo-analysis of the physical space through observations. The analysis of all these data then connects to the operationalisation, formulating conclusions on the urban innovations, and the processes behind them which occur in Enschede.



The design of the research instruments requested some careful attention, as there were several restrictions to the possibilities of the execution. Since this masterthesis is part of the Down in the Valley thesisproject, other students with comparable or related topics were collecting data of the second generation non-western migrant entrepreneurs in Twente. It was decided to generate a shared research instrument, for several reasons. This would enable us to collect more data from several respondents, it created the opportunity to compare and discuss our results and interpretations and it would standardize our results. Downsides of course were that each student was able to only ask a restricted number of questions on his specific thesis subject, therefore limiting the options to gather as much in depth knowledge as possible. Luckily, the research questions and the operationalisation made it possible to gather much of the information through

observational analysis and a survey (see appendix). The reasoning of location choices or the physical improvement of an area for example, can be found out through these instruments.

So first an interviewguide was designed which covered all possible questions to create a vision of the possible urban innovations. This was done by all students in the research group. Then, the questions which could be asked through a survey, without losing their value, were thematically collected by all students into one document. Of the then still remaining questions an interviewguide was created. This was done by grouping questions again on their topic, and not by researcher, so they would become a more gradual questionnaire this way. The interviewguide (see appendice XX) was largely meant to be structured, as the data had to be used by several students. However, when time allowed, the opportunity was given to gain some more in-depth knowledge on the personal research topic.

Both survey and interviewguide have been submitted as an enclosure to this thesis. Next to these collectively formulated instruments, all students were asked to get approval of the respondents to take photographs of the interior and exterior of their business, in order to collect as much information about the physical appearance of the firms as possible.

Finally an expert-interview (see appendix) has been executed. Although it would have been more preferable to conduct more than one interview, this proved to be rather difficult. However, the municipality of Enschede was very cooperative and provided a large part of the information about the institutional and economic background of the city, and its characteristics. The data shared through the interview have been revised and cross-referred through the analysis of papers of the municipality as well as the province Overijssel and Kennispark Twente and other tertiary sources. This way the data provide for a reliable perspective on the background of urban opportunity structures of Enschede.

4.3 Data analysis

For the interview data to prove to be valuable, a structured analysis was necessary. After collecting all the transcripts, the first step was to read them and structure the information around the three research questions. Then the information was sorted by connecting it to the indicators of each dimension of the operationalisation.

A content analyses has been conducted after the transcription of the interviews with the entrepreneurs, through open coding. In this form of analysis chunks of data that summarize the phenomenon are labeled. The labeling is not based on existing theory. First the passages were coded by research question, in order to create a selection on the following three topics: (1) characteristics of the second generation migrant entrepreneur, (2) location choices and (3) urban innovations. In follow up, the passage were connected to those parts in the operationalisation to which they related best.

In regard to the survey data it was decided to use these mainly in a qualitative matter, as the number of respondents was not sufficient to extract information for the whole population. However, the information gave some valuable insights on the backgrounds, and types of businesses and business locations of the entrepreneurs, and their contacts in the neighbourhood.

The expert interview is used as a control sheet and addition to the data collected via the respondents and the reviewed policy papers. The practical analysis of the interview was performed in the same way as the other interviews, connecting important passages to the separate topics of the operationalisation. In the overview below is shown how the aspects of the operationalisation are explored through the various research instruments:

Research instruments per aspect		
Topic: Characteristics of non-western second generation migrant entrepreneurs		
	Research instrument	
	Survey	Education
	Survey	Age
	Survey	Ethnicity
	Survey	Gender
	Survey	Place of birth
	Interviews	Work experience
	Interviews	Motives for starting a business
	Survey	Year of start
	Survey	Years of existence of (current) business
	Interviews	The available financial capital
	Interviews	Juridical form of firm
Topic: Social embeddedness of non-western second generation migrant entrepreneurs		
	Survey / Interview	Personal relations in the location area of the business
	Interview	Feeling of connectedness to the neighbourhood of the business
	Interviews	Background of customers
	Interviews	Membership of entrepreneurial organisations
	Interviews / Expert-interview / desk research	Strength of the ethnic network of the entrepreneur
Topic: Urban Opportunity Structures		
	Interviews	Accessibility for customers
	Desk research / Expert-interview	availability of business locations
	Interview / Expert-interview	Availability of financially affordable business locations
	Interviews	Availability of business locations with the needed amount of space
	Survey/ Observations	Type of neighbourhood of business location
	Observations	Diversity of buildings of the neighbourhood of the business location
	Observations	Diversity of functions in the neighbourhood of the business location
	Interviews / Observations	Local livability
	Desk research	Ethnic demography of the neighbourhood
	Interviews	Existence of local customerbase
	Interviews	Local market prosperity

	Interviews / Expert-interview	Job opportunities in the region
	Interviews	Entrepreneurial opportunities in the region
	Interviews	Need for employees
	Interviews	Access to employees
	Interviews	Support of business networks
	Interviews	Support during the start-up through business support networks
	Expert-interview / desk research	Land use legislation through zoning schemes
	Interviews / Expert-interview	Opportunities for municipal support
	Interviews	opportunities for support through regional governmental organisations
	Interviews	Opportunities for support through national (semi-) governmental organisations
Topic: Contexts of urban innovations		
	Interviews	Renovations inside or outside the building since the start of the business, which are visible from the outside.
	Interviews	The entrepreneur takes actions to improve the surroundings by himself
		The entrepreneur takes action to improve surroundings through interactions with municipalities
		The entrepreneur takes action to improve surroundings through actions with other stakeholders in the direct neighbourhood
	Interviews / Expert-interview	Making arrangements about infrastructures, deliveries, and parking solutions
		Creating more activity by the presence of customers in the neighbourhood
	Interviews / Expert-interview	Strengthening public safety through activity/flows of people
	Survey	Ethnicity of the customer population
		Type of products or services of the entrepreneur
	Interviews	Diversity of the products or services of the entrepreneur
		Development of the types and diversity of products the entrepreneur offers
		Stimulating others to start a business
	Interviews / Survey	Mentoring others in their development
		Development of customer area
	Interviews	Development of number of customers
		Creating job opportunities
	Survey / Interviews	Number of employees
		Helping in governmental employment programs
		Owning a business in career or personal coaching

		Sell a unique product / service
	Interviews	Sell a product / service out of necessity in the neighbourhood
		Sponsoring
	Interviews / Survey	Organizing activities
		Formal contacts within the neighbourhood
		Informal contacts within the neighbourhood
		Participating in activities with (a number of) citizens
		Participating in activities with (a number of) entrepreneurs
		Participating in formal neighbourhood/city activities
		Participating in informal neighbourhood/city activities
		Have a business that is focused on social relations in the neighbourhood
		Act as an (informal) ambassador of migration

Table 4.1: Research instrument per dimension of the operationalisation

To turn the photographic data into a valuable source, first some questions were created. Following was tried to find patterns between the various locations by observations. This did not seem to be worthwhile, so therefore I decided that it would be more interesting to write down the characteristics of each individual location (interior as well as exterior, for as far as provided). This opposite approach, with a more inductive character proved to be more successful. The locations on the pictures were analysed on their physical aspects, and placed in the context of the neighbourhood. So instead of looking for an obvious pattern, each picture was analysed on its own characteristics, and only afterwards I looked for possible patterns or irregularities.

4.4 Validity, Reliability, Triangulation

The validity of the research is what legitimizes the conclusions of the process. For this thesis the validity is secured by creating a careful and comprehensive operationalisation, since the explorative character opens a great number of doors. Therefore, the results have been formulated with the operationalisation always on top of mind. To secure the measurement validity,

Besides the internal validity of the research, the external validity has to be secured as well. An often heard critique is that case studies lack representativeness (Fisher, 2010). The little research this study can be compared with, this critique is relevant here as well. This study therefore never claims to generalize beyond the scope of the region, and, as mentioned often before, the exploration has to be start of a longer journey, which might eventually cover a larger area. Means to guard for the external validity were to contact as many entrepreneurs as possible, and framing a definite research area, which has been portrayed extensively in chapter 5.

Reliability is safeguarded by being aware of, and preventing, systematic and random errors. The analysis of the data has been conducted with the help of Atlas@ti,

structuring the data to protect against this arbitrariness. The program enables the researcher to structure arguments, and is therefore more precise than when trying to structure notes on paper, relying only on your head.

Another important measure in order to prevent problems regarding validity and reliability is triangulation. In each aspect of this research, several approaches of data collection have been combined. Literature, policy analysis, interview data, and expert talks have been combined and compared and protect the results in this thesis.

4.6 Ethics

Without starting an elaborate debate on research ethics when interviewing migrants, as a “native student”, it does seem worthwhile to share some thoughts on the approach to these ethics during the process of the research, the communication with, and the portrayal of “migrant entrepreneurs”.

Way too often there is no particular approach to addressing ethical issues during research. Often it is not discussed, or the struggle of dealing with the issue feels too complex to write down. Being very reflexive on my position in conversations in general with everyone, it is a topic which I’d like to discuss here briefly.

Wanting to know about the role of the non-western migrant entrepreneur of the second generation is a question which immediately implies to existence of the Other, as it separates the non-western second generation migrant entrepreneur from the entrepreneur. Even though this research does not make a comparison with any other group, and derives from a positive fact that the economic contribution of migrant entrepreneurs is increasing rapidly, it is of great importance to explain why it is particularly interesting to focus on this group, furthermore than just creating a voice to people who earlier might have been ignored in the story of entrepreneurship. As Krumer-Nevo and Sidi (2012) put it: “the desire to know the Other can be a potential source of dominance, when it becomes a mode of subduing her in a network of interpretations and representations, [...] the other is trapped in her uniqueness and is transformed into an icon of permanent Otherness (Levinas, 1969)”. So one has to be aware of the fact that these representations are limited. In regard to this thesis project an example of the aspects which regard attention are language barriers during interviews. Some entrepreneurs might have some difficulties with the Dutch language, something which has no direct relation to the subject, but which might cause an (unconscious) bias.

However, the fact that the interviews were structured, and were executed and transcribed by five different interviewee’s, has largely reduced these problems. Also many questions for this research had a factual answer.

Another part of the ethics debate is of course the privacy of the respondents. Since some of the entrepreneurs preferred to remain anonymous, the data in this thesis are adjusted. In appendix C a list of the respondents is included, connecting a number to a type of business, its location and a couple of other facts.

Chapter 5: Enschede – Description of the case

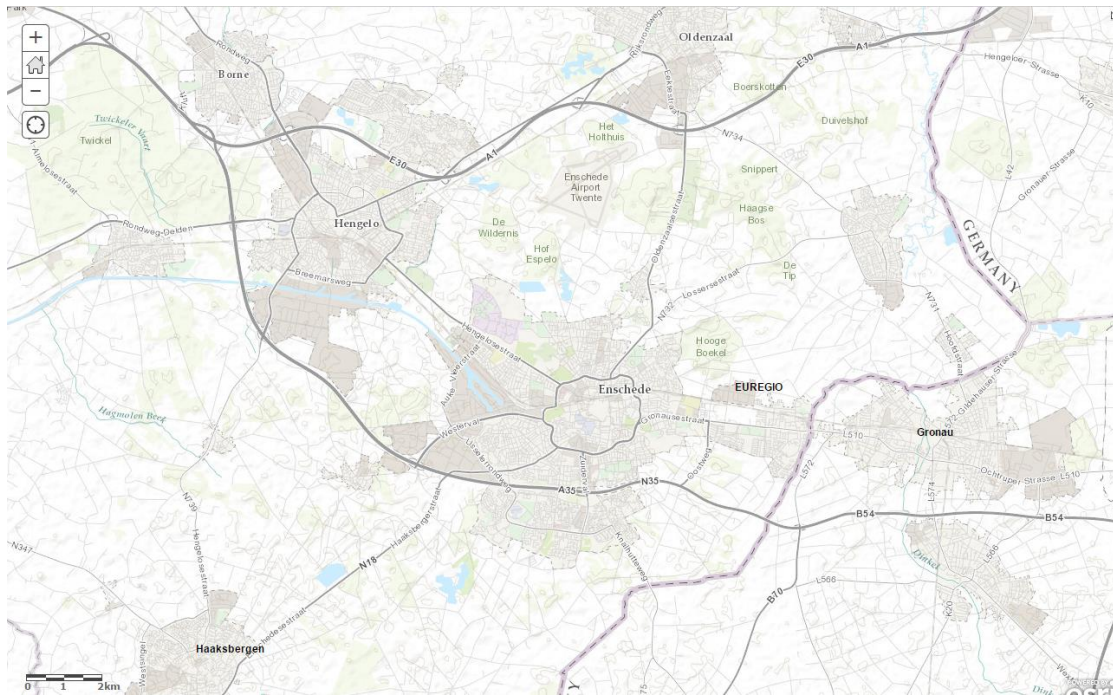
When thinking about Enschede, there are probably a few things that come to mind to many people. The Twente University, the fact that it is the largest city in the eastern and more rural part of the Netherlands, the soccerclub FC Twente and the fireworks disaster in May

2000, which killed 23 people, injured almost 1000 and destroyed many homes and buildings in the Roombeek area. All these facts have influenced the city and its citizens to a certain extent. The university and the soccerclub will have economic influences, being the centre city in a rural area as a geographical setting is also connected to the regional and economic development. The fireworks disaster has had and still has impact on the personal lives of the people in the city, but having to rebuild an area of 40 hectares in the middle of the city, changed the character of the area drastically as well. Along with these impressions goes a range of policies, regulations and legislations. All are part of the economic and institutional embeddedness, creating a framework for migrant entrepreneurs to start and maintain their businesses. Therefore, this paragraph paints the background, by sharing geographical and economical background on the city of Enschede, as well as information on entrepreneurship and the migrants that live in the city.

5.1 Geography and development of the city

Near the German Border, somewhat in the middle of the Netherlands lies Enschede, being the centre of the Twente region. The city is surrounded by some smaller urban areas: Oldenzaal, Hengelo, and Haaksbergen, and Grönau in Germany. Although these smaller cities are able to provide for themselves, Enschede is the city with the main facilities, taking care of the whole Twente region. Therefore it is the nucleus of the Twente COROP area, as defined on the third level NUTS standards, regulated by the EU in order to structure the geography of the Union (Eurostat, 2011). Besides the already named municipalities of Enschede, Haaksbergen, Hengelo and Oldenzaal, 10 others in the province Overijssel belong to the Twente region: Almelo, Borne, Dinkelland, Hellendoorn, Hof van Twente, Rijssen-Holten, Tubbergen, Twenterand and Wierden (Regioatlas, 2015).

Historically, Enschede has been the centre of the region for a long time. Late in the middle ages, the village officially was granted privilege to earn city rights, which allowed them to organize several markets, providing for the region (Enschede-stad, 2011). It was however only during the early 19th century that Enschede started to grow more rapidly. Due to the rise of spinning and weaving mills to create textile fabrics the city started to expand beyond its original boundaries. After 1850 the growth of this branch went even more rapid, as the steam engine became into fashion. Although the city had to deal with dramatic fires, which turned large parts of the city, then often build with loam, the city managed to expand in the following ages, towards a tenfold of the number of citizens from before the textile revolution. This also went with traditional spatial disasters such as poor housing near factories.



Figuur 5.1: Enschede and its surrounding areas. Between Enschede and Gronau the EUREGIO business centre is located. Furthermore, Enschede is surrounded on the north by Hengelo and Oldenzaal, and in the south by Haaksbergen [edited from arcgisonline].

Through time, the city kept evolving (with a pause during the Second World War), until, at the end of the 1960's all textile factories started to close down their businesses in Enschede (Wessels, 2003). As a result, the city council was forced to buy all grounds near the city centre in order to prevent speculation and this also meant a bankrupt for the municipality in the 1970's (Enschede-stad, 2011). Gradually the city kept growing, as the city tried to attract other industries and companies such as Philips and Polaroid, and as it developed more technical education. The attraction of these new industries, but even more the family reunions of Moroccan and Turkish workers, were the main reasons for the city to grow towards and over 150.000 inhabitants. New neighbourhoods were realised eventually, such as Wesselerbrink, with more high-rise buildings, Stokhorst and Bolhaar (low-rise, residential areas). Where in the nineties of the previous century the city seemed to grow steadily, fulfilling the urban planning ideals of the masterplan for the city centre and the Vinex neighbourhood Enscharme in the north of the city, the year 2000 roughly disrupted the stable developments in the city. The fireworks disaster destroyed many lives, and 100 hectares in the inner city. It took quite a while before the plans to rebuild the area were completely developed. By now the neighbourhood has become a new residential area, completed with several businesses, a park, and a monument for the remembrance of the victims of the disaster.

Today, Enschede still has a central position for the Twente region. With close to 10.000 businesses, it is by far the area with the most employment opportunities in all branches in the area (except for the agricultural sector) (Kennispunt Twente, 2014).



Figure 5.2: Roombeek (Source: Rijksmuseum Twente)

5.2 Economy & entrepreneurship

In the first paragraph the historic urban development of Enschede and its position towards the region has been discussed. Now the second paragraph zooms in to the economical and institutional dimensions which are possible factors to influence the entrepreneurship in the region. On the one hand this paragraph reveals municipal regulations that are relevant to this topic, and on the other this section shows the role of some important institutions in the possibilities and developments for starting entrepreneurs, which is where we start. Over the last couple of years, the number of enterprises has steadily increased in most economic branches. However, there are some interesting shifts in the economic structure of Enschede which are worthwhile to discuss. First the building industry shows an interesting development. With a total of 600 businesses in 2007, to a tipping point of 815 in 2013, ending with 740 enterprises in 2015.

Branch	'07	'08	'09	'10	'11	'12	'13	'14	'15	Growth 07-15 (%)
Extraction of minerals	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Water & Waste	10	10	10	10	10	15	15	15	15	50,0
Building industry	600	700	805	820	805	815	785	750	740	23,0
Trade	2220	2365	2430	2475	2505	2450	2490	2435	2490	12,2
Logistics	150	170	175	175	160	180	180	190	195	30,0
Catering	335	360	370	385	390	410	410	405	420	25,4
Information & Communication	510	580	630	655	715	765	780	805	855	67,6
Rental and financial services	335	360	400	415	430	460	460	450	455	33,8
Services	520	570	595	615	655	665	705	715	730	40,4
Extraterritorial organisations	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 5.1 : Number of enterprises in Enschede, per branch. Note: the last table was added to indicate the relative growth of the branch from 2007 to 2015. Source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, June 13, 2015.

The numbers in the table above share not enough information to put the economic growth in a just perspective, and it is not possible to say anything valuable about the actual economic development of the city. It is however very interesting to see the number of businesses increase, especially when one relates this to changes in municipal policy. With the decline of the making-industry in the region, the stimulation of innovation and entrepreneurship became an important goal for the Enschede municipality. This eventually

led to a focus on five thematic clusters: high-tech systems and materials, building industry, technology & health, safety technology. When you take a look at the growth rates for the building industry, logistics, information & communication and the service branches, a relative large growth is visible, even though it is not entirely clear to what extent this growth in times of economic crises is due to local policy. For example, it is known that the growth in the building industry over the last decade is largely due to the increase of self-employed persons (Bouwend Nederland, 2015). On the other hand one could argue that with the rebuilding of Roombeek, the building industry was stimulated to grow. However, the growth in the information & communication branch is definitely caused by the cooperation between the University of Twente, the entrepreneurial organisations of Twente and local authorities.

During the last decades Twente exchanged the textile and metal industry for a knowledge industry. With the rise of a new University, with its original focus on high-tech industries, the economic decline of the '80s had to be reversed. The Twente University and Saxion University of Applied sciences enabled more than 1800 businesses to walk their first steps in the region. This has made Twente the region known for their knowledge industry. The region has developed a so called 'eco system', with many financiers stimulating start-ups and innovations, and older entrepreneurs, supporting the new generations (Goegebuur, 2015). This eco system is institutionalized in 'Kennispark Twente, or: Science Park, which connects the University of Twente, Saxion University of Applied Sciences, municipalities and the province, has been organized in order to help young entrepreneurs in their first steps (Enschede municipality, personal communication, September 22, 2015). The aim is to create ten thousand new, high valued jobs in the region in order to stimulate regional development (Kennispark Twente, 2015). In the last few years, the University of Twente has decided to broaden their scope towards other branches as well, which has to become a stimulation for these fields in the region as well. With the introduction of the 'human touch' to the high-tech, the university added themes such as psychology, health, business administration and public administration to their curriculum.

Although the high-tech industry is an important boost for the region, unemployment rates are still relatively high in comparison with other parts of The Netherlands, since 9,4% percent of the labor force in Enschede is unemployed (6,9 percent is the national rate), a number which is similar to other cities and villages in the area (Statline, 2015; Goegebuur, 2015). To what extend the University of Twente, or Kennispark Twente are able to downgrade those numbers is rather difficult to predict. It seems more likely that the jobs that will be created by them are filled by new students, researchers, and entrepreneurs from outside the city, previously not included in employment rates of the city or the region. Therefore, the boost might not decrease the unemployment, but may increase the employment rates. Of the 158.557 inhabitants of Enschede, 121.000 of them are part of the labour force. Of this group, 8000 are currently unemployed (Statline, 2015).

Since Enschede is located close to the German border, the city also collaborates within the boundaries of the EUREGIO, a project centered around Gronau and Enschede, but including also larger border areas in Gelderland, Overijssel and Drenthe, and German parts of Niedersachsen and Nordrhein- Westfalen, in order to create one service area (EUREGIO, 2013). Some of the main goals of this collaboration are to stimulate a cross-border job market, to share knowhow in order to strengthen the region's competitiveness

and to create a platform in order to accomplish these goals (EUREGIO, 2013). It actually is the first of many projects of transnational collaborations within the EU, and can therefore still be named the EUREGIO.

So on a European level of administration we find that the EUREGIO project truly tries to enhance entrepreneurship. When we look at the local level, policies are stimulating more indirectly. As Kennispark Twente among others focuses on supporting starting entrepreneurs, the municipality is gradually downgrading their own programs in the support of start-ups. The policies which stimulated entrepreneurship have been cut down, for one to save money, but also because other parties in the market got involved with helping start-ups (Gemeente Enschede, personal communication, September 22, 2015). This made it less of a priority for the municipality. However, through their spatial policies, they have tried to lay out the red carpet for enterprises (Gemeente Enschede, personal communication, September 22, 2015).

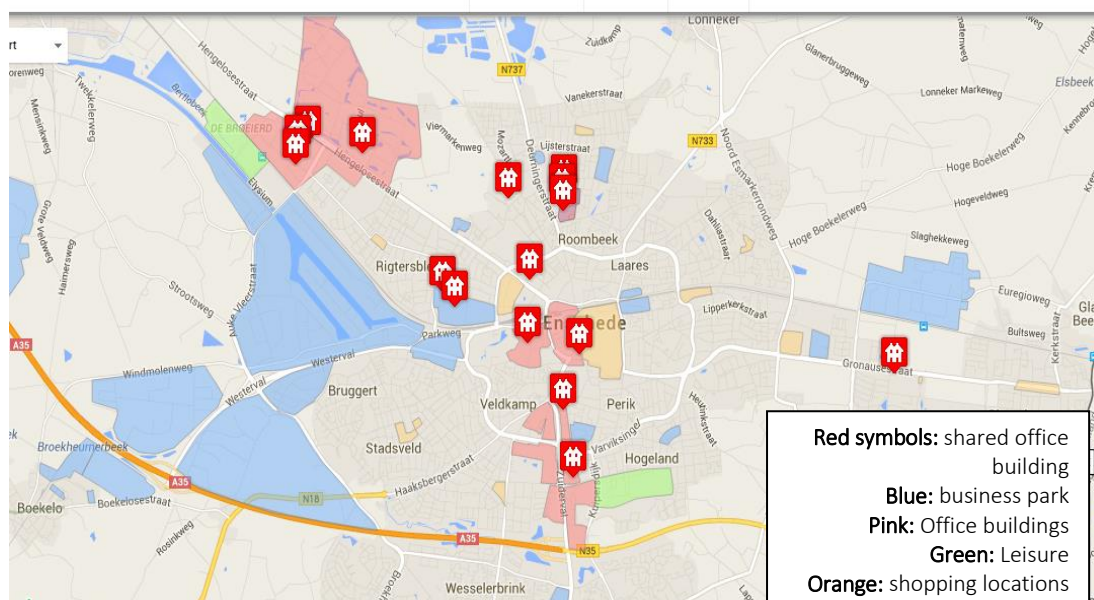


Figure 5.2: business location policy for Enschede (Source: Enschede.nl)

The areas marked in Figure 3, are designated for various entrepreneurial activities. Over the last years, also due to the new economic situation Enschede had to deal with new location demands as well. So the city has a large office surplus, mostly of buildings which do not live up to the demands of this time, while appropriate mid-sized spaces, between one or two hectares are lacking (Gemeente Enschede, personal communication, September 22, 2015). For smaller enterprises, and entrepreneurs who work at home on the other hand, there have been established some new regulations which enable more people to start a business at home. There have been created some new shared office buildings as well, often located in vacant older places which were not of interest for the market (Gemeente Enschede, personal communication, September 22, 2015). As the rental prices for spaces in these buildings were relatively cheap, many starters could profit from these places. It remains vague though to what extent the municipality as an organization is able to truly stimulate start-ups, as many entrepreneurs might start in less

official work-spaces, and helped by their own personal networks, without contacting the municipality through the entrepreneurs office.

Analysing the existing entrepreneurial structure of the city we find a great diversity. However, as to be expected, many companies in the information and technology branch are located in the north-west of Enschede, on the campus of the University of Twente. What becomes clear out of the image above, is the restricted opportunities for shopping locations. These are mainly located near the city centre and at some central places in the various neighbourhoods. Near the EUREGIO park and the west side of Enschede there appears to be plenty of opportunity for larger businesses. Office buildings have to be located at the campus, in the city centre or in the southern part of the city.

Although the eastern part of Overijssel has to deal with vacancy, and shrinkage (Binnenlands bestuur, 2013), these effects are expected to be marginal for Enschede, being the centre of this region, and with strong impact of the University of Twente (Gemeente Enschede, personal communication, September 22, 2015). This means that the municipality will keep on developments, but with a more reserved approach than previously. Exact policy, regional as well a local, in regard to the consequences of shrinkage is still in development (Gemeente Enschede, personal communication, September 22, 2015).

Soccerclub FC Twente has had a great impact on the identity building of the region, over the last years, even though the municipality of Enschede did not aim for this goal actively. Even though recent developments around the organisation might have damaged this process, the Twente Centre for Studies in Technology and Sustainable Development (CSTM) states that the municipal support in the first decade of this century has been of great relevance (Coenen et al. 2011)

5.3 Migrants

During discussions with the entire research group, the Twente region was pointed at as an interesting region, for several reasons. For one, since the 1960's, a large group of non-western immigrants came to the area to work in the textile and steel industry, eventually raising their families there. These industries over time declined, and workers had to find other jobs. The first generation of migrants often began their businesses out of this necessity (Rušinović, 2006). The research of Rušinović (2006) pointed out that, at least in the Randstad area, the second generation often has the opportunity to develop further, due to better educational chances and a broader cultural heritage. Their motives are not purely based on necessity. There already have been some interesting studies on this subject, as chapter 1 and 2 have shown, although the research subjects often concerned the Randstad area in the Netherlands.

Despite the historic embeddedness which stimulated the entrepreneurship in the area, the actual number of migrants in Enschede is also relevant. On a total of 158.553 inhabitants, the city counts 44.430 non-natives, of which 24.349 have a non-western background (15,4% of the total population of Enschede) (CBS Statline: 2015). Non-western here, is defined as the migrant with origins in Africa, Latin-America, Asia (except for Japan and Indonesia, for socio-economic reasons), or Turkey) (CBS, 20015). More than a third of these migrants have a Turkish background, 2043 migrants have a Moroccan background and 1964 people in Enschede have Surinamese roots. About 979 citizens have their

background in the Antilles. Then there are 10.483 people who have, or whose parents have their origins in non-western countries. Data on how many of the non-western migrants actually are part of the labor force, and have a job or are eligible for a benefit are unfortunately not present, so it is not possible to give a complete view on the economic structure for migrants in Enschede.



Figure 5.3: Neighbourhoods of Enschede (Source: Enschede-stad, 2011)

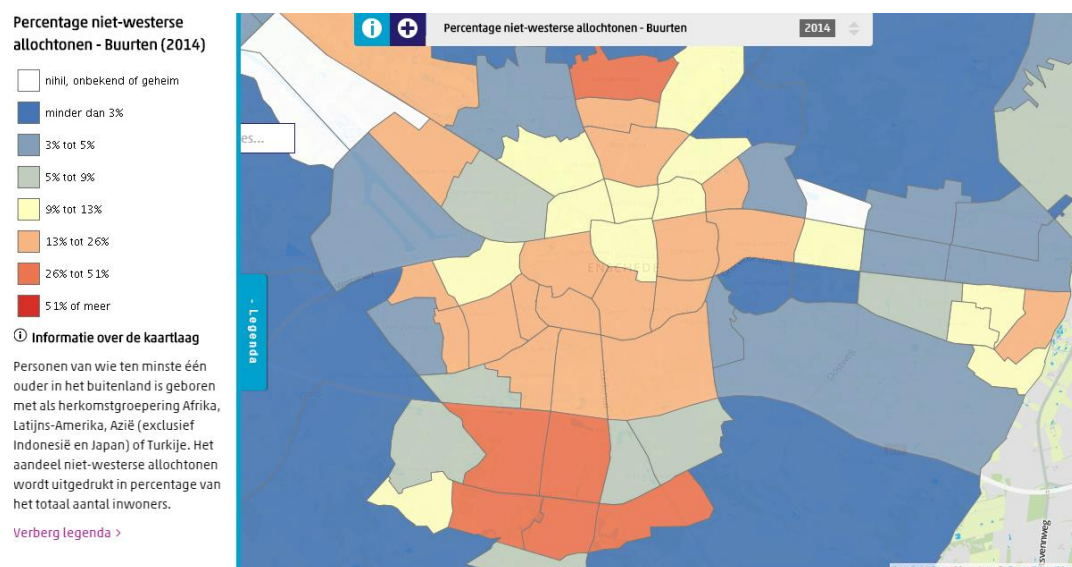


Figure 5.5: Non western migrants in the neighbourhoods of Enschede (in percentages). The CBS has defined non-western migrants as people of whom at least one parent was born in a foreign country with its origins in Africa, Latin-America, Asia (excluding Indonesia and Japan) or Turkey. The part of non-western migrants is expressed in percentages of the total number of citizens in the neighbourhoods.

Since the group of migrants includes a large part of the urban population, their presence and activities will be visible through the entire city. One remark in regard to this has to be made beforehand. A relatively large group of citizens with a Suryoye (or Christian Orthodox Aramean) background live in the southern neighbourhood of Wesselerbrink (The dark red coloured neighbourhoods in Figure 3). This group has its origins in the south east of Turkey and Syria, and has a Christian-orthodox religious background. During the process of data gathering, it was decided to be careful in collecting data of this area, since it would not give a representative image of the whole city if the population would only be represented through them. Also, the strong bonds in this Suryoye community enable them to a significant extent to start-up and maintain businesses within their own community (Gemeente Enschede, personal communication, September 22, 2015). They provide each other for example with knowledge, financial support or by filling in job positions. Probably an interesting case for another study, but in light of the research problem in this thesis it was decided to focus on diversity in location and cultural background of businesses and business owners, so a broader research population has been selected, as the methodology chapter further elaborates. This way the study would not be influenced too much by one neighbourhood, or ethnic background.

When exercising the desk research of this study, and searching for research on migrants in Enschede, it is difficult to find relevant information. Mostly migration numbers and countries of origin seem to be important. There are some studies on the Suryoye community specifically, studies on criminality which spend specific paragraphs on migrants and their criminal behavior, but that seems to be it. Satisfying information has to be found through other sources. Therefore, the mapping tool, created by CBS is highly valuable. It shows for example how non-western migrants are divided throughout the city. Figure 5 shows that there live relatively more non-western migrants in the south of the city, with the neighbourhood Deppenbroek, in the north as big exception. Although one needs to be careful to make generalisations based on this, it is typical that most of these migrants live in neighbourhoods which were built around the 1960's, and which have the character of typical working class neighbourhoods (Enschede-stad, 2015a) (Enschede-stad, 2015b). Which are relatively cheaper than the more newly developed areas in and around the city center. The map shows that there aren't any neighbourhoods in Enschede with more than fifty-one percent of non-western migrants, and even though a few areas seem to be completely native, migrant populations still are very much distributed all over the city. As interview results will reveal as well, this means that migrant entrepreneurs might be divided all over Enschede as well, since the research also included self-employed entrepreneurs, and entrepreneurs with their businesses at home.

Chapter 6: Towards urban innovation

6.1 Migrant entrepreneurs: their story

The characteristics of non-western migrant entrepreneurs of the second generation in Enschede described in chapter 3 have been translated into an operationalisation separating ‘personal background’ and ‘professional background’. The term ‘second generation migrants’, used by CBS and other external parties, is a label these migrants themselves feel comfortable with.

Even though some of the respondents are born in a foreign country, they were really young and have few memories of this place, if any at all. As explained before, they are part of the second generation since they came with their parents, which is in line with the definition many institutions practise, including CBS (Rušinović, 2006).

This feeling of consciously being part of a generation is shared by many respondents, even though their ages range from twenty-three to fifty-five years old. In addition, the stories of their origins, and their places of birth differ largely. For the Aramean community there was only one reason to come to the Netherlands: find refuge from suppression in their homeland (east of Turkey, Syria and Iraq). For others, or for their parents, reasons were variable. Some were religious refugees and others had economic motives. Next to Turkey, all other respondents descend from Afghanistan, Syria, Sri Lanka, Iraq, Sierra Leone, and Malaysia. Most of the ethnic entrepreneurs were born in the Twente region, and if not, they were born in the country of origin, so many of the entrepreneurs spent most of their lives in Twente.

As suggested by literature used in the previous chapter, a shift has taken place between the first and second generation when it comes to branches in which entrepreneurs are active. The table below provides an overview of all the branches concerned, and immediately reveals the diversification.

Branch	specification	Number of businesses
Real estate	Housing	1
Finance/Consultancy	Assurances, financial services	2
Retail	Food, clothing, interior design	4
Marketing	Web design, communication	3
Beauty & Wellness	Hairdressers’s, beauty salon	2
Health	Physical health, mental health	3
Travel	Travel agencies, financial transfers	2
IT	Fiberglass	1
Catering	Café, restaurant	2
Charity	Local welfare organisation	1

Table 6.1: Economic diversification of ethnic entrepreneurs in Enschede in 2015.

Although not incorporated in table 6.1, this image was also confirmed in the contacts with other entrepreneurs in Twente. The trend was also endorsed by the ethnic entrepreneurs themselves. As one entrepreneur indicates (respondent #011):

“So the first generation was mainly active in the catering industry. I think that we now can see a gradual shift with the second generation. I am the second generation. Within the second generation you observe for example assurance companies, accountants, lawyers et cetera, and I think that this will only increase. I don’t think that there will be any difference in the future between how an

Aramean or a Dutch citizen thinks, due to education for example. Our parents never had an education here and they had to start somewhere." (Translated to English)

Especially the educational opportunities seem to be a strong indicator in the diversification of the businesses, an aspect which not only was emphasised by #011, but often returned in the interviews conducted. The survey results reveal a high level of education among the firm owners as well. 68% of the ethnic entrepreneurs have an university degree or attended Universities of applied sciences. All the others have an intermediate vocational education.

Although there appears to be a relationship between education and entrepreneurship, studies do not explicitly explain the effect of education on the entrepreneur (Van Praag, 2006: 10).

For many entrepreneurs, their ethnic background is an aspect of their lives which is important in entrepreneurial decisions. This becomes apparent in the various situations. According to the ethnic entrepreneurs themselves, they are less likely to arrange for a loan at a bank. Often there are family members or friends support them in financial difficulties, or when first starting a business. This goes especially for the Syrian-Orthodox business owners.

Entrepreneurship is found in a large part of the Syrian-Orthodox community in the Netherlands. When these businesses are successful, the second generation becomes inspired by the opportunities, and also decides to start a business instead of going into wage labour. The entrepreneurial character can often be retraced to the migrant's awareness that they will not be able to return to their homeland, which forces them to make the best out of this 'new' situation. Besides, many of these people indicated to know what it means to be poor or on the which explains their intrinsic drive to have a successful career.

Personal networks

In addition to helpful family members, there is a second important aspect helping entrepreneurs to get started. Their personal and ethnic networks provide their first customers and help build their clientele. As in Enschede especially the Syrian-Orthodox community is rather strong, many of the entrepreneurs say this was an advantage for them, as they were the first customers, who were quickly able to activate the community as a customer base. Even though most businesses gradually expand their customer base, they often start within their personal ethnic community. An interesting example here is the two travel agencies spoken to, both with a Turkish background. Both had a strong connection with their community from the start. One was even asked to start on behalf of the community that joined the local mosque:

"There used to be many travel agencies whom took money illegally from the travellers. The Turkish community in Enschede was looking for a reliable person to start organizing those trips. After two years of preparing research I started with a small office next to the mosque. It was more or less coincidence to start selling tickets (#025)."

The experience that there were people who were exploiting immigrants wishing to visit their families in Turkey led to the decision to find someone trustworthy within their own community to organize the trips and all the arrangements necessary. This example shows that some entrepreneurs offer a service which would otherwise have been non-existent for a part of the local community and which therefore meets a demand otherwise lost.

According to the owner of a fashion store (#001), the Syrian-Orthodox community in Enschede is mainly focused on their own members. Yet the focus on one's own personal networks and ethnic community might also become a downside and become the cause of more problems.

First, businesses offer a product or service focused entirely on the community, which makes it difficult to survive in difficult economic times. And second, once a person starts a business which appears to be successful, immediately someone else in the community decides to start a business in exactly the same branch. Often the demand is not high enough for all these businesses to become successful, so some of them go bankrupt soon. Of course this last problem is not specifically related to a specific group, it is a phenomenon which can be seen in entrepreneurial surroundings in general.

There is another problem, however, which is only applicable to ethnic entrepreneurs. In the interviews some entrepreneurs reported feeling that they are always one step behind native entrepreneurs. Several migrants referred to the feeling of having to prove oneself, irrespective of language difficulties or financial problems.

It is clear that personal networks play an important role in the background of the decision making processes of migrant entrepreneurs, since they often enable a successful start. The support of family members was often emphasised as an essential advantage. When asked about the personal cultural background as a motive to start a business, one respondent (#004) said:

"The only aspect I can think of, but I don't want to generalize, is that we often have the assurance that someone has our back when it all goes wrong. I mean, there is always an uncle or a family member who is able to, and always will, support you. That does not mean that you could screw up ten times, and that he still would support you, and you will always have to pay it back, but it gives you an extra stimulation to start. I can imagine that when one starts an enterprise, with all its risks, someone who does not have that backup, he will think twice, and wonders whether he should really begin."

However, physical interaction with members of one's ethnic community in relation to running a business seems less important. The survey results reveal that apart from the regular cup of coffee and a short visit every once in a while, business owners hardly ever undertake activities with their family or friends in direct relation to the business they run. Yet, in the service industry, entrepreneurs act more individually. Business owners in retail and food receive more support from family members in daily chores or running the business. Conversely, entrepreneurs in the service industry often work within a specialized branch, such as insurance, IT or finance, requiring help that is highly qualified and excluding support from first-generation family members facing language or education barriers.

Motives for entering business life

Entrepreneurs can have many different reasons for starting a business. In this study four main incentives surfaced. The first and probably most obvious one is the personal interest of someone in a product or service.

A second reason is to not want to be on payroll of an employer as personal independence and the feeling of freedom that comes with it allows one to make decisions autonomously. Thirdly, there is the issue of finding a job. This is not only difficult because of the cultural background, but respondents also mentioned the economic crisis as a reason complicating matters.

The fourth reason, which was mentioned quite often by the respondents, is being inspired by family members. Many of the current entrepreneurs were surrounded by family members owning a company when they were young.. Especially in the Syrian-Orthodox respondents emphasized that there was always someone close to them with a business.

The father of an entrepreneur (#004) came to the Netherlands as a guest worker and five years later, in 1980, he started his first business. This firm grew eventually to a business with more than 50 employees. Even though he was just a child back then, the respondent answered that it was an experience which has molded him. When he was a teenager he already helped his father, and as soon as he was nineteen years old he had his own store. He also added that children who grew up in an entrepreneurial family were supposed to join the firm, whereas children from other families had to study harder. So the family background was really influential for migrants.

However, studying hard and having no intention to start a business does not imply that someone cannot end up as a business owner. A former Law Master student stopped his studies and eventually rediscovered his passion for fashion, inspired by his brother who had already been active in the fashion industry for years. Five years ago, he started with a small business and was able to expand quickly. Currently he owns two shops and is looking to relocate to a larger property.

As the latter example reveals, there is not just one reason for starting a business. Most often there are various reasons. The combination of the love for a product, and an entrepreneurial family, for example, makes it rather easy to take this step.

In short, as for the many branches in which they are active as well as regarding descent, the migrant entrepreneurs in Enschede form a diverse population. Even though we spoke to many Turkish and Syrian-Orthodox migrants, we saw a diverse whole. Ethnicity is still of great importance in the entrepreneurial decision-making and the daily processes. Especially for those entrepreneurs who are part of a larger ethnic community in the city of Enschede, and the Twente region, the help from family members is regarded as valuable. This help is to be seen mostly in financial back-up, but in the more primary branches there is help in the form of labour as well. The starting customer base of the entrepreneurs also often consists of people from their own community.

Although most entrepreneurs regard this sense of community as constructive and positive, some firm owners also see some risks in the strength of the sense of community. The first one is the risk that too many people try to start a similar business, which will

lead to more competition and a surplus in a specific branch, and may well result in bankruptcies. Secondly, entrepreneurs might be focused too much on their local community, and therefore will not be able to innovate as much as they probably would, if they had a more outgoing view. However, the strength of this sense of community is probably intensified because of the difficulties of entering regular job markets, and because an entrepreneur often feels that, compared to native Dutch businesspeople he has to work harder so as to prove himself.

The difficulty of entering the job market is only one of the reasons for ethnic entrepreneurs to start a business of their own, next to the passion for a specific product or service, inspiration by family or not wanting to be on a payroll. Most often, however, it is a mix of these aspects.

6.2 Location

This paragraph provides answers to the two-part second question posed in the first chapter: 'How are location choices for firms of migrant entrepreneurs made, and what are the characteristics of the areas of these locations?'.

The first section of this paragraph focuses on the location choices by analysing the impact of the institutional context based on chapter five, the urban characteristics and the economic context.

The whole spectrum of the urban opportunity structures will be discussed on the basis of the operationalisation formulated in the third chapter. The data used here are derived from the interviews, the expert data, policy research and the survey among the entrepreneurs.

In the analysis of the characteristics of the business locations emphasis has been put on the physical aspects of the locations. Not only the data gathered through the interviews, but also an observational analysis is used as input for this section.

Location choices

To what extent is the institutional context important for the starting and setting up of a business? Many entrepreneurs start rather informally, working on projects from home. According to Lissberg-Grondstra, of the municipality of Enschede, starting entrepreneurs in search of a business location are not specifically looking into new locations or contacting the municipality to discuss opportunities. More often entrepreneurs look for options of renting or buying on the market directly.

The experience of the municipality seems similar to that of the entrepreneurs themselves, who mostly say that they had little to do with the municipality when starting their business. However, when the exterior of a business is under discussion, the hands-on mentality of entrepreneurs sometimes collides with a municipality wanting all external conditions to be met before taking action.

One of the respondents was forced to relocate his business because of a redevelopment program. With the help of the municipality a new location was found, however. Even though this process seemed to start difficult, eventually the municipality could offer him his current business location, with which he was rather content. The location itself needed some renovation, but the urban characteristics of the area appeared rather attractive to the entrepreneur, since it was located in an area with several other

shops and businesses. In addition, the location was easy accessible by car or public transport.

From an economic and regional perspective, Enschede was seen as the city with the best opportunities as it is the largest city in the area as well as the only one with a university, and therefore generating more economic activity. Zooming in on neighbourhood level a remarkably wide spread of businesses can be demonstrated. For privacy reasons a map of all businesses contributing to this research has not been included, but as the second section of this paragraph will reveal, during the process it became clear that ethnic entrepreneurs were spread through the whole city. Occasionally, ethnic entrepreneurs with a similar background were located near each other, sometimes various ethnicities could be found close to each other, and sometimes entrepreneurs just ran separate businesses.

When the entrepreneurs were asked about the most important factors in their location choices three aspects were specifically mentioned frequently. Most relevant was the affordability of the business location itself. Then the accessibility and the infrastructure of the location was reported, and thirdly the presence of the local customer base was brought up. This last aspect also explains the larger number of Syrian-Orthodox entrepreneurs in the southern parts of Enschede, as entrepreneurs often start a business relying on customers of their own ethnic community before gaining a broader customer base. The accessibility and infrastructure were important not only in attracting customers, but were also found to be crucial for suppliers.

Even though one entrepreneur emphasized that the help of the local government was vital for finding a business location, the role of local or national government authorities was hardly ever named as an important argument in the decision-making process. When questioning the entrepreneurs more elaborately on this topic, it also became clear that most often the decision to start a business in Enschede or in a certain neighbourhood had more to do with the fact that they already lived in the area, had an idea and started to sell it. It appears to be a fluent process that did not relate directly to specific aspects of the city.

In this light it seems that the role of the local government is rather indirect. Despite zoning schemes, and even though the municipality of Enschede states to have an active policy aimed at attracting entrepreneurs, this was not clear to the entrepreneurs when they started their businesses. However, there may have been various reasons for the experiences of the entrepreneurs, such as more passive policies during the time they started their businesses, starting out small from home, or finding easy access to a business location which already was up to the standards set in the zoning schemes. An important business location for entrepreneurs, the centre of the city, was more difficult to enter by entrepreneurs, as the municipality has made some restricting policy decisions. Lissberg-Grondstra explains that enlarging the number of retail locations in the centre would create a surplus, and therefore a new business can only start in restricted areas, or in place of another business.

Furthermore, the local presence or the non-existence of rivals was not an issue entrepreneurs worried actively about when finding an appropriate business location. This might have to do with the fact that some of the entrepreneurs started because of an active request within their communities. This indicated the much-needed service, which meant

that competition was not a big issue, a phenomenon illustrated by the story of the travel agent (#025), who was asked by the mosque community to provide his services. But also an Aramean insurance agent indicated that his first customers were mostly part of the Aramean community. By helping them to translate information and by giving attention to the customer he was able to set up a successful enterprise with five employees and two establishments.

Some factors were clearly rather important for the entrepreneurs, such as the rent or sale prices, accessibility and infrastructure, and the presence of a local customer base. Most entrepreneurs were indifferent to the role of local governments in the process.

However, some of the factors influencing business locations produced more divided reactions. Contacts such as family and friends living or working in the same area were for some entrepreneurs an important reason for choosing a location. The extent to which these contacts in the neighbourhood influence the choice for a location has not become clear in this research. Many said that it had hardly had any influence, but about just as many said that it was important, or even that it was of crucial importance. When integrating the data obtained by conducting interviews and the information collected about the business branches it becomes clear that those entrepreneurs who said that this was of great importance often had a retail or fashion business. As explained above, family members of businesses in these branches were more likely to help with the business in comparison with other branches. A further exploration of the links between location choices and the role of family in specific branches might be interesting here.

Presence of the local amenities is especially interesting for the retail and fashion branches as well. The owner of a supermarket with a very diverse supply even said that the neighbouring Dutch supermarket strengthened his own position, as it attracted the customers who were already there for their regular shopping. They now just bought some products at his supermarket as well. In this way he was able to make use of the already existent flow of customers.

In addition, for some of the migrant entrepreneurs the access to future employees played an important role. One of the IT-companies, for example, chose purposefully to rent a floor near the university campus area. And finally, besides the affordability and the suitability of the business location, the character of the property was named as another very important aspect, which is something that will be discussed in the next section.

Location characteristics

As stated previously, addresses of the business locations have not been mapped out here due to several privacy requests of respondents. However, the data collected can be used and lead to some interesting conclusions with regard to the characteristics of the location.

As for diversity, the results show a wide spread of business locations, as well as a large variety in the type of buildings. Working from home, in shop-premises, and offices is most regular, whereas some entrepreneurs work wherever they feel like working that day and others work in a temporarily used empty location, with cheap rents. Even though the function of the buildings differs largely, most of them are located in neighbourhoods with a similar structure: almost all buildings are houses or shops with three stories, located in a neighbourhood with a wide diversity of functions. Often the area looks like a residential

area, where several houses have been redesigned into business locations. Then there are some stores located in the city centre, where the ground floor is reserved for business purposes, and the other stories consist of apartments, and finally there are a few businesses located in more industrial/business areas. Still, it is rather interesting that many enterprises are located in the more residential areas. This typology is actually not just characteristic for ethnic entrepreneurs, it is mostly a phenomenon which is typical of Enschede, probably to a larger extent than other cities, as there are relatively few high-rise areas in this city.

Like the considerable variation found in business locations, there are also differences with respect to building years of the properties, and the size and state of all the buildings. This diversification mostly confirms what was earlier on suggested in the theoretical chapter: migrant entrepreneurs have grown past the retail and catering industry, and start to become a more homogenous part of the entrepreneurial world when it comes to the branches, business locations, and successes.

Marketing and IT-start-ups mostly work from home, or at the university library. Fashion and catering businesses are mostly found in more central places, such as the city centre or the shopping centre of the specific neighbourhood. The larger businesses (for example the marketing and IT businesses with more years of experience) frequently choose a location at the border of, or outside the city centre. These larger, and usually older businesses often have more financial possibilities to procure an attractive business location, which enables them to serve the city and at the same time be more accessible for customers from outside the city. Other businesses with a more specialized product (real estate, travel) choose a location outside the centre of the city as well.

Even though the appearance of all the business locations is very diverse, the observational analysis of the buildings showed some interesting results. On the outside, not only the name and branch of the business is announced in big signs, contact details are also relatively often present. In some cases words of welcome, or other information, can be found in two languages. It shows customers of specific ethnic groups they might find products of special interest to them. Conversely, it shows natives they might find products they will not find in a regular business of the same branch.

The appearance of the businesses often seemed rather simple and clean. In most cases office- or workspaces were modestly equipped. The exterior often has a minimalistic or modern design as well. Even though in some cases the reason for this is financial, it is often inspired by aesthetic motives.

6.3 Innovations

Coming to the essence of this research, this paragraph is structured strictly along the lines of the operationalisation to ensure a complete overview of modes of innovation which are relevant in this context. The twelve varying contexts will be discussed here, leading towards the conclusions in the next chapter.

1. Improving physical quality and appearance of buildings

A small but visible aspect of urban innovation is the contribution of entrepreneurs to the urban space. The first and most direct form of innovation is the improvement of the business space inside and on the outside. The variation in business types and locations makes it impossible draw one conclusion. Some entrepreneurs own or rent a place which clearly has not been updated in a while. These locations look outdated and sober, and do not contribute to an improvement in the physical quality of the area. However, especially the younger entrepreneurs, with a fixed workplace, put effort in their business locations, which results in clean and inviting buildings, visibly renovated locations, and a clean sidewalk with enthusing advertisements.

A hurdle for some of the entrepreneurs is the communication with the municipality. A business owner in the centre of Enschede complained about the time the municipality took before giving out a permit for reviving the frontage of his shop. Even though the process took a long time and a strong effort, the store has become an attractive and inviting place, with a new front and planters near the entrance.

Bilingual welcoming signs strengthen the multicultural character of a city, or a specific neighbourhood. Advertising in the streets with non-European foods or trips to Turkey does so even more.

2. Improving the physical surroundings of business locations

Looking beyond the sidewalk of the business location, it appears that migrant entrepreneurs are very active in improving the physical surroundings of their businesses as well. Two forms of innovation can be distinguished here. The infrastructure of a public area should meet the demands the number of visitors of the businesses and the passersby generate in the neighbourhood. A clean, attractive and safe area is vital to ensure this. As for responsibilities that come with entrepreneurship, in contrast to those of the municipality, a few developments were observed. Many entrepreneurs reported that they communicate with their neighbours about taking care of the immediate surroundings of their business premises (also when it concerns a public space), keeping it clean and inviting. Of course, there is a grey area between the two sets of responsibilities. Sometimes the surroundings of the buildings are part of the public domain, placing the responsibilities with the municipality.

3. Safety of public areas

An indicator which was rather difficult to measure is to what extent the safety of public areas has improved. In contrast to physical aspects which can be illustrated by tangible evidence, creating more activity and strengthening public safety are rather diffuse indicators.

Several of the ethnic entrepreneurs, for example the travel agents and the supermarket owners, have made some arrangements about parking solutions with their neighbours. Since their businesses are located in areas without many parking spaces they had to discuss their business activities with their neighbours, because it might lead to problems for them. This also goes for deliveries. Not only customers parking their cars, but also trucks making deliveries may obviously cause unfavourable or problematic situations.

Since most businesses are located in areas close to other businesses or services which attract people, it is difficult to conclude whether the migrant entrepreneurs actively

contribute to new customers. However, it is to be expected that their activities have contributed to attracting more people to their streets, or other people than those who previously visited the place. What is of greater importance is whether or not their existence has led to greater public safety. A complete picture would require a far more elaborate study, but some examples may serve to demonstrate how some of the entrepreneurs actively contribute to a safer city.

One of the supermarket owners has set up an anti-pickpocket action since this problem seemed to have increased in the past few years. As a result of the action, which entailed the spreading of trumpery and flyers in stores in the neighbourhood, customers became more aware of the growing problem and started to safeguard their belongings, preventing more pickpocketing.

Working in a residential area as a social worker, and walking around in the neighbourhood regularly, one respondent (#026) knows many young adults who need help. Often he is able to offer this himself, by helping them to find the right places to go for support or referring them to other advisors. His support to the young adults is a clear example of (direct and constructive) help in creating a safer neighbourhood and a more livable area for other residents who were unhappy with the young adults hanging around.

4. Addressing the particular needs of distinctive ethnic niches

An important societal innovation is offering a new product or service which could not be obtained before in a particular area. Many of the ethnic entrepreneurs are able to offer something new, or something they adjusted to the needs of a specific ethnic niche, going beyond selling Turkish delight. Migrant supermarkets offer a wide range of unique products compared to regular Dutch supermarket chains, but there are many more fascinating examples.

The owner of the insurance company (#008) could profit from his ethnic community as he could advise them about insurances in their own language. With their help he was able to start his business which developed into a healthy business, eventually expanding beyond his ethnic niche.

Another example is the owner of the supermarket (respondent #023), who was the first in the region to offer halal goods. Through this, he was able to attract a wide customer base within the regional Muslim community.

Both of the travel agents started out by serving their ethnic niche as well. Many Turks in Enschede were paying unrealistically high prices for trips to visit their family in Turkey. To stop the exploitation, Turkish entrepreneurs started their own travel agencies, focusing on arranging safe and legal trips to Turkey. Visiting your family and being able to arrange your insurances are important aspects of life, and therefore part of service innovations, as these services were not present before.

The examples show a way of innovation which might address a small part of society but which may also become more inclusive to society. Eventually the travel agencies became better known to the city, and both agencies obtained a more diverse customer base.

5. Expanding beyond specific niches

Returning to the owner of the insurance company (#008), a good example of expanding beyond a specific ethnic niche is revealed. By addressing individual needs, he was able to add a more personal approach in the insurance branch. Actions such as visiting customers on a regular basis, answering phone calls personally, and translating information are simple examples of his extra efforts. This personal aspect remained important, also when his company grew larger, and his customer base expanded beyond the ethnic community. By personal communication, remembering names and offering specialized advice, the start-up became a successful company in a relatively short time.

Since most insurance companies use the internet as their main medium to communicate with customers, the owner was able to connect with a new group of customers, who had too many questions which they rather discussed with someone in person than over the phone with a help-desk assistant. By deciding on a basic website, and focusing on maintaining the personal contacts he himself and his employees had established with the customer, he made a radical choice, which contributed enormously to his success. He could gradually grow, and now has two business locations and 10 employees. This example is a success story about service innovation. Even though the personal approach could be argued to be a step back in time, it can also be regarded as a way to offer something different from the standard, and thus be categorized as an innovation.

6. Business incubation and mentoring new ethnic entrepreneurs

Many of the respondents reported having parents or other family members who are entrepreneurs, which inspired them to follow in their footsteps. For the third generation mentorship is less strictly connected with family, though there are some exceptions. The owner of the travel agency (#025) proudly emphasized having mentored his son, who is now active in an affiliate in Deventer.

In several ways, entrepreneurs mentor a new generation. Some of the businesses, for example the physiotherapist, regularly hire interns. About four students currently serve their apprenticeship at his practice, directly mentored by one of the employees. Not only students are facilitated by the ethnic entrepreneurs. The owner of the supermarket provides opportunity to gain experience by facilitating places for young people. In consultation with the municipality he receives subsidy to place and mentor an unemployed young adult.

7. Expansions

The previous paragraph already revealed that some businesses have successful expansions. From the supermarket to the fiber glass business which was born out of another enterprise, there is a lot of activity and growth among the ethnic businesses. Some of these started another affiliate in a new city, like one of the travel agencies. Others started wholly different businesses in the area. The owner of the supermarket (#027) also owns a small restaurant and other shops nearby. At the same time he started some other supermarkets in other cities in the western part of the Netherlands.

The businesses with a unique product or service clearly have seen the largest expansions of all the businesses. Tapping a niche market, exclusivity and innovation paid off in several of the businesses discussed here.

8. Attracting new customers

Most entrepreneurs emphasize the importance of marketing to attract new customers. However, it is not only the regular campaigns via flyers or (social) media. To attract a new circle of customers, improvements can be made in the presentation of the business place, sponsoring of local or charity organisations and events and visibility in the neighbourhood. Some of the entrepreneurs, especially those located in a shopping area, have meetings on a regular basis with other entrepreneurs in their street. The goal of these meetings is to make the streets more attractive. In the Havenstraatpassage, one of Enschede's shopping streets, they try to accomplish this with several actions, for example by joint actions such as arranging holiday decorations, making rules about keeping the street clean, and setting up a collaborative website. They have also undertaken collective discount actions, and the street has set up its own marketing plan by presenting itself as the oldest shopping street of the Netherlands.

In addition, there are professional organisations that organize events for entrepreneurs in the region or the neighbourhood, the focus being on the attractiveness of the region or area, and how to improve their situation.

Enhancing visibility is one of the key tools to attract new customers. Often this is done by sponsoring events or sport clubs. The interviews show that most of the entrepreneurs support local initiatives such as running contests, a soccer club, or other youth and sports events. The entrepreneurs confirm that they are rather selective in their choice of the events, which depends on the extent to which they relate to their (core) business and the chances that it might generate new income.

9. Providing employment opportunities

Four indicators have been listed in the operationalisation for the provision of employment opportunities. The first, creating job opportunities, and the second indicator, helping in governmental employment programs, are indicators with an instant effect, whereas the number of employees gives an indication of the scale of the opportunities provided. The fourth indicator, owning a business in career or personal coaching, has a more indirect influence on people.

As discussed above, some entrepreneurs get help from friends or family in the neighbourhood. In general, this kind of support is incidental, but sometimes the partner is involved in the business on a regular basis. However, when it comes to the first indicator, creating job opportunities, it becomes clear that most businesses in this research have some hired employees. The business owners hire people from various age groups, gender, and descent, though the employees relatively often have a similar cultural background as the firm owner himself.

Entrepreneurs do not only hire new recruits via regular ways. The owners of the supermarkets indicate they joined a municipal program to integrate long-term unemployed young adults. This program provides a subsidy for the business for the first term an employee is hired. This employee is presented to the entrepreneur by the

municipality, and when his job performance is adequate, he becomes a regular member of the team, from then on paid by the business itself.

15 out of 33 businesses in this research consist of a team of five members or more, seven of which have a base of ten employees or more. There is one business that employs thirty people. Apart from four independent entrepreneurs all of the other entrepreneurs have at least one employee. These numbers reveal a considerable variation in business size, largely related to the business type. What is more typical is the growth in number of employees for the last two years. 57 percent of the businesses have a growth in employees, in spite of the economic crisis. For 31 percent of the businesses the number of employees remained the same, whereas 12 percent saw a decline in the number of employees.

This growth is also reflected in the profit and investment rates. 51 percent of the businesses reflect this growth in their profit; and 42 percent show growth in their investment rates.

The fourth of the indicators named in the operationalisation was the ownership of an enterprise which focused on personal coaching or career support. One of the businesses can be placed in this category. The social worker contributes to the improvement of the welfare of young adults, coaching them towards a better future. Although he does not provide any jobs himself, by supporting them, these young adults might improve their chances of a more successful career.

10. The provision of products or services needed

This tenth dimension was divided into two indicators, the first one being the extent to which migrant entrepreneurs are able to sell a unique product or service. The second one is the extent to which migrant entrepreneurs sell a product or offer a service out of a necessity in the neighbourhood. Here the Turkish travel agent, who was asked by his community to arrange trips to Turkey with honest prices, may serve as an example. His initiative enabled a relatively large ethnic group in the region to visit their family abroad. In relation to this case an important observation should be made. One of the travel agents admits that, with the increase of booking websites, it has become more difficult to maintain the same customer base over the past few years. In the beginning he was able to serve three generations. However, the first generation has become too old to travel regularly, or even passed away. The third generation used to come with their parents, but grew up and travels less often to Turkey than previous generations, or arranges these trips via the internet, without help from a travel agent. Therefore, it is mainly the second generation who still travels a lot. Even though the entrepreneur has joined the internet, and tries to broaden the supply, it has become more difficult.

Innovation was not only revealed in the expansion beyond the personal or the community network. New developments can also be observed in the products offered. One entrepreneur (#007) focused on offering a new type of product. He explained that their young IT-company, which designs webpages, offers an original format, in contrast to businesses that offer standardized templates for websites. This company builds websites from scratch so that their customers have completely personal websites, customized entirely to their own desires.

The physiotherapist, another entrepreneur, is innovative in more than one way. His business started near a sports centre, which easily created a customer base. Gradually

the business broadened its scope from just sports physiotherapy towards other types of therapy as well. The owner (#011) emphasized that he tried to differentiate from other practices through some unique qualities, such as providing shockwave therapy. By following trends actively and valuing a clean and trustworthy appearance he tried to stay ahead. This has resulted in the growth of his customer base, which was previously oriented on Enschede, Hengelo and Losser, and eventually he became known in the entire Twente region, as well as in the German border area.

Another business was able to fulfill the demand for broadband connections on business locations in a successful manner. As the owner of a fiber glass company (#017) said:

“Our most recent company arose from our previous business. The market could not fulfill the demand for broadband connections on business locations, something necessary for many businesses. Existing businesses with comparable services did not invest in this part of the market, so we started a fiberglass company ourselves.” (translated to English)

Even though the outside world did not believe that their business would become successful, the demand was high and the company grew and now has 15 employees. Despite the fact that fiber glass as a product was not really new, the way it was implemented, and the accessible way of communication did renew the service that comes with the product. The company, which started three years ago, is now widening its geographical scope from regional to national customer interaction.

The insurance company, discussed before, offers a unique form of service innovation as well. In a society focused on individuality and efficiency, this company was able to deliver quality, something largely appreciated by the customers, and it generated a successful business.

11. Acting entrepreneurs in the refugee-debate

In discussions on the thesis project, the migration crisis in Europe was often the next topic of debate. The question whether the migrant entrepreneurs played an active role in the migration debate, triggered some new issues to be considered. This perspective could be truly valuable since, by taking a position in the debate, the entrepreneur becomes an actor of social change, and thus of urban innovation.

It is not uncommon for local entrepreneurs to have refugee-employees or volunteers in their organisations. For example, two Syrian refugees in Nijmegen had volunteer jobs in a restaurant. They created a network, were offered improved economic prospects for themselves and their families, and found new purpose in life, and enjoyed being active in this community. Since they were waiting for the next step in the refugee procedure, it is very well possible that those two men have to leave the city, and start somewhere else. At the same time, the city of Nijmegen has to house a number of refugees for further procedures. Because of bureaucratic reasons mainly, it might not be possible for the two men to stay in the city, and they might have to see many more places before they are able to settle. Other employees of the restaurant, De Plak, now are lobbying actively to help the cooks to remain in Nijmegen, arguing that it is in the interest of their personal development that they stay in the city where they already feel integrated (S.n., March 16, 2016). Apart from the legal arguments in this debate, which is outside the scope

of this thesis, the social aspects are of great importance. By activating social media, contacting municipalities and the COA (Dutch central organisation for refugees), the co-workers are stimulating the debate, and this way contribute to a positive point of view regarding this issue.

Many of the entrepreneurs in this research are active on online media. Next to their company webpage, most of them also have a Facebook account. Most of them use this medium only for promotions of their own business or cause. None took position in the migration debate, which seems like a missed opportunity. Even though this was rather surprising, several of the businesses did try to share inspiring ideas and innovations through social media, which is why it is definitely worthwhile mentioning in this final paragraph. Quite a few businesses were actively promoting the debate on the new mosque in Enschede, a sensitive and complicated project in the city.

Yet another entrepreneur added a blog to his website challenging some societal issues such as sustainability, integration, innovations and digital revolution. Finally there was also a company that promoted neighbourhood activities improving social cohesion.

For now, it can be concluded that the migrant entrepreneurs do not seem to act actively and publicly as ambassadors for other migrants. Of course, this analysis is based on online statements only, and they might differ from reality and local initiatives. The online platform, attracting quite some attention, is particularly valuable as a medium and reinforces the migrant entrepreneur's role as an ambassador, meaning that his passive influence should not be underestimated. As discussed above, most of the ethnic entrepreneurs have a broad customer base. The visibility of successful businesses might have a strong indirect but favourable impact on the public opinion of migrants and their contribution to society.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

The results discussed above form the framework for answering the research questions which were composed in the first chapter. This chapter will discuss the connection between the theory which was debated in chapter four and the results from the previous chapter. Furthermore, the second part of this chapter will share some further recommendations, a valuable reconsideration, since this research had an explorative

character. The final paragraph of this thesis reflects on the methodological and theoretical aspects of the research. It deals with the struggles and the successes of the process.

7.1 Conclusion

The first research question aimed to understand the main characteristics of non-western migrant entrepreneurs of the second generation in Enschede. When it comes to the personal background of the entrepreneurs, it was found that all entrepreneurs grew up in the Twente region, before starting a business there. Often there was a strong sense of community with co-ethnics in the region, which was most visible within the Syrian-Orthodox community.

A broad diversity in branches was revealed among the respondents, confirming a trend among the second generation which was previously recognized by Rušinović (2006) in other regions of the Netherlands. The diversification goes beyond the argument Volery made (2004), stating the need for low barriers in social capital, financial capital and the need for an education. Several of the businesses require a high level education, a loan, a broad network and a specified skillset in order to succeed. Most of the entrepreneurs were well educated, and had the access to financial support to make a successful start. Taking into account the research of Rušinović, it could be concluded that there is a significant difference between the first and the second generation of ethnic entrepreneurs, increasing the diversity in branches, on a larger geographical scale.

Motives to start a business are different from what could be expected based on the theory. The difficulty to find a job was one of the four main reasons to start-up, as previously stated by Murie and Musterd (2004). However, the personal interest in a specific product or service, the wish to be independent and the inspiration of entrepreneurial family members are just as important as a motive to start a new firm. These four motives reveal that it is not just the urban opportunity structure, enabling or even enthruse people to start a business. The social background has a much more important role than expected. This becomes visible as well in the comment that many entrepreneurs, though more specifically with a Syrian-Orthodox background, decide to take a loan from family members, instead of the bank. In the beginning, most entrepreneurs rely on their ethnic community for customers as well. Therefore, it is the social capital, being able to maintain a network, and sharing knowledge, that is one of the most important factors enabling the start-up phase. Over time, this network gradually grows larger, and most entrepreneurs state that eventually the customer base has become more diverse, attracting customers from all backgrounds.

The second question discussed the way in which location choices for firms were made, and what the characteristics were of the areas of the business locations. This was done by the analysis of the urban characteristics, the economic context, and the institutional context. Starting with this last one, it was striking to learn that many respondents did not have much to do with the municipality, other governmental organisations, or entrepreneurial organisations. The choice for a business location was usually made independently, without intervention from the municipality. However, some policy arrangements could have had

some influence on the decisions which were made in the choice for a business location. This includes the restrictive policy for the settlement of businesses in the city centre.

The economic context was of more importance to starting ethnic entrepreneurs. Often the choice for the city was not made consciously, however, when it was a point of debate, Enschede was chosen for its strong regional position, as it is the largest city in the region. The Twente University increases the prosperity of the city as well. On a smaller scale, it of course was the price of business locations which influenced the location choice.

At this point the urban characteristics become important. Beside the affordability of the homes, the presence of a local customer base is a crucial point here. On a neighbourhood level, entrepreneurs were much more thorough in the decision for a workplace. Most locations were picked on the following indicators: accessibility, infrastructure of the surroundings and the presence of local amenities. This last indicator was especially important for the retail and fashion branch. The service industry often decided to locate their business around the centre of the city, in order to be more accessible for customers from outside the city as well. Another important aspect for businesses in the technology branch was the proximity of the university. Choosing for a campus location means easy access to the newest information, access to future employees and the facilities to make an easy start-up.

A point of attention is the homogenous neighbourhood types of the business locations. Often the businesses were located in the neighbourhood shopping centre or in a mixed area with rather much other facilities. These locations can be characterised as areas with low-rise buildings, a mixtures of residential and business, and close to the central routes of the city.

The third question contributing towards the answer on the research question was to what extent processes of urban innovation by entrepreneurship can be distinguished in Enschede. In the physical domain various innovations were observed with different levels of impact on their surroundings.

Especially the younger entrepreneurs chose to invest in their business locations. The entrepreneurs aim at creating a clean place and communicating with the neighbours about the infrastructure, for example regulating the use of parking places by delivery trucks or the entrepreneurs themselves during opening hours. These arrangements refer to another important aspect of urban innovations, which is to create a safer city. Entrepreneurs have an important role here, as they often have recent knowledge about what happens in the area. This results in actions against pickpocketing or youth criminality, in various ways.

One innovation which is rather important for ethnic niches in society is the way in which ethnic entrepreneurs include members of the ethnic community with a language barrier or a need for specific goods. Entrepreneurs focus on the quality of a product, customizing production processes or taking away language barriers. This enables the ethnic community to execute the daily tasks they otherwise found too difficult to accomplish, such as searching for appropriate insurances for instance.

Eventually many businesses became able to expand beyond the start-up phase. Remarkable is the way in which several entrepreneurs emphasized how they invested in customer approach. Many of them reported to aim for the quality of the service or the

goods, offering important service innovations, such as customer care, personal contacts or a personalised product. However, expansion can be seen not only in the services or products. Business locations were often replaced by other more attractive or bigger locations. Sometimes new locations were rented or bought in addition to the existing business location. Occasionally a new business location was found in the city of Enschede, but often the goal of the expansion was to serve the whole region, including some parts of the German border region. Incidentally, businesses scaled up to a national level.

To attract new customers business owners tried to develop their products, but they also improved their surroundings, sometimes together with neighbours. Collaborative marketing, sponsoring and the organisation of events, was seen as successful in itself, although the entrepreneurs emphasized this form of marketing was a good way of connecting with the neighbourhood and an opportunity to give something back to the people.

Those entrepreneurs who were inspired by their family, shared their enthusiasm for an independent life with their children. However, most of the mentoring tasks of the entrepreneurs are related to educating interns and the previously unemployed young adults who follow a government program to reintegrate into the labour market. Creating employment opportunities is one of the biggest innovations instigated by the ethnic entrepreneurs.

The research question was how business activities of non-Western migrant entrepreneurs of the second generation in Enschede influence or contribute to processes of urban innovation. The research findings reveal that urban innovation has a wide range, and is often a process, instigated with combined effort. Although most of the results are to be explored more thoroughly, the research as conducted revealed interesting facts.

The most important and visible form of innovation was seen in the service industry. These were the services addressing an ethnic group otherwise excluded from society by offering customized services which were not present before (for example: offering translations of important forms, sharing specialized advice). Gradually these services were discovered by more people, beyond the ethnic community. The personal approach was appreciated by these customers as well; instigating new services for an extended customer base, and thus became an innovation for the service industry. Both offering personal services instead of adopting individualistic approaches and visiting customers personally instead of relying on a website with a standardized form became successful qualities of several businesses.

Most innovations come in small steps, and only over time these steps can be connected. The arrangements made by several entrepreneurs within their own neighbourhood, the progress a social worker makes with his clients in the course of time, and the political activity of an entrepreneur, are all examples here. One of the results for instance is the actual realisation of a mosque, after a long period of lobbying by some entrepreneurs.

Ethnic entrepreneurs serve as important actors of social change by creating local employment. The migrant businesses tend to hire co-ethnics more often than natives, therefore supporting a population which regularly experiences problems in process of finding a job.

As Feldman & Audretsch (1999) argued, diversity seems to be more conducive to innovation than specialization. Local competition appears to be more useful for the creation of new ideas than a local monopoly. This argument presented in the theoretical chapter, is in line with the phenomenon of the sudden rise in the number of fashion stores. After the first one had appeared in Enschede, many other entrepreneurs with an ethnic background followed. For the first entrepreneur it meant that he needed to become more creative, and that he had to offer new products in order to survive. This ongoing rat race has led to a greater diversity in products, more innovative ideas from entrepreneurs and a more vibrant city centre.

In conclusion, it is the combination of being a migrant and an entrepreneur that is significant here. This influence, which the ethnic entrepreneur is unaware of, reveals itself in their will power and energy, and the hard worker mentality of the entrepreneur that is applauded by many people. Therefore, the image of the ethnic entrepreneur can make a positive contribution in the migration debate, which too often was characterized by a negative tone over the past year.

7.2 Further recommendations

The downside of conducting an explorative research is being presented with numerous suggestions and ideas that come up during the process. Every new finding can serve as a starting point for a new study. Before reflecting and evaluating the positive and negative aspects of the thesis process in the next section it is well worth looking into some interesting suggestions for further research on this topic so as to arrive at a more in-depth and complete story.

Of course, there are several restrictions with regard to the scope of this thesis that limit the research on ethnic entrepreneurship. Analysing the urban innovation in Enschede revealed some valuable insights, which, once explored further, offer the possibility of an interesting comparison with (existing) research on cities in the Randstad. The regional development of both areas should be taken into account as well. It was beyond the scope of this thesis to compare the ethnic entrepreneurial community with the native community. In addition, it will be useful to share results of both communities in order to understand what types of innovation are most relevant. Autio et al. (2014) had some reservations regarding entrepreneurial innovation, since the phenomenon varies by region, within a country and across industries. The diversity among the various types of businesses was reflected in the results of this thesis. The argument of the diversity among various regions or countries, however, has to be proven in further studies.

Another important but obvious recommendation is to increase the number of respondents. Two options are possible here. One could focus on a specific branch in order to gain in-depth results for this sector. This seems especially relevant for the service industry, since most innovations were observed in this sector. Following up on the first explorations carried out in this study by increasing the number of respondents overall will also lead to a more valid conclusion. It follows that quantitative results will become more useful then.

Volery (2007) argued that there is a relationship between the size of the communities and the self-employment rate among migrants. A large ethnic community, for example, might give entrepreneurs the assurance of easy access to a customer base, which increases the confidence necessary to start a business. Therefore a comparative study, analysing rates relating to the size of communities and the number of ethnic entrepreneurs, combined with an evaluation on their customer base, might reveal helpful insights in what constitutes the successes of ethnic entrepreneurship. The geographical angle should also be included, by analysing the neighbourhoods concerned in relation to other neighbourhoods in a city. The link between location choices and the role of family in specific branches might reveal interesting results, as some entrepreneurs reported that their choice for a location was based on existing contacts in a specific neighbourhood. How often this intention has been realised, and what the effects of this decision amount to, remains unclear.

Although it has become clear that many migrant entrepreneurs did have a role as a mentor for young adults starting a career, the influence on others starting their own company has not become apparent. A longitudinal study and in-depth interviews with the entrepreneurs or their 'students', will provide a better insight into the educational role of the ethnic entrepreneur.

Since most businesses are located in areas close to other businesses or services which attract people, it was difficult to conclude whether the migrant entrepreneurs actively contributed to enticing new customers. However, it is to be expected that their activities have led to more people visiting their streets. It is obvious though, that the group of people who visit the businesses today are different from those who previously visited the area. What is of a greater importance is whether or not the presence of the ethnic entrepreneur has led to a greater public safety. A number of examples in this thesis may serve to demonstrate how some of them actively contribute to a safer city, but a complete picture would require a far more elaborate study.

A final remark should be made about educational background. The presence of a university in a city will have an important influence on the type of innovations in the area, and could strengthen the regional development.

7.3 Reflection

The process of writing this thesis demanded ongoing reconsiderations about the theoretical background used as the framework for this study. The methodology demanded rethinking on a regular basis as well. Both aspects are evaluated below.

Implementing a relevant theoretical framework in this thesis caused several struggles. As the research topic proved to be underexposed in the academic literature, it took quite some time to arrive at a valid framework. Eventually the diversity in literature led to a selection of the most relevant materials, coming together in the operationalisation. Urban opportunity structures, urban innovation and social embeddedness formed the basis of an inclusive argument that could be translated into a feasible operationalisation.

It might be worthwhile choosing a grounded theory approach or deciding on a more specified research topic, if future research is conducted.

Methodologically, it is recommended to gather a larger research population. Although this was not a problem for this study, a larger population, and a more in-depth approach will definitely generate more reliable results. The collaboration within the student group provided opportunities for exchanging research ideas and creating valuable research arguments, which was of great value for the thesis. Methods and ideas were shared, and since the group of students working on the thesis consisted of five people, it was possible to interview a larger number of respondents. However, it also made it more difficult to gain more precise information on the individual research of each group member. Individually, it would have been possible to ask more detailed questions about the history of the business, the type of innovation, the communication with other (migrant) entrepreneurs.

Another important consideration is the interview strategy other team members might have applied. Even though the transcriptions were shared, some entrepreneurs did not find the time to answer all questions, and sometimes a language barrier became apparent. Therefore, inconsistencies might have crept into the interview process. However, it was agreed to stick to the questionnaire as closely as possible. As demonstrated by the transcripts, this has indeed happened to a large extent. A downside of this set-up was that not everyone was able to obtain pictures of the businesses they investigated. These photos were used in the observational analysis of the characteristics of the business locations. Therefore incidentally images were retrieved from Google Maps when the data had been updated recently.

In the process of gathering data, many different nationalities surfaced. However, quite some entrepreneurs were not willing to take part in the research. Yet these contacts revealed an even greater diversity in descent than this research could show. Therefore it might be worthwhile creating a more inclusive survey of the complete entrepreneurial data of Enschede. The research group has been careful to prevent a Syrian-Orthodox bias in the thesis. However, this ethnic community deserves more thorough research.

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Appendices

A. Interviewguide entrepreneurs (in Dutch)

Interviewguide

Migrantondernemerschap in Enschede

Naam: _____

Bedrijf: _____

Introductie

Dank voor uw deelname aan ons onderzoek

- Gestructureerd interview in verband met meerdere onderzoekers
- Compleet vertrouwelijk verwerkt, persoonsgegevens worden nu slechts gebruikt ter onderscheid en koppeling tussen de enquête en het interview
- Interview zal gaan over uw bedrijf, bedrijfsvoering, locatiekeuzes en de eventuele rol van etniciteit hierin
- Zouden we een foto van het interieur en exterieur van uw bedrijfspand mogen maken?

Bedrijfsvoering en locatiekeuzes	Aantekeningen
Wat zijn uw eigen motieven geweest voor het starten van een bedrijf?	
Wat is de focus van uw onderneming? - Wat doet u? - Waar bent u goed in? Wat is uw visie? Wat wilt u bereiken met uw bedrijf?	
Ontvangt u momenteel of heeft u in het verleden subsidies ontvangen?	
In hoeverre en in welke vorm maakt u gebruik van (formele) externe financiering? -Bank? Private investeerders? Microkrediet? Crowdfunding? Kredietunies?	
Hoe probeert u voordelen ten opzichte van uw concurrenten te bereiken? - Doet u dit door te andere producten aan te bieden dan uw concurrenten, of door bepaalde producten erg goed te ontwikkelen?	
Vindt u de regio Twente een gunstige regio om zaken te doen? - Helpen de economie, gemeente en provincie u een handje? Of belemmeren zij u juist? En waarom?	
Voelt u zich verbonden met de buurt waarin uw bedrijf zich bevindt? En waar komt dit door? - Heeft u (veel) persoonlijke of zakelijke contacten in de omgeving?	
Wat doet u voor klanten om ze tevreden te houden?	
Wat doet u om nieuwe klanten binnen te halen? - Is dit een specifieke etnische doelgroep?	

Cultuur	Aantekeningen
Wat is uw etnische achtergrond?	
Wat betekent het Turks/Marokkaans/Syrisch/etc. (culturele achtergrond) zijn voor u als ondernemer? En hoe beïnvloedt dit uw strategie?	
Op welke manier heeft uw etnische/culturele achtergrond uw motieven om een bedrijf te starten beïnvloed?	
Op welke manier beïnvloedt uw culturele achtergrond uw perceptie van economische kansen?	
Wat is uw geloofsovertuiging?	

Wat betekent de 'geloofovertuiging' (bijvoorbeeld Islam) voor u als ondernemer?	
Hoe ziet het imago van dit bedrijf eruit?	
Denkt u dat het Turks/Marokkaans/Syrisch/etc. zijn van invloed is op de manier waarop klanten uw bedrijf zien?	
Probeert u op basis van deze mening het imago van het bedrijf te veranderen? En op welke manier?	

Netwerk	Aantekeningen
In hoeverre behoren u en uw familie tot een hecht netwerk van Turken/Syriërs/etc?	
Wat is de etnische herkomst van uw medewerkers? In hoeverre behoren zij tot uw etnische groep? Als zij behoren tot uw etnische groep, komen zij uit deze buurt?	
Kunt u een inschatting maken van waar uw klanten vandaan kwamen? Of ze tot uw etnische gemeenschap behoren, en in hoeverre zij uit de buurt komen?	
Is er een specifieke manier waarop u tegen economische kansen aankijkt? Heeft uw etnische netwerk hier invloed op? Hoe denkt u dat dit bij andere migranten is?	
Hoe wordt uw strategie beïnvloed door uw etnische netwerk? - Bijvoorbeeld: Wordt uw onderneming (of delen ervan) versterkt doordat het gevestigd is in een regio met veel andere migrant ondernemers? Zo ja, kunt u hiervan een voorbeeld geven?	

Instituties	Aantekeningen
Bent u lid van georganiseerde ondernemersnetwerken in Twente? -Eventueel voorbeelden geven/vragen -Ja: actief in bestuur/commissies, deelname aan activiteiten? -Waarom wel/niet (actief) lid? -Online netwerkplatform?	
Heeft u geïnvesteerd in buurtinitiatieven of activiteiten?	
Om wat voor projecten gaat het en op welke manier? - Bijvoorbeeld financiële ondersteuning, tijd, organisatie	
Op welke manier is uw product of dienst (van zichzelf) vernieuwend?	

Instituties (2 = optioneel)	Aantekeningen
Voert u opdrachten uit voor overheidsinstellingen (publieke aanbestedingen)? - Eventueel wijzen op voorbeelden & mogelijkheden	

- Ja: ervaringen, problemen? -Nee: waarom? Geen interesse, onbekend, niet toegekend?	
Hoe zijn uw ervaringen met de belastingdienst? - Duidelijke regels? Bureaucratie? Hulp bij problemen/vragen	
Hoe zijn uw ervaringen met de KvK? - Duidelijke regels? Hulp bij problemen/vragen? Bekend met en gebruik van aangeboden diensten?	

Afsluiting

Dit is het einde van het interview, zijn er nog onderwerpen waar u op terug wil komen, of wilt u nog iets toevoegen?

Wanneer ik verdere vragen tegenkom, zou ik dan opnieuw contact op mogen nemen met u?

Wilt u de eindresultaten van onze onderzoeken ontvangen?

B. Survey entrepreneurs (in Dutch)

Enquête – Migrantondernemerschap in Twente

Entrepreneurship Initiative
Institute for Management Research
Radboud University – Nijmegen

Introductie

Allereerst bedankt dat u wilt meewerken aan dit onderzoek, een afstudeerproject van de Entrepreneurship Initiative aan de Faculteit der Managementwetenschappen, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen. In dit onderzoek gaan we in gesprek met jonge ondernemers met migratieachtergrond in de regio Twente, om te verkennen hoe deze ondernemers en hun bedrijven de innovatiekracht van de regio versterken, door het aanbieden van nieuwe producten of diensten, het creëren van werkgelegenheid, het introduceren van nieuwe vormen van bedrijfsvoering enzovoorts. De informatie die u in dit onderzoek verstrekt wordt als vertrouwelijk behandeld en slechts gebruikt voor wetenschappelijk onderzoek. De eerste vragen van deze enquête zijn uitsluitend bedoeld ter onderscheiding van de respondenten en zullen niet in de uiteindelijke resultaten worden opgenomen.

1 Wat is uw naam?

2 Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?

- ☐ Basisonderwijs (1)
- ☐ Middelbare school (2)
- ☐ MBO (3)
- ☐ HBO (4)
- ☐ Universitair (5)
- ☐ Anders, namelijk: (6) _____

3 Wat is uw leeftijd?

4 Wat is uw geslacht?

- ☐ Vrouw (1)
- ☐ Man (2)

5 Waar bent u geboren?

6 Waar zijn uw ouders geboren?

7 Wat is de naam van uw bedrijf?

8 Welke producten en/of diensten biedt u aan?

9 In welke branche bent u actief?

10 In welk jaar is uw bedrijf opgericht?

11 Hoeveel werknemers telt uw bedrijf (inclusief uzelf)?

12 Heeft u uw bedrijf zelfstandig opgericht?

- ☐ Ja (1)
- ☐ Nee, met: (2) _____

13 Hebben of hadden uw ouders een eigen bedrijf?

- ☐ Ja (1)
- ☐ Nee (2)

14 Wat is de spreiding van de klantenkring van uw bedrijf?

- ☐ Lokaal (1)
- ☐ Regionaal (2)
- ☐ Landelijk (3)
- ☐ Europees (4)
- ☐ Mondiaal (5)

15 Hoe ziet uw aanbod eruit?

- ☐ Een specifiek product (1)
- ☐ Een breed aanbod aan producten (2)

16 In welk jaar is dit pand gebouwd?

17 In welk jaar heeft u zich gevestigd in het pand?

18 In welk type pand is uw bedrijfsruimte gevestigd?

- ☐ Aan huis (1)
- ☐ Kantoorpand (2)
- ☐ Fabriekspand (3)
- ☐ Winkelpand (4)
- ☐ Anders, namelijk: (5) _____

19 In welke mate hebben de volgende factoren uw keuze voor een bedrijfslocatie in deze buurt beïnvloed?

	1. Niet belangrijk (1)	Nauwelijks belangrijk (2)	Redelijk belangrijk (3)	Belangrijk (4)	Heel belangrijk (5)
Geschiktheid van de bedrijfsruimte (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Betaalbaarheid van de bedrijfsruimte (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lokale aanwezigheid van klantenkring (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lokale aanwezigheid van concurrenten (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Toegang tot mogelijke werknemers (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bereikbaarheid en infrastructuur (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Invloed van lokale of nationale overheden (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Contacten, zoals familie en vrienden, in de buurt (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Aanwezigheid van lokale voorzieningen (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Overige redenen (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

20 Welke activiteiten heeft u ooit met buurtgenoten van uw bedrijf ondernomen met wie u een zakelijke relatie heeft:

	Nooit (1)	Zelden (2)	Soms (3)	Regelmatig (4)	Vaak (5)
Een kopje koffie drinken (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Samen een feest geven (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Samen een blad/krant maken of uitgeven (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Een bijeenkomst organiseren (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Actie ondernemen om de buurt veiliger te maken (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Samen bezwaar indienen bij de gemeente (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Actie ondernemen om de buurt schoner te krijgen (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Afspraken maken over parkeren (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Actie ondernemen indien in de buurt een voorziening wordt gesloten (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anders, namelijk: (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

21 Welke activiteiten heeft u ooit met vrienden of familie uit de buurt van uw bedrijf ondernomen:

	Nooit (1)	Zelden (2)	Soms (3)	Regelmatig (4)	Vaak (5)
Een kopje koffie drinken (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Samen een feest geven (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Samen een blad/krant maken of uitgeven (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Een bijeenkomst organiseren (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Actie ondernemen om de buurt veiliger te maken (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Samen bezwaar indienen bij de gemeente (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Actie ondernemen om de buurt schoner te krijgen (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Afspraken maken over parkeren (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Actie ondernemen indien in de buurt een voorziening wordt gesloten (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anders, namelijk: (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

22 Wat is uw omzet geweest in het afgelopen jaar?

- ☐ Minder dan 10.000 (1)
- ☐ 10.000 - 19.999 (2)
- ☐ 20.000 - 49.999 (3)
- ☐ 50.000 - 99.999 (4)
- ☐ 100.000 - 249.999 (5)
- ☐ 250.000 - 499.999 (6)
- ☐ Meer dan 500.000 (7)
- ☐ Geen antwoord (8)

23 Wat is uw winst geweest in het afgelopen jaar?

- ☐ Minder dan 2.500 (1)
- ☐ 2.500 - 9.999 (2)
- ☐ 10.000 - 19.999 (3)
- ☐ 20.000 - 39.999 (4)
- ☐ 40.000 - 59.999 (5)
- ☐ 60.000 - 99.999 (6)
- ☐ Meer dan 100.000 (7)
- ☐ Geen antwoord (8)

24 Hoe heeft de omzet van uw bedrijf zich de afgelopen twee jaar ontwikkeld?

- ☐ Sterk gedaald (1)
- ☐ Gedaald (2)
- ☐ Gelijk gebleven (3)
- ☐ Gestegen (4)
- ☐ Sterk gestegen (5)

25 Hoe heeft de winst van uw bedrijf zich de afgelopen twee jaar ontwikkeld?

- ☐ Sterk gedaald (1)
- ☐ Gedaald (2)
- ☐ Gelijk gebleven (3)
- ☐ Gestegen (4)
- ☐ Sterk gestegen (5)

26 Hoe hebben de investeringen zich de afgelopen twee jaar ontwikkeld?

- ☐ Sterk gedaald (1)
- ☐ Gedaald (2)
- ☐ Gelijk gebleven (3)
- ☐ Gestegen (4)
- ☐ Sterk gestegen (5)

27 Kunt u zeggen hoe het aantal werknemers zich de afgelopen twee jaar heeft ontwikkeld?

- ☐ Sterk gedaald (1)
- ☐ Gedaald (2)
- ☐ Gelijk gebleven (3)
- ☐ Gestegen (4)
- ☐ Sterk gestegen (5)

28 Dit is het einde van de vragenlijst. Mocht u interesse hebben in de resultaten van dit onderzoek, dan kunt u hier uw e-mail adres achterlaten:

C. List of interview respondents

Number	Branche	Employees	Education	Background
#001	Retail	8	University	Syrian
#002	Retail	3	Vocational	Syrian / Syrian - Orthodox
#004	Catering	5	Vocational	Turkish / Syrian - Orthodox
#007	IT	2	University	Turkish / Muslim
#008	Financial/Advisory	6	University	Syrian - Orthodox
#009	Financial/Advisory	5	University of applied sciences	Syrian - Orthodox
#011	Health	16	University of applied sciences	Aramean / Syrian-Orthodox
#013	IT	1	University	Turkish / Muslim
#017	IT	15	University	Sri Lanka / Hindu
#019	Nonprofit	32	University	Moroccan
#020	Communication	8	University of applied sciences	Malesian / Catholic
#021	Wellness	10	Univesity of applied sciences	Turkish
#022	Real estate	2	University of applied sciences	Turkish / Muslim
#023	Retail	15	University of applied sciences	Turkish / Muslim
#024	Traveling	2	Vocational	Turkish / Muslim

#025	Traveling	4	University of applied sciences	Turkish / Muslim
#026	Health/Advisory	1	University of applied sciences	Turkish / Muslim
#027	Retail	15	Univeristy of applied sciences	Turkish / Muslim
#028	Welness	6	Vocational	Syrian - Orthodox
#029	Nonprofit	2	University of applied sciences	Syrian - Orthodox
#031	Catering	5	vocational	Syrian - Orthodox

D. Interviewguide municipality Enschede

Interview with: Irma Lissberg-Grondstra

Senior policy officer Economic development – Municipality of Enschede

Introductie

- Dank
- Onderzoek: tweede generatie migrantondernemers en hun mogelijke bijdragen aan stedelijke innovatie (fysiek, sociaal, economisch).
- Definitie Tweede generatie migrantondernemer.
- Relevantie
- Semigestructureerd interview

Economisch beleid algemeen	
Voor de regio Twente wordt volgens de omgevingsvisie Overijssel een afname in beroepsbevolking verwacht. Hoe gaat de gemeente Enschede om met deze trend binnen haar economische beleid?	
<p>In hoeverre wordt ondernemerschap vanuit de gemeente Enschede ondersteund/gestimuleerd?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Op welke manieren? - Is er sprake in subsidiëring, en richt deze zich ook op specifieke doelgroepen of gebieden? Zoja, welke? - Is er sprake van ondersteuning bij het vinden van een geschikt bedrijfspand? - Is er sprake van advisering in bedrijfsvoering? - (Afhankelijk van antwoorden...) <p>Tijdens mijn interviews gaven weinig migrantondernemers aan gebruik te hebben gemaakt van steun vanuit de gemeente. Heeft u een idee waar dit aan ligt? <i>(Wordt als vanzelfsprekend</i></p>	

<i>procesonderdeel ervaren, men weet niet van de mogelijkheden?...</i>	
Ruimtelijk beleid & Bestemmingsplannen	
Is er voldoende bedrijfsruimte beschikbaar in Enschede? (Wat beschouwt u daarbij als voldoende?)	
Kunt u aangeven in welke wijken de meeste bedrijfsruimte voor startende ondernemers beschikbaar is?	
Is het aanbod aan bedrijfsruimte ook passend voor de startende (migrant)ondernemer?	
Hoe spelen de relevante bestemmingsplannen een rol in het sturen van ondernemerschap? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Waar liggen mogelijkheden voor ondernemers? - Waar liggen beperkingen? 	

Wanneer er sprake is van stadsvernieuwing, wordt er dan rekening gehouden met startende ondernemers?	
Zijn er, of kent u projecten of organisaties in Enschede die zich bezighouden met het versterken van het gemeenschapsgevoel? (Bijvoorbeeld waarbij bewoners en ondernemers worden samengebracht, om te overleggen over problemen of ontwikkelingen in de buurt.)	
Migrantondernemerschap <i>Ik heb een aantal vragen over migrantondernemerschap, en hoewel er geen beleid is aangaande deze ondernemers, vroeg ik me toch af of u vanuit uw persoonlijke expertise iets zou kunnen zeggen hierover.</i>	
Heeft u vanuit uw functie zicht op verschillen in locatiekeuzes van migrantondernemers en autochtone ondernemers? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Zo ja, wat zijn deze verschillen? - Kunt u daarbij ook onderscheid maken tussen migrantondernemers van de eerste generatie en de tweede generatie? (type buurt, omgeving, pand)	
Ziet u ook verschillen in type bedrijf tussen migrantondernemers van de tweede generatie en autochtone ondernemers?	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In de branche waarin zij beiden werkzaam zijn - In de grootte van hun bedrijf - In de mate waarin beiden groeien - In de mate waarin het bedrijf levensvatbaar is - Verschillen tussen de eerste generatie en de tweede generatie migrantondernemers? 	
<p>Ziet u verschillen in betrokkenheid met de directe omgeving van het bedrijf?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bijvoorbeeld in de organisatie van buurtactiviteiten of sponsorschap - Bijvoorbeeld bij het maken van afspraken over veiligheid, bereikbaarheid, en het verzorgd houden van de omgeving 	

Afsluiting

- Eind van het interview. Zijn er dingen die u zelf nog wilt toevoegen, wilt vragen of waar u op terug zou willen komen?
- Contact opnemen bij verdere vragen?
- Weet u wellicht iemand die mij meer over migratie in de regio/stad zou kunnen vertellen?
- Praktische vraag: anonimiteit
- Heeft u er interesse in om de resultaten van mijn onderzoek te ontvangen?
- Dank / afsluiting