

Disadvantaged Migrant Entrepreneurs and Their Selection of Location: Entrepreneurial Settlement and Making a “Home” Abroad



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Abstract Economic migration and refugees have been in the epicentre of attention recently. Social and political debates discuss the length of their stay, possible return and integration policies, approaching migrants often as objects, not as individuals with agency and entrepreneurial endeavours regarding settlement. However, many migrants develop entrepreneurial strategies related to a particular place and accessible resources. These coping-location strategies without ethnic enclave pull have received little attention. In many smaller cities and villages, the role of such newcomers can be fundamental for the local economy counterbalancing migration to urban areas. This study presents location choice and particular location-relationships of disadvantaged migrants in a small town of Klagenfurt, Austria. Contrary to some expectations, their relationship to the new “home” is emotional, strong and permanent, and central to their entrepreneurship. We suggest that this type of disadvantaged migrant entrepreneurship with new local roots is a specific non-mobile category different from the ethnic enclave settlement.

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1 Introduction

In the past few decades, international migration has increased rapidly in to 272 million migrants (UN, 2019). In 2019, there are over 70 million forcibly displaced migrants that look for a place to go (UNHCR, 2020). The recent large waves of migrants and refugees arriving in Europe, for example Austria, have been coined as the “refugee crisis” in media and political debates. This notable increase of migrants arriving to developed countries and their potential contribution to the host country’s economy is not only attracting the attention of policymakers but has also attracted scholarly attention in different disciplines (Wong & Primecz, 2011; Head & Ries, 1998; Dana, 1993). Despite that little is yet known about migrants’ destination selection. There have been numerous debates on the overall nature of the pull forces and effects that generate the flows towards European host countries, also referred to as the fortress Europa (Favell & Hansen, 2002; Castles & Miller, 2009; Lee, 1966), but none addressing the entrepreneurial location logic of migrants. Migrant and diaspora entrepreneurship are directly linked to international migration; entrepreneurship can be an antecedent or an outcome of migration (Dana, 1993; Elo et al. 2018, b; Portes et al., 2002). Previous research has shown that migrants of all kinds are playing an important role as entrepreneurs and founders of start-ups as entrepreneurship is often the best option for progress due to labour market difficulties (Dana, 1993; Mestres, 2010; Nijkamp et al., 2010; Wong & Primecz, 2011). Migrants as entrepreneurs is a phenomenon of global importance, but the phenomenon is of very heterogenous nature (Gurău et al., 2020; Dabić et al., 2020). The majority of the discussions on international migration, especially on decision making, focus on people coming from third world countries to developed countries (Connell, 2008; De Jong et al., 1986; Hamer, 2008). This paper addresses the largely unknown logics of disadvantaged migrants’ entrepreneurial location choice and decision making.

Despite the less privileged origin or status (Hakiza, 2014), migrants who are referred to as “disadvantaged migrants” can have a positive impact in the host countries underlining the importance of the topic (Newland & Tanaka, 2010; Tung, 2008; Nijkamp et al., 2012). However, the positive outcome, individual and/or contextual, is often contested (Heinonen, 2013). Migrants, refugees, asylum seekers and paperless migrants are heterogeneous groups and experience a range of distinct problems and inequalities due to their immigration status. The status ranges from permanent residency permits to irregular situations where uncertainty is very high and planning impossible. Furthermore, status can be ignored or determined in ways supporting undocumented existence sustaining vulnerability (Méndez et al., 2020). Vulnerable migrants are assumed to follow the pull of their ethnic communities that often operate in liminal and marginal spaces (e.g. Lee, 1966). Furthermore, they often experience various sorts of discrimination on multiple grounds and face impediments as a visible minority (Dana, 1993; Hofer et al., 2017; Weichselbaumer, 2016). Precarious situations and systemic discriminations can be also made and sustained with and within a particular context (Lancione, 2019).

Disadvantaged migrants, however, are not merely trapped in a survival choice, they can also be framed from the economic participation side (Portes et al., 2002; Rath & Kloosterman, 2000), as entrepreneurs generating value and prosperity in the host context. Despite their liabilities and marginality, migrants appreciate independence, autonomy and self-determination and often adopt a proactive integration strategy by developing entrepreneurial activities and establishing firms (Valenzuela 2001). Demand-oriented studies often neglect the role of human agency and are inherently functionalist, holding deterministic views of the broader social context (Engelen 2001). In short, we know very little about disadvantaged migrant entrepreneurs' criteria and selection of place when establishing business operations that serve their host markets instead of co-ethnic enclaves.

Previously, Waldinger et al. (1990a, b) proposed an analytical model that combines demand (opportunity structures) with supply (group characteristics) and accounts for the stages and spatial scales of ethnic business development: areas with high concentrations of same-group migrants become entry markets with relatively low specialization, preparing the ground for more specialized "ethnic niche markets"; when firms surpass the borders of the enclave, "middlemen markets" begin to address the wider public, while economic assimilation is achieved through the break out in the mainstream economy (see also Bager & Rezaei, 2001). Critics of the model contest its implied teleology and essentialist spatiality (Engelen, 2001, pp. 211–212); its understanding of assimilation as the end of a series of sequential stages (Rath, 2001); its excessive emphasis on the ethnic environment, neglecting socio-economic processes and changing migration trends (Rath & Kloosterman, 2000). The "mixed embeddedness" theory (Kloosterman et al., 1998; Rath & Kloosterman, 2000; Kloosterman & Rath, 2001, 2003) suggests that migrants are embedded in the socio-economic and politico-institutional environment of the host country, as well as in social networks (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001, p. 190). In this view, the opportunity structures involve accessibility of migrant entrepreneurs to (national, urban or local) markets and sectors for developing and expanding their firms. Contrary to ethnic enclaves and research on urban epicentres as locations, there are also migrant businesses emerging in highly atypical contexts without such pull-demand from co-ethnic populations (Elo et al., 2019).

This study focuses on a less researched destination-location context, on Austria representing a Central-European country—without external EU borders relevant for migration—and on the city of Klagenfurt, which represents a medium-sized non-capital urban context (Omata, 2019). Hence, we ask why disadvantaged migrants decide to settle down and become entrepreneurs in Klagenfurt, Austria? How do they select this location? After all, in Austria, many migrant entrepreneurs are facing multiple disadvantages due to labour market discrimination, their origin providing lower qualifications, linguistic problems and other un-wanted features (Grand & Szulkin, 2002; Hofer et al., 2017). These disadvantages have partial roots in the non-competitive skill structure (Zikic et al., 2010), but most importantly, this non-competitiveness in host countries also seriously influences their credibility in regard to access on entrepreneurial finance for nascent migrant entrepreneurs

(Vaaler, 2013; Vertovec, 2004). Most such programmes focus on more skilled migrants or investors.

In order to make sense of the location choice and the against the odds-type of entrepreneurship, we focus on the experiences of this specific type of migrant entrepreneurs. We examine disadvantaged migrants who represent visible minorities and have disadvantages in terms of their migratory path and origin, some are even victimized by exploitation. Underprivileged migrants have distinct features mobility-wise, as economic migrants and refuge seeking individuals forced to leave their country or origin contrast the highly-skilled migrant elites who may more freely select their location. Still, for regional development their entrepreneurial criteria and logic are important to understand as they may be part of communities on the move or migrate in a disconnected manner (Parrilli et al., 2019).

The study shows that these migrants have found a way to develop and sustain a life and a business by building entrepreneurial strategies in a place of their choosing—in a non-enclave context (Achidi Ndofor & Priem, 2011). Contrary to expectations on selecting urban hot spots with co-ethnic populations, their relationship to the new “home” is strong and without an ethnic pull, with permanent characteristics, and this settling and root building is also central for their entrepreneurship. This study argues that this type of migrant-diaspora entrepreneurship with disadvantages (e.g. refugeeness) and new local roots is a specific non-mobile category settling down entrepreneurially. This has previously been addressed mainly from the immigrant policy or ethnic angle suggesting that immigrants are allured by macro-level pulls, such as social security benefits, low immigration barriers or notable co-ethnic populations. The findings illustrate an interplay of entrepreneurship and coping with local root building that seems to be specific for refugees and other disadvantaged migrants (Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2013). The study contributes to studying disadvantaged migrant entrepreneurship in smaller cities and more peripheral contexts, and offers insights on the positive elements of integration and localization via entrepreneurship (e.g. Elo et al. 2018, b; Parrilli et al., 2019).

The paper is organized as follows: in the next part the theoretical views addressing immigrant and disadvantaged migrant entrepreneurs are discussed. Then, the research approach and methods are explained after which the cases are presented. Finally, the findings and implications are discussed.

2 Theoretical Framework and Extant Research Literature

2.1 Disadvantaged Characteristics of Migrants

There are massive differences between the privileged expatriates and disadvantages migrants and their life conditions (Brewster et al., 2014; Grand & Szulkin, 2002; OECD, 2015; *World Bank*, 2013; Wissink et al., 2020). The privilege mode of mobility does not apply for the “home”-making of disadvantaged migrants (cf. Zhang & Su, 2020). Disadvantages that are not only related to qualifications

or perceived differences and discrimination but are also real-life aspects that link to safety, persecution, refuge, escape and survival and also shape the life of an individual (Cohen, 2008; OECD, 2015; Méndez et al., 2020; Wissink et al., 2020). As a result of diverse impediments, refugee entrepreneurship is often perceived as being loaded with barriers and difficulties (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). Additionally, different ethnic groups have divergent economic integrations and frameworks (Gold, 1992; Lancione, 2019). In general, research literature underlines the importance of social networks and support from family, friends and co-ethnic diasporas as a disadvantage/deficit-counterbalancing element, i.e. the role of social capital in entrepreneurial life and livelihood (Light & Dana, 2013; Sandberg et al., 2019; Bizri, 2017; Wissink et al., 2020). In short, the life path and strategies of disadvantaged migrants who flee some extreme conditions, including poverty and lack of future perspectives, are fundamentally different from those migrants who have the luxury to select broader options in their migratory and entrepreneurial life. Disadvantaged migrants are seen to represent more reactive and necessity entrepreneurship and to improvise using diverse bricolage sort of strategies to cope entrepreneurially (e.g. Dana, 1997; Fisher, 2012)

2.2 Immigrant and Migrant Entrepreneurship—in a Post-Migration Context

Migrants often seek better job opportunities and economic prosperity by self-employment and entrepreneurship in the host country after their arrival; while doing so they produce jobs and facilitate new ideas originating from other angles and minorities (Dana, 2007; Chrysostome & Lin, 2010). Entrepreneurs' aspirations, motivations, ideas, risk-taking and incoming capitals open horizons for capacity building, and some regions have particularly benefitted from these effects, e.g. Silicon Valley and Bangalore (Kotabe et al., 2013; Saxenian, 2005). In similar vein, scholars have pointed out the meaning of ethnic businesses and migration for the welfare and prosperity generation in the host context, also indicating spatial characteristics regarding the opportunities and venturing (Light, 1972; Light & Bonacich, 1988; Waldinger et al., 1990b; Dana, 2007).

Moreover, migrant entrepreneurial activities have been approached in literature from various disciplinary angles and in different contexts as recent reviews illustrate (Dabić et al., 2020). The majority of research has concentrated on the immigrants who settle down (mainly permanently) in the host country and start a business (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013; Hernandez, 2014; Lagrosen & Lind, 2014; Price & Chacko, 2009). A large part of this research has disciplinary lenses from sociology, anthropology and economic geography, and debate various aspects of collective migration, social embeddedness, culture and post-migratory integration and adaptation, particularly, in relation to livelihood generation (Coleman, 2008; Favell, 2007; Granovetter, 1985; Nijkamp et al., 2010; Sheller & Urry, 2006; Urbano et al., 2011;

Zhou & Liu, 2016). Another stream of literature has looked at the forms of transnational entrepreneurship by migrants, connecting both the contexts of home and the host country (Dimitratos et al., 2016; Guarnizo et al., 2003; Patel & Conklin, 2009; Rana & Elo, 2017). Here, the international element in the business and the firm has been in the epicentre of interest (Dimitratos et al., 2016; Oviatt & McDougall, 2005). Migrants follow different entrepreneurial pathways that link to their minority- and contextual status (Elo & Servais, 2018).

Migrants are assumed to select their host country based on its attractiveness and opportunities offered, in short, by following the pull (Favell & Hansen, 2002; Foot & Milne, 1984). The host country context plays a central role in the study of migrant entrepreneurship, similarly as in international business, since this is the arena or locus where difficulties and impediments are realized for migrants (Grand & Szulkin, 2002; Hofer et al., 2017; Liebig, 2007; Weichselbaumer, 2016). Dana (1997) identified four spheres of influence that impact self-employment of migrants: the individual or self, the ethnocultural environment, the circumstances in society and a combination of these. On the host country-society level, he introduces stratification, social blockage, government assistance and occupational clustering as factors that encourage self-employment (Dana, 1997). Hence, the role of extant co-ethnic diaspora community is a pull- and enabling factor for ethnic entrepreneurship. Thus, the host context is theoretically interesting and part of the explanatory mechanisms and lack of co-ethnic diaspora suggests other explanations beyond ethnic entrepreneurship (Dana, 1997; Elo et al., 2019). Furthermore, as theories on integration, assimilation, acculturation and other adaptive frameworks point out, there is a time dimension in post-migratory life (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Guarnizo et al., 2003; Schittenhelm & Schmidtke, 2010). The early life after the migration is particularly “loaded” with challenges for migrants, but over time these inherent challenges may diminish while the distance to the original home country respectively may increase (Buckley et al., 2012; Hedberg, 2007; McAuliffe, 2008; Sahin, 1990). Gurău et al. (2020) presented a typology of immigrant entrepreneurs and addressed the ways how migrants overcome their liabilities of foreignness in the host context. These processes can be addressed through the lens of social practice that illustrate different approaches as paths. Migration research distinguishes different types of time orientations, starting from short-term seasonal workers just visiting a country for limited period of work, e.g., in agriculture or tourism, all the way to permanent settlement with the purpose of building a life in the new host country, which also underlines the agency and commitment of the migrant in taking decisions (Bakewell, 2010; Barber, 2000; Hunt, 2011; Klekowski von Koppenfels & Höhne, 2017; Tharenou, 2010). Hence, when the location represents the place of permanent settlement it has a special meaning for life and entrepreneurship of the migrant (Price & Chacko, 2009).

A particular stream of migrant entrepreneurship has focused on the long-term formation of diaspora and ethnic enclaves that create and shape ethnic economies building on co-ethnic ties (Ojo, 2012; Price & Chacko, 2009; Ram & Jones, 2008; Zhou, 2004). Ethnic entrepreneurship (Dana, 2007) examines the economic and entrepreneurial activity of migrants within their ethnic scope and the ethnicity of

their business (Achidi Ndofor & Priem, 2011; Chaganti & Greene, 2002; Volery, 2007; Yeung, 1999). In ethnic entrepreneurship, the shared ethnicity, cultural understanding, social capital, linguistic features and religious setting have specific roles in the business context, influencing the commonalities instead of the divides that may separate the migrants from the mainstream economy, business and societal context (Dana & Dana, 2008; Elo & Volovelsky, 2017; Faist, 2013; McAuliffe, 2008; Mir, 2013; Powell & Steel, 2011; Ram et al., 2008; Urbano et al., 2011; Wahlbeck, 2007). Historically, there have been large waves of migrants, like the guest workers in Germany (Bhagwati et al., 1984; Klekowski von Koppenfels & Höhne, 2017), that create diasporas and respective ethnic enclaves which have provided ample business opportunities for various ethnic businesses. These enclaves have dominated the location choice of the co-ethnic incoming migrants on many levels, socially through family, marriage and friendship, but also in regard to schooling, education, work opportunities and cultural life (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Daller & Grotjahn, 1999; Granovetter, 1973; Pruthi, 2014; Rezaei et al., 2017; Sarason et al., 2006; Song, 2011; Waldinger et al., 1990b). Therefore, it has been an assumption that there are social pressures on ethnic businesses from the diasporas to be established within the new “home” context and often to also serve the diaspora with their business models (Hernandez, 2014; Inglis, 2011). Here, this approach is coined “staying in” instead of “breaking out” (e.g. Bager & Rezaei, 2001). These social forces are linked to the culture and the entrepreneurial circumstances that the migrants adapt into (e.g. Hamilton et al., 2008). Although the global mobility of people has departed from the guest worker and migrant “simplicity” to a more diversified and complex migratory life (Faist, 2013; Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2013; Tharenou, 2010), it is still assumed that extant ethnic diasporas and enclaves pull new migrants to settle within or close to them following the idea of gravity and the pull effect of the “better future” communicated by others in the new context (Tobler, 2010). Recent studies on migration are actually pointing out that the most significant migratory flows take place across Global South, exceeding the flows from Global South to Global North. Thus, it can be expected that novel forms of decision-making and mobility have emerged (Patterson, 2006; Saxenian, 2005; Tharenou, 2010). There is a growing stream of research specifically addressing the highly skilled people who employ a more individualistic agency in their global mobility (Mahroum, 2000; Reitz, 2005; Schittenhelm & Schmidtke, 2010). These advanced choices today influence the overall decision making on migratory life and host country selection, the length of the stay or settlement or circulation, as well as the location or locations of a possible business (Dana, 1996; Etemad, 2004; McCormick & Wahba, 2001; Riddle & Brinkerhoff, 2011; Solano, 2016; Tung, 2008). Therefore, the location choice dynamics of entrepreneurial migrants require revisiting.

However, beyond the privileged global mobility and expatriates (Aycan, 1997; Brewster et al., 2014; Vance et al., 2017; Zikic et al., 2010), other types of migrants are not enjoying comparably rich alternatives in their decision-making process. Disadvantaged migrants, like refugees, asylum seekers, uneducated (particularly illiterate people), disabled, women with children and young people without local schooling/education and visible minorities, often face limitations in such life choices

(Abu-Lughod, 2002; Favell & Hansen, 2002; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al., 2014; Lee, 1966; McCormick & Wahba, 2001; OECD, 2015; Orhan & Scott, 2001). Since disadvantaged migrants are seen less as a resource and more as a liability or an object for policy, their role as entrepreneurs has remained underexplored (Sandberg et al., 2019). There are studies illustrating various illicit and negative entrepreneurial roles, activities and forms of trade related to migration and its challenges (Datta, 2005; Gillespie & McBride, 2013; Larue et al., 2009; Staake et al., 2009), but very little findings on the entrepreneurial location choice, survival and resilience of disadvantaged migrants (Hakiza, 2014). For this reason, there is a need to explore disadvantaged migrant entrepreneurship in a more processual manner (de Haas, 2010; Halinen et al., 2013; Yeung, 1999) to understand the dynamics over time that influence the decision making, the choice and the commitment to a specific location (cf. Dana, 1996; Elo et al. 2018, b).

3 Research Approach and Methodology

Qualitative case study method can be particularly useful for understanding a complex real-life phenomenon and entrepreneurship that is less well known, such as location dynamics of disadvantaged migrant entrepreneurship (Dana & Dana, 2005; Eisenhardt, 1989). Qualitative research methods addressing rich and deep data and offering are suitable for examining several influencing factors, diverse dynamics and processes on entrepreneurial pathways (Silverman, 2006; Sinkovics & Alfoldi, 2012). A multiple case study allows horizontal, vertical and diagonal comparison processes (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2016) that are useful for reflecting different individual case trajectories (Wissink et al., 2020). These cases are migrant life courses addressed through migratory-entrepreneurial pathways and life-choices. Here, multiple case studies are employed which explore and present the entrepreneurial trajectories over time in a context (Chung et al., 2012; Flyvbjerg, 2006; Marschan-Piekkari & Welch, 2011; Piekkari et al., 2010; Yin, 2013). Case study method on migrant entrepreneurs is particularly suitable as essential aspects of the environment and context are included (Dana & Dana, 2005; Welter, 2011). More ethnographic and emic style narratives from entrepreneurs in such cases may produce valuable lessons and contribute to research (e.g. Berglund & Wigren, 2014). Contextualizing the entrepreneurship of these migrants spatio-temporally is central as the location is of focal interests and its meaning is part of the research rationale. Moreover, this also responds to the call for better contextualization (Ambrosini, 2012; Welter, 2011; Zahra et al., 2014).

The chosen research strategy is explorative, it builds on identifying and understanding the factors that constitute the overall mechanism of location choice and respective decision making of migrant entrepreneurs, who are particularly vulnerable and disadvantaged (e.g. Dana, 1993, 1997). Prior studies on migration addressing pull and push factors serve as a starting point for understanding these dynamics, but we explore more inductive what makes them choose a particular

location. The selection of place for entrepreneurial activity and life requires a deep level of understanding and a more micro-level exploration (i.e. microfoundations). Therefore, a progressive focusing and reflecting back and forth between theory and practice can help form a bigger picture of the phenomenon and exploring individual trajectories within it (de Haas, 2010; Halinen et al., 2013; Sinkovics & Alfoldi, 2012). For this reason, we have designed this individual examination as a “two-way” interaction between the top-down migration dynamics and policy constellations and a bottom-up entrepreneurial emergence and adaptation process in the locality (see, e.g., Dana, 1996, Emmanuel et al., 2019). Beyond the locality of the business, it also contains dimensions related to migrant and diaspora networks and connections or to businesses elsewhere (Alvesson, Skoldberg, 2010; Ojo, 2012, 2013; Solano, 2016).

In terms of geographic-spatial context, our paper explores a less known context of non-capital urban areas, i.e. smaller cities and towns (Tobler, 2010). In contrast to capital areas and emerging mega-cities, these smaller contexts typically have less or lack that urban pull-factor for incoming entrepreneurial people (Elo et al. 2018, b). As location on the EU external borders, such as Greece or Spain, can have significant effect on the incoming dynamics, we explore the dynamics within the central Schengen area to understand these pull effects experienced by disadvantaged migrants.

3.1 The Data Collection

We chose Austria as the context of the study due to its location and migration policy configuration as an EU Schengen country and Carinthia as a regional context with total of 560 000 inhabitants (Statistics Austria, 2017). Further, Klagenfurt is rather small city that does not have ethnic enclaves in economic-entrepreneurial sense as there are only 1659 people from Afghanistan, 549 people from India and 135 people from Pakistan (Statistics Austria, 2017). The ethnic cultural and social institutions are not strong, e.g. there are only 3-4 mosques in Klagenfurt and limited locus for socializing. Due to the religious diversity of the disadvantaged migrant population representing Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and other religious groups, there is a very heterogeneous and diverse migrant population intermingling in Klagenfurt.

The data collection for our empirical analysis has been carried out qualitatively in the city of Klagenfurt (Dana & Dana, 2008; Johnstone, 2007; Marschan-Piekkari & Welch, 2004; Nijkamp et al., 2010). Contacts with migrant-diaspora associations and social connections were employed for identifying suitable candidates. They were contacted purposefully based on their representation of the phenomenon. Also snowball sampling method within the migrant business scene was used to identify other candidates. One research team member identified and double-checked migrants who were selected primarily due to their disadvantaged migrant characteristics. We chose the establisher-owner as the focal individual to concentrate and we focused on entrepreneurship that had been formally established and was actively development. The primary focus was on ethnic origins that represent the “migration

crisis” cohorts. The most important selection criterion for these case studies was built on: the disadvantaged migrant owner-establisher, part of visible minority group, the establishment of the firm after migration to the location, firm location in Klagenfurt, owner-establisher still actively participating in the management of the firm and further business development. Another selection criterion was the availability of varied business experiences and diversity in the degree of success so that we did not have some outliers only as we tried to balance the cases to explore the phenomenon on a broad range.

For our study, we were able to find and selected five cases of migrant entrepreneurs from Klagenfurt that filled our criteria and were willing to participate. These entrepreneurs were interviewed face-to-face. The interviews lasted 60-90 minutes and were conducted to complete a life-story following semi-structured interview approach with guiding questions starting with demographic data for comparability. In all five cases, the interviews have been recorded, transcribed and cross-checked by the members of the research team. The data were collected between 2015 and 2019. The researcher who did the interviews is a migrant sharing features of the sample populations that were interviewed. The researcher could communicate and interpret the data also culturally. Ethnographic style observations, participation and cultural knowledge supported the process of data collection and interpretation over time (Berglund & Wigren, 2014). Our approach increases the acceptability of the request to share life course information and facilitates trust creation due to shared problem-constellations and perceived inclusion–exclusion settings. Thus, it also increases the trustworthiness and reliability of the data as there is a perceived common understanding regarding improvement of life situations that can be useful in data collection (Sinkovics & Alfoldi, 2012; Sørensen & Vammen, 2014; Waldinger & Duquette-rury, 2015; *World Bank*, 2013).

3.2 *The Data Analysis*

The data is analysed using a network lens on individual entrepreneurial trajectories that start from the idea of entrepreneurship through nascent entrepreneurship towards established entrepreneurship in the particular location (de Haas, 2010; Halinen et al., 2013; Halinen & Törnroos, 2005). The analysis incorporates a coding process and a chronological organization of data into trajectories around the entrepreneurial establishment and migratory path (Elo, 2016; Saldana, 2009; Urbano et al., 2011). Based on the qualitative material and the first level coding, we developed seven sections representing the second level principal codes: personal background, reason for the migration, selection of destination, social network support, cultural background, motivation to become an entrepreneur, remittance back to family at homeland to achieve the object of our case study, see Table 2. These allowed us to theorize on our research concerns (Saldana, 2009).

We examined the personal background of migrant entrepreneurs to assess the immigration related difficulties (as they represented non-EU nationals who need a

visa), country of origin, migration year, language and most importantly education level (see Table 1 for overview). This is important as one cannot establish a business as a paperless person. Similarly, we tried to understand why they decided to come specifically to Austria and Klagenfurt that is not a major urban area nor among the top destinations otherwise. Therefore, we asked our focused participants what had originally motivated them to come to Austria and how that happened. The question to all the migrant entrepreneurs we interviewed, was to assess the factors or limitations in destination selection such as visa requirements and financial requirements. We also tried to check, how their social networks supported them at the desired destination, if there were any. Further, the idea was to explore how these migrants, by developing entrepreneurial strategies find a way to develop and sustain a life and a business in a place of their choosing, and why they decided to settle down permanently in Klagenfurt. With coding we analysed the data contents constructing a trajectory based on their narratives with main critical event phases in their lives that have led to their entrepreneurship in Klagenfurt while reflecting the theory elements (Halinen et al., 2013), see Fig. 1 and Table 2. We run several rounds of analysis going back and forth between data and theory. We tried to address rather holistically the factors that influenced the location choice and explored diverse layers of their narratives. We asked for macro-level pulls such as policies or ethnic diasporas, but were unable to identify any prior to arrival in Klagenfurt, their social ties were influential in the post-migratory setting but not as pull factors to Klagenfurt. In line with the social mechanisms (Emmanuel et al., 2019), we also wanted to check the remitting behaviour of these migrant entrepreneurs back to family members residing in the country of origin as this is potentially linked to entrepreneurial endeavours and transnational features, see Table 2.

4 Analysis—Five cases in Klagenfurt, Austria

First, we provide a contextual overview to the cases and an analysis of the emerging post-migratory entrepreneurship with the key elements in their life courses, see Table 1. This allows a more embedded understanding of their life and emerging entrepreneurship in Klagenfurt. The entrepreneurship of all is directed to multi-ethnic customers, not only co-ethnics, including local customers and niche markets (cf. ethnic cross-over). Due to the size of the city ethnic products and services are mainly sold in such independent retail stores/shops.

Second, we present a visual analysis (colour codes) of the five case trajectories in Fig. 1 and reflect push–pull setting, the critical event phases and the location choices. Case 5 had an emotional push factor, while the other 4 had serious livelihood–danger related push forces (orange). Information had diverse and informal sources. Case 3 was the only one that entered Europe through a legitimate path, while others followed agents (“Schleuser”/human traffickers, yellow) or friends’/family’s advice (light blue) resulting in a rather random location. Cases 2 and 4 had paid Germany as the destination, but ended up in Austria. None of the entrepreneurs had prior

Table 1 An overview to the cases and analysis of the emerging post-migratory entrepreneurship

Overview	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 4	Case 5
Country of origin	Pakistan	Afghanistan	India	Pakistan	India
Gender	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male
Marital Status	Married	Married	Married	Married	Married
Age	50+	25+	50+	50+	60+
Migration start, year	1977	2013	1978	1990	1980
Children	3	4	2	4	2
Educational Background	High school	High school	Secondary school	High school	University level
Total length of stay in Klagenfurt	40 Years	6 years	37 Years	29 years	38 years
In-between stay in other countries, transition phase	Austria, no transition	Austria, no transition	Greece, Austria	Austria, no transition	Finland, Austria
Start towards Austria	Wanted to study in Austria	He tried to find a job, but he failed, due to lack of German language	Worked in a Greek shipping company as a technician/shipping assistant engineer in Greece for 3 years	Worked in McDonald's in Klagenfurt	Gastronomy jobs
Arrival in Austria and Klagenfurt	1977	2013	1982	1990	1981

Decision to settle down in Klagenfurt permanently	1997	2017	1990	2010	1990
Main occupational steps/economic activities taken over time	Worked for 20 years as a bar keeper to earn money and then turned into self-employment	Grocery Store. He collected the information for self-employment	Low labour jobs to survive and to collect money for his own start-up	Worked in McDonald's. He tried to earn money to start his own fast food restaurant	Worked in a hotel Low-level jobs, now his own Indian Restaurant, Boutique
Business strategies, future	No special strategy plans. Coping strategy wishing to spend his whole life in Klagenfurt.	Plan to open Asian chain market in whole Austria. Growth strategy beyond coping.	He is satisfied with his grocery store and he wishes that his all children will also choose entrepreneurship. Mainly coping and bricolage strategies	He wants to grow his Halal Fast food business in the whole Austria, growth strategy.	He is looking forward to opening a Yoga Centre in Klagenfurt. Growth strategy with bricolage style.
Business model and sector	Bar	Grocery store	Grocery store	Street food restaurant	Restaurant
Business Size (employees)	5	3	2	3	3
Ethnic composition of workers	Foreign, co-ethnic and others	Co-ethnic and other foreign	Co-ethnic and other foreign	Co-ethnic and other foreign	Co-ethnic and other foreign
Ethnic composition of clients	Mostly European	Mostly Asians	Mostly Asians	Mostly Asians	Mostly Asians
Family members' current situation	His wife is active as housewife and all 3 children are attending university education	All family members are living in Klagenfurt, they all are working with him	His all children are born in Austria and getting a university education. He would like to see them as entrepreneurs as well	His brother and all family members are living in Austria and the children are studying in Austria and working part-time with him	His both children are born in Austria and getting university education. He would like to see them as entrepreneurs.

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 4	Case 5
Overview	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 4	Case 5
Usage of networks (diaspora, ethnic, family, transnational)	Strong ethnic social/business network (with Arabs and Asians in Klagenfurt)	Strong ethnic social/business network (with Arabs and Asians in Klagenfurt)	Strong ethnic social/business network (with Arabs and Asians in Klagenfurt)	Strong ethnic social/business network (with Arabs and Asians in Klagenfurt)	Strong ethnic social/business network (with Arabs and Asians in Klagenfurt)
Business growth strategy	Stable	Increase	Stable	Increase	Increase



Fig. 1 Trajectories of the cases towards entrepreneurship and settlement

entrepreneurship experience, beyond family tradition (see case 2, green marking), or any intention to go to Klagenfurt. Three cases (2, 3, 4) had no contacts in Austria prior to migration. Many had multiple other cities before Klagenfurt (Helsinki, Athens, Salzburg, Villach, Vienna, Graz) and all had problems with employment/labour markets that contributed to their entrepreneurial motivations and aspirations. All participants referred to location selection “pull criteria” with description such as small, beautiful, calm, peaceful, mountains, lakes, like birth city (see the location choice green marking) without mentioning economic pull. Their relationship developed to the new “home” was strong and even emotional, with permanent characteristics, and formed a central part of their entrepreneurship. Interestingly, only case 5 mentioned a local opportunity as one pull factor. Hence, economic pull factors are inadequate to explain this phenomenon.

4.1 Assessing Pathways Towards Entrepreneurial Settlement and Choice of Location

Despite different ethnicities and backgrounds all five entrepreneurs have selected Austria in a rather unspecific/random manner triggered by the push, not pull. However, the location of actual settlement was based on personal and emotional criteria relating to peace, beauty and the resemblance with home/origin, a response to a qualitative pull. They did not explicate any quantitative pull based on economic criteria or entrepreneurial programmes/policies. This qualitative pull was not diaspora/co-ethnic community driven, it was about the perceived characteristics of the city that clearly addressed the traumata and nostalgia of the migrants in a positive manner. This qualitative-emotional pull was the main pull factor for the entrepreneurial location and making of the new home, while enclaves or homophily was not found (cf. Hernandez, 2014). Contrary to Hernandez (2014) a deep and resilient wish to integrate and find peace and prosperity with the Austrian society was explicitly stated by all cases. The migratory pathway of all of them, including case 5, involved immigration, integration and labour market related difficulties. Exploitation, racism and discrimination happened, also within co-ethnics (case 5). Attempts to study and upskilling strategies failed, mainly to economic reasons (cases 1, 3), but all struggled to learn German. The German language requirement was a surprising hurdle for them, but once they learned, they actively started to help newcomers to integrate better, being “locals”. Their Klagenfurtian entrepreneurship was in line with the work of Portes et al. (2002), a form of economic adaptation to match the location with diverse strategies from bricolage to growth as family business but addressing customers beyond ethnic diasporas, see more in Table 2.

Table 2 The migrant life stories towards entrepreneurship

Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 4	Case 5
<p>Personal Background Migrant entrepreneur A was born in the early 1960s, in the city of Gujrat in Pakistan. He first came to Austria in the year 1977. He can speak four languages: Punjabi and Urdu as a mother language, while English and German as second languages. He passed his high school education in Gujrat and due to his household situation, he could not go to school to further his studies. His main hobbies are playing cricket and cooking different Asian delicacies.</p>	<p>Personal Background Migrant entrepreneur B was born in the early 1990s in the city of Kabul in Afghanistan. He came to Austria in the year 2013. He can speak four languages: Punjabi and Farsi as a mother language, while English and German as a second language. He has only received his high school education from Kabul. His main hobbies are playing cricket, searching the Internet and cooking different Asian delicacies.</p>	<p>Personal Background Migrant entrepreneur C was born in the early 1960s in the city of Haryana in Punjab, India. He can speak four languages: Punjabi as a mother language, while English, German and Greek as second languages. He passed his secondary school education in Haryana and did Machinist diploma in Industrial Training Institute in Haryana. His main hobbies are watching cricket, music, watching movies and reading newspaper.</p>	<p>Personal Background Migrant entrepreneur D was born in the late 1960s in the city of Gujrat in Pakistan. He first came to Austria in 1990. He could speak four languages: Punjabi and Urdu as a mother language, while English and German as second languages. He passed his high school education in Gujrat and due to his household situation, he could not go to school to continue his studies. His main hobbies are playing cricket, reading the newspaper and cooking different Asian delicacies.</p>	<p>Personal Background Migrant entrepreneur E was born in the mid-1950s in new Delhi, India. He can speak five different languages: Hindi, Punjabi and Pahari as a mother language, and English and German as second languages. He received his Bachelors in Economics in India. His main hobbies are to watch and play cricket, to listen to Indian Music and to watch Indian movies. He has seven brothers and sisters and five of them are settled abroad.</p>
<p>Reason for Migration Migrant entrepreneur A belongs to a poor family. His parents could not afford to send him to school after primary education. He was young and does not want to spend his whole life in a same situation as his parents. "I wanted to change my family's household situation and to live in a better</p>	<p>Reason for Migration Migrant entrepreneur B belongs to a middle-class Sikh family. Afghanistan is an Islamic state and he was born in a Sikh family. They were not treated equally in Afghanistan and the whole family was not safe. His Grandfather, uncle and other family members were killed</p>	<p>Reason for Migration Migrant entrepreneur C belongs to a middle-class Sikh family. His parents and his brothers were working as agriculturist like his grandparents in India. He was young and wanted to change his lifestyle. "I was keen to know the western culture and wanted</p>	<p>Reason for Migration Migrant entrepreneur D belongs to a poor family and he wanted to change his household situation. "I belong to a poor family. My father was the only one who was working, and all our family members were sharing that budget. It was okay till we were not young, but later it was very difficult</p>	<p>Reason for Migration Migrant entrepreneur E belongs to a rich family. He did not come to Europe for financial or political reasons. "In 1979, my mother died, and I was very sad because I was very close to her. My elder sister was aware of my situation and at that time she was well settled in Finland.</p>

(continued)

Table 2 (continued)

<p>Case 1</p> <p>society” (ME_A_2017)</p> <p>Therefore, he decided to migrate to Europe in order to support his parents, and to live a better life. Better education standards, high currency value and better living standard were the main factors that attracted him to migrate to Europe.</p>	<p>Case 2</p> <p>because of religion and no one raised any complaints about it, because they (Sikh) do not have their own country.</p> <p>“I left Afghanistan due to my Sikh religion. Being a Sikh, my life was in threat and unfortunately, we (minorities) had no rights there” (ME_B_2017)</p> <p>Once, he was kidnapped for 30 days and they asked for money from his father but luckily, he managed to run away from them which saved his life.</p> <p>“I am young, and I don't not want to spend my whole life in a threat and in a country where I can't claim equal rights”</p> <p>Therefore, he decided to migrate to Europe in search of a better life.</p>	<p>Case 3</p> <p>to change my lifestyle” (ME_C_2017)</p> <p>After the completion of his Technical education diploma, he wanted to improve his studies. It was the best time and chance for him to migrate to Europe, because he did not want to spend his whole life as an agriculturist in his parents' fields.</p> <p>“Therefore, I decided to migrate in Europe to improve my technical education and to know how western people live” (ME_C_2017)</p>	<p>Case 4</p> <p>even to survive for us. After completion of my high school education my parents could not afford to send me to college for further studies” (ME_D_2017) He was young and wanted to change his family situation and to not live in poverty. Therefore, he decided to migrate to somewhere in Europe to earn money and to support his parents. One of his friends was well settled in Germany and went back to Pakistan to see his family for a few weeks. He met him and told him about his family situation. His friend advised him to migrate.</p> <p>“I decided to get rid of poverty and there was no other opportunity for me to help my family and change the household situation, that was the reason, why I chose migration” (ME_D_2017)</p>	<p>Case 5</p> <p>She invited me to visit her in Finland. So, I can travel in Europe and enjoy the European culture which helps me to feel better” (ME_E_2017)</p> <p>He was very young, and it was a great opportunity to change his lifestyle. That is why he applied for a tourist Visa and after getting the Visa stamp he took a flight to Helsinki.</p> <p>“I came to Finland just for three months to stay away from my place in India where my mother died, otherwise I didn't want to leave India” (ME_E_2017)</p>
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<p>Selection of destination It was a difficult decision for him to select a destination, because he had not been to any other cities in Pakistan. At that time one of his best friends was already living in Austria. He helped him to select a country to migrate. "At that time one of my best friend was living in Austria. I contacted him and asked him about migration status and policy, living standards, job situation and about Pakistani community in Austria. After getting, all the required information, I discussed with my parents. They did not want to allow me to go to a foreign country, but due to our household situation, they had no other choice and finally they agreed and allowed me.</p>	<p>Selection of destination "One of my uncles is well settled in Germany. I contacted him and told him that my life is in danger and asked him for help. He suggested me to migrate in any country of Europe" (ME_B_2017) His uncle was not able to sponsor him, but he recommended him to contact an agent. "I contacted the recommended agent and gave him a very reasonable money to help me to get in Europe" (ME_B_2017) It was a difficult decision for me and my whole family to pay a lot of money and put my whole life on risk, yet again. But at that time, he had no other option. So, he decided to take that risk and his agent brought him in Austria, Europe. "Austria was not in my plan as a final destination, I had not even</p>	<p>Selection of destination All his family members and friends were working in India and he did not know anyone in Europe. He asked his teachers for further studies and they told him if he wanted to improve his technical education he should migrate to Europe or the United States. "I started collecting knowledge for further education and one day I read in a newspaper that one of Greek shipping company looking for technical labour in Greece. I immediately applied there and luckily; I was hired for that job" (ME_C_2017) He got the visa stamp from the Greek Embassy in 1978. He was very happy, but his parents were worried, because he was the first family member who would be moving abroad. It</p>	<p>Selection of destination He wanted to go to Germany, because at that time his friend was living in Germany and he helped him and motivated him to migrate to Germany. "My friend told me about an agent who took a lot of money, which was borrowed by my parents from few friends. He helped him to cross all the borders. The whole journey was very dangerous, and I was very afraid, but finally he brought me to Austria" (ME_D_2017) Austria was not his choice to live. He wanted to stay in Austria for a few months and then he planned to move to Germany. But with the passage of time he changed his mind and decided not to go to Germany. "I felt that Austria is beautiful place to live and I also</p>	<p>Selection of destination Before migration, his four brothers and sisters were residing in Europe and Australia. They all were well settled abroad. He came to see his sister in Finland. She and her husband were running a restaurant in Helsinki. He thought he would help them for three months and then he would go back to India. "After few weeks of my arrival in Finland. I have changed my mind to go back to India, because my brother-in-law treated me very badly and I left his house. I had no money to return to India. I contacted my elder brother, who was residing in Salzburg, Austria</p>
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(continued)

Table 2 (continued)

Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 4	Case 5
<p>First, I applied for a visit visa to meet my friend and after getting visa stamp, I came to Vienna and my friend helped me to apply for a student visa, so I could stay in Austria” (ME_A_2017). Even though he wanted to study, however, due to financial reasons he was unable to continue and later he found a job and was able to get a work visa. Being a migrant, the first few years were a very stressful time and he faced a lot of challenges. Apart from the cultural shock, he had to deal with the realities such as: close friends and family members were away. He could not move freely because of not speaking the German language. Eating food that he had never tasted before and finding a job was a difficult for him. Everything was expensive.</p>	<p>heard the country’s name before. It was my agent who brought me here in Austria and I am happy and thankful to my uncle and agent that I am safe now” (ME_B_2017)</p>	<p>was a difficult decision for his parents to allow him to migrate. Finally, they agreed, and he booked a flight to Athens. “I came to Greece and started working there, but still I was not satisfied, because I wanted to improve further technical education. After 3 Years, I heard from one of Austrian colleague that there is a good technical university in Graz, Austria. I applied in TU Graz and got admission” (ME_C_2017) That is why I came to Austria and now I like Austria and want to live here for the rest of my life.</p>	<p>started to like the Austrian people” (ME_D_2017)</p>	<p>and came to Austria” (ME_E_2017) A few days after his arrival in Austria, his brother contacted one of his friends, who was working as a Hotel Manager in Villach, Austria and asked him for a job. He gave him a job in the Hotel, and he moved to Villach. “I was very happy that I could survive. Austria was not my choice to live but with the passage of time, I felt myself well integrated in Austrian society and I decided to stay in Austria” (ME_E_2017)</p>

<p>Social network support When he arrived at Vienna, his friend received him at the airport and provided a lot of support. “After my arrival at Vienna my friend supported in all ways, he shared free food and his room with me. He showed me all the markets and shared all the necessary information where to find job” (ME_A_2017) He met many others Pakistani migrants in Vienna and in other cities, who worked very hard to live in Austria.</p>	<p>Social network support He did not get any support from the Asian diaspora because he did not know anyone in Austria. “There was no one in Austria who I know before” (ME_B_2017) He applied for Asylum status and decided to learn the German language as soon as possible. His German language teacher and his lawyer treated him like a human and they helped him to get to know the Austrian/European customs, culture, etc.</p>	<p>Social network support He did not get any support from Asian diaspora. “At that time there were not too many Asian or Indians in Greece” (ME_C_2017) Maybe, because I was working full time, I did not find any one from my culture. “When I moved to Graz, I met one Pakistani and he introduced me further 5 Indians migrants. Two of them were living in Vienna, two in Salzburg and one in Klagenfurt. I asked them, how to learn the German language</p>	<p>Social network support He did not get any social support, neither from Asian community nor from Austrian Government. “My agent brought me in Austria, and I didn’t know anyone here. It was a difficult situation for me, because I thought I could find a job easily and send back money to my family. But I struggled a lot, because Austria is a German speaking country and my friend didn’t tell me. I couldn’t talk with people and felt home sick. Austrian cold weather was another shock for me. I wanted to go back to my country, but my parents motivated</p>	<p>Social network support “In Finland, my sister supported me for a few weeks to live with them and after that I moved to Austria” (ME_E_2017) When he moved to Austria, he was in a bad situation, because he worked at his sister’s restaurant in Finland without money. When he left his sister’s house, he contacted his brother in Austria and asked for help. “My brother gave me money to survive and I lived in his residence in Salzburg</p>
<p>“I met a lot of other Pakistani migrants, they helped me to learn German language and most importantly, they guided me about the Austrian Values, which helped me a lot to develop my interpersonal relations with western people” (ME_A_2017)</p>	<p>and they advised me to take courses” (ME_C_2017) At that time, he had some savings, but it was not enough money to pay for rent, German language fees and living expenses. So, he decided to look for a job, so he could survive. And he requested all his Asian</p>	<p>me to stay here and face the challenges” (ME_D_2017) Being a Muslim, he also faces Halal food problems, because he did not know where to buy it. No one was there for him and during the journey he also lost the address of his friend. “I started motivated myself</p>	<p>where I could eat free food until I found a job in Villach” (ME_E_2017) “My brother also introduced me the Austrian culture, how to learn German language” (ME_E_2017). Later, when he started his job, his colleagues helped him to learn</p>	<p>(continued)</p>

Table 2 (continued)

Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 4	Case 5
<p>Cultural Background Asking him about the business culture in his country of origin, Pakistan, migrant entrepreneur A mentioned that people in Pakistan appreciate self-employment. The encouragement for small businesses in Pakistan is much higher than that in Austria. "There are many small businesses in Pakistan and the most common small</p>	<p>Cultural Background He belongs to a country where they have been at war from several decades and being a minority (Sikh) they have to adapt to that culture, so when he is asked about his own culture, he is sad. "I have no culture of my own, because I grow up in fear environment. Where I couldn't play with my friends. I couldn't participate</p>	<p>friends to help him find a job. "One of my Indian friend who was living in Klagenfurt, he helped me to find a job in Klagenfurt and I moved from Graz to Klagenfurt. He also helped me to find a cheap apartment" (ME_C_2017) He worked as a cleaner where he has always cooperated with Austrian workers. They helped him to learn the German language and to get to know the Austrian/European customs and culture.</p>	<p>because I already burned my boats. There was no option to go back to Pakistan. One day, I met one Arab family and they guided me to learn German" (ME_D_2017) He started to learn German and after a few months he found a job in a fast food restaurant, which helped him a lot to develop his interpersonal relations with Western people.</p>	<p>the German language and he helped them to learn English.</p>
<p>Cultural Background Entrepreneur E belongs to a country, where they have thousands of distinct and unique cultures of all religions and communities. More interestingly, India also has a strong entrepreneurial culture. "I belong to a Hindu family from India, while having a very diverse background. Most of my family members were living abroad. At the age</p>	<p>Cultural Background He belongs to a country where they have thousands of distinct and unique cultures of all religions and communities. "I belong to a Sikh family and my whole family is agriculturist. I also worked in the fields with my parents, but professionally I am a technician" (ME_C_2017). India has a strong</p>	<p>Cultural Background The entrepreneurial culture is almost the same in Austria and in Pakistan. "People in Pakistan appreciate self-employment and I think that the encouragement for the self-employment in Pakistan is much higher than that in Austria" (ME_D_2017) At the beginning, he wanted to choose self-employment,</p>	<p>Cultural Background The entrepreneurial culture is almost the same in Austria and in Pakistan. "People in Pakistan appreciate self-employment and I think that the encouragement for the self-employment in Pakistan is much higher than that in Austria" (ME_D_2017) At the beginning, he wanted to choose self-employment,</p>	<p>Cultural Background Entrepreneur E belongs to a country, where they have thousands of distinct and unique cultures of all religions and communities. More interestingly, India also has a strong entrepreneurial culture. "I belong to a Hindu family from India, while having a very diverse background. Most of my family members were living abroad. At the age</p>

<p>business in Pakistan is trading of daily commodities, goods and products” (ME_A_2017). He thinks that the Austrian employment and business laws are discouraging self-</p>	<p>in other’s communities (marriage) ceremonies. We did not have our own community Mosque to pray. There are a lot of aspects to tell but I don’t want to mention” (ME_B_2017)</p>	<p>entrepreneurial culture. Therefore, it was a culturally well-accepted decision to choose entrepreneurship. The encouragement for small businesses in Austria is similar to that in India.</p>	<p>but due to financial reasons he was unable to make any progress. He thinks that the Austrian employment and business laws are discouraging regarding self-employment: “Austria is country discouraging entrepreneurs because of heavy</p>	<p>of 9, I started working in India in an Auto workshop and later I also worked in a Restaurant in India” (ME_E_2017)</p>
<p>Employment in Austria because of the heavy business and employment tax rates. Still he decided to choose self-employment as he is a risk taker and he believes that self-employment contributes substantially to the development of the economy. His family is living in Austria and they are studying in Klagenfurt. He is encouraging his son and daughter to get a university education and later to choose entrepreneurship. He tried to pay-back his friend who helped him to settle in Austria, but he refused to take the money. He was happy that he can support his family and</p>	<p>On the other side, he is proud to mention that he adopted his family’s culture: “I adopted my family culture as an entrepreneur. My family had textile business from decades in Afghanistan and I had the opportunity to work with my parents to run our business” (ME_B_2017) Therefore, it was an easy decision for him to choose entrepreneurship. The encouragement for small businesses in Austria is much higher than that in Afghanistan. He thinks that the Austrian employment and business laws are encouraging self-employment in Austria and he believes that self-</p>	<p>Business and employment tax rates” (ME_D_2017) He worked for 10 years in a Fast food restaurant and after that he chooses self-employment. His family is now living in Austria and his children are studying in Klagenfurt. “I am encouraging my children to get the university education and later choose entrepreneurship” (ME_D_2017) From time to time he is also helping the Asian immigrants to learn Austrian and European values and most importantly how to integrate into European society.</p>	<p>“India is a populated country and I don’t want to live there because tolerance level in India is very low. Therefore, I like the European culture because Austrian people are calm, they are always waiting for their turn in offices, etc.” (ME_E_2017) He thinks that the Austrian employment and business laws do not encourage self-employment in Austria. While India is one of the strongest entrepreneurial activity promoting contexts, therefore it was not a difficult decision for him to choose entrepreneurship.</p>	<p>“India is a populated country and I don’t want to live there because tolerance level in India is very low. Therefore, I like the European culture because Austrian people are calm, they are always waiting for their turn in offices, etc.” (ME_E_2017) He thinks that the Austrian employment and business laws do not encourage self-employment in Austria. While India is one of the strongest entrepreneurial activity promoting contexts, therefore it was not a difficult decision for him to choose entrepreneurship.</p>

(continued)

Table 2 (continued)

Case 1	<p>parents residing back home. From time to time he is also helping the Asian immigrants to learn Austrian and European values and most importantly how to integrate into European society.</p>	Case 2	<p>employment activity contributes a lot to the developed economies. Now his parents and sister are also living in Austria. His sister is studying in Klagenfurt. He is encouraging his sister to get a university education and later to choose entrepreneurship. He is also helping the Asian immigrants especially Sikhs and informing them how to integrate into European society.</p>	Case 3		Case 4		Case 5	
<p>Motivation to become an entrepreneur The main motivating factor for the migrant entrepreneur A to choose self-employment was his ambition to become an entrepreneur. “I worked for 20 years in a Disco in the Klagenfurt downtown and one day I have to leave my job due to the irrational behavior of my</p>	<p>Motivation to become an entrepreneur Entrepreneurship is in his blood because he belongs to a family of entrepreneurs, that already have business experience. “I was well aware that I have only primary education and I am in a developed country. Being a foreigner in a German speaking country, with very low education, it was impossible to find a job in</p>	<p>Motivation to become an entrepreneur “At that time there was no Asian grocery shop in Klagenfurt. My friends encouraged me to open a grocery store, where they could buy Asian products and I could save my time instead of looking for a job. I think that was a best decision to choose self-employment, because I created</p>	<p>Motivation to become an entrepreneur The main motivating factor for the migrant entrepreneur D to choose self-employment was his ambition and rational behaviour to become an entrepreneur. “I worked for 10 years in a Fast food restaurant in the Klagenfurt city and one day I left my job due to the irrational behaviour of my Austrian Supervisor. I must leave</p>	<p>Motivation to become an entrepreneur Entrepreneurship was not something new for him. Because all his family members who were settled in Europe were running their own businesses. But that was not the reason he chooses entrepreneurship. “In 1981, one day I was on my duty in the hotel in</p>					

<p>Austrian boss, which I don't want to mention here" (ME_A_2017)</p> <p>Then he decided to become an entrepreneur and he thinks that it was a right decision at the right time.</p> <p>Choosing self-employment has had a positive influence in his life in the shape of caring for his children, who are also able to study. While, on the other hand, he has created five jobs in the market instead of searching for a job himself.</p> <p>Moreover, he is willing to take the risks even if it means he might lose. The main difficulty he faced when starting up his business was the Austria business policy for small business entrepreneurs. He finally succeeded to open a bar in the same street where he worked.</p> <p>"I opened a bar in the same street where I worked for 20 years"</p> <p>He tried his best to offer a friendly environment and new and special free drinks</p>	<p>Austria. I tried for a few years, but I failed. Then I decided to choose self-employment" (ME_B_2017)</p> <p>But it was not easy, because he had to go through a thorough process for self-employment to get permission.</p> <p>"I was fully ambitious and motivated to face all the problems. I had to do a lot of paperwork to get the final approval from Austrian Finance ministry" (ME_B_2017)</p> <p>He also took some seminars to better understand the needs of the Austrian market.</p> <p>"I also took seminars to get knowledge of Austrian market demands and supply in Klagenfurt city" (ME_B_2017)</p> <p>Entrepreneurship has had a very positive influence on his life in the shape of caring for his parents and enabling them to work with him. "I am glad that I created 3 jobs for my family members: one for my father, one for sister and one</p>	<p>a job for me, and my friends were thankful to me that they could buy the Asian products" (ME_C_2017)</p> <p>These are the main reasons he chooses self-employment. On the other hand, he wanted to improve his technical education, but he was unable to make that dream come true, because of difficulties with German language in addition to financial reasons. "It was not easy for me to start my own business, because in Austria I have to go through for a long process to get approval from respective authorities for self-employment. While in India there is no such process" (ME_C_2017)</p> <p>Due to his motivation towards self-employment, he followed the process and got the final approval from Austrian Finance ministry.</p> <p>"Entrepreneurship has very positive influence in my life. I am supporting my children to get good and quality education. I also created 2 jobs,</p>	<p>my job immediately. I am the victim of racism. After all that, I decided to become an entrepreneur" (ME_D_2017)</p> <p>He feels very proud about his decision, and believes it was the right one. Choosing self-employment has had positive impact on his life in shape of being able to care for his family and support their studies.</p> <p>"I created 4 jobs in the market instead of searching, a job for myself" (ME_D_2017)</p> <p>The main difficulty he faced before starting his business was the Austrian business policy for small business entrepreneurs. He finally succeeded in opening a Pizza restaurant in the centre of the city. He is trying his best to offer a friendly environment and offering Asian, Turkish and Italian food and drinks for regular customers. He likes the Klagenfurt and feels proud that he managed to create his own business.</p>	<p>Villach, Austria and my Austrian Supervisor came. He was drunk, he came to me and started abusing me and tortured me with a long steel toe shoes and my blood came. I didn't say him anything even I had no idea why he did that. I went to Police station and complained them about his irrational behaviour. On the meanwhile, he fired me from my job without notice period. He also didn't pay me the money and I am still waiting for justice. It was all about colour and ethnicity" (ME_E_2017)</p> <p>That was the reason he chooses self-employment because he did not want to be an employee again.</p> <p>"I was very disappointed and decided to start my own business. I opened a restaurant in Klagenfurt, and I am very happy about my decision. It was not as easy to start my own business as in India, because in Austria there are a lot of bureaucratic hurdles. I have to apply for a</p>
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(continued)

Table 2 (continued)

Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 4	Case 5
<p>for regular customers. He likes the place and feels proud that he managed to setup his own business.</p>	<p>for myself" (ME_B_2017) He is expanding his business into another city and has opened another shop in Villach. Next year, he is thinking about opening a shop in Graz. He likes the Carinthia and he feel proud that he has managed to save his own, sister's and his parents lives.</p>	<p>one for me and one for my wife. I am not thinking to expand my business, but one day, I would love to see my children as an entrepreneurs" (ME_C_2017)</p>		<p>confirmation that I have the same rights for self-employment (Gleichstellung mit Inlander) as Austrian and it was very difficult process" (ME_E_2017) At that time, there was no Indian restaurant in Klagenfurt. He also opened a Boutique shop in Klagenfurt.</p>
				<p>Self-employment has had a very positive influence on his life. "I am supporting my children and they are studying in a university now. I also created 2 jobs, one for me and one for my wife" (ME_E_2017) He is also thinking about opening a yoga centre to expand his business.</p>
<p>Remittance to Pakistan Pakistan is a fourth largest remittance receiving country in the world. He is also sending money back to Pakistan to support his family and friends to encourage the education and provide for</p>	<p>Remittance to Afghanistan Afghanistan is a country where remittances are important. He is not sending money back to Afghanistan. Because all his family members are residing in Austria. "My wife, parents and sister</p>	<p>Remittance to India India is the largest remittance receiving country. He is not sending money back. "I am not sending money back to India. While my parents are not alive, and my brothers and sisters are</p>	<p>Remittance to Pakistan He is sending money back to Pakistan every year to support his family and pay for the household needs as well as to encourage the education of his family members. "I am sending money back to</p>	<p>Remittance to India Entrepreneur E belongs to India, which is a notable remittance receiving country. He is not sending money back to India regularly, because his parents are not alive, and all his family members are living</p>

<p>the household needs. "I am also sending money back to my family members and friends for household and other needs" (ME_A_2017) But he believes that if they spent this money on self-employment activity, it can play an important role to improve the economic condition of Pakistan. Whenever he is travelling back to Pakistan, he is promoting the European entrepreneurial culture to the younger generation of his family and friends.</p>	<p>all are residing with me in Klagenfurt. That's why I am not sending money back to Afghanistan" (ME_B_2017)</p>	<p>financially in a good situation. Sometimes, I am sending money back to my friends, if they needed for household, marriage or medical use" (ME_C_2017)</p>	<p>my family. Because of motivation and remittance, one of my brothers chooses self-employment in Pakistan" (ME_D_2017) Pakistan is the fourth largest remittance receiving country and he believes that if Government of Pakistan helps and educates the migrants families residing in Pakistan there, they can also start their own businesses with this money, and it can play an important role to improve the economic condition of Pakistan. "Whenever I am travelling back to Pakistan. I am promoting the European entrepreneurial culture to the young generation of my family and friends. While I think that knowledge and money can help them to choose self-employment" (ME_D_2017)</p>	<p>abroad, and they are well settled. "I am not sending money back to my family" (ME_E_2017)</p>
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5 Findings and Discussions

The findings illustrate that the meaning of being disadvantaged (perceived vs objective dimensions) remains present over time but may diminish through entrepreneurship. The agency and entrepreneurial drivers of these cases were less linear regarding strategy and growth and more social capital and chance driven than planned (e.g. Sandberg et al., 2019), but despite various impediments the entrepreneurial firms survived in the host context, provided jobs for the family, and primarily served host country customers. This success is theoretically interesting; it has assisted them in breaking out of disadvantaged status (cf. Waldinger et al. 1990a, b), to gain higher integration, including better societal status and prosperity.

The entrepreneurial strategies were based on low tech entrepreneurship and service. Again, this dimension and positioning of the business models are strongly linked to a particular location as service businesses are proximity related. Furthermore, this suggests that the cases have managed to develop the opportunities and resources of their context although their embeddedness differs from the locals. They lack opportunities from large diasporas and ethnic enclaves. Another interesting feature is their strong emotional—even thankful—attitude and bond to Klagenfurt as a location, which stems from the shift that they have experienced from their disadvantageous past to the peaceful and agency-enabling present. The entrepreneurship was made to fit the location, not adapting life (e.g. re-migration) to entrepreneurship. All entrepreneurs settled down and integrated themselves actively into the local context. They did not consider shifting their businesses to larger cities or other countries although such potential would be available within the European Union once they have achieved a permanent EU residence status/Austrian nationality. The sense of home and the ways to create that were interesting (Ishi, 2017; Sheffer, 2003); they were linked with entrepreneurship as a means of living in Klagenfurt, but were not limited to entrepreneurial “home”. The home country-resembling mountains and beautiful environment offering peace played a strong role in the entrepreneurial narratives. Furthermore, the foreignness of the location was not perceived as a liability or a threat, but as something positive, Austrianness was something they appreciated and formed a life goal (cf. Hernandez, 2014).

6 Conclusions

This study on entrepreneurial settlement and location choice without ethnic enclave and diaspora pull indicates unexpected emotional features and resilient agency. The theoretical implications suggest that there are un-planned and chance-based disadvantaged migrants becoming entrepreneurs who are not following a pull by co-ethnics as previously assumed. Additionally, implications of following economic pull related to entrepreneurial opportunities, policies or programmes were not found (Castles & Miller 2009; Lee, 1966). Still, information provided by family, friends

and diaspora is influential for migration and post-migratory entrepreneurship. These migrants did not orientate “rationally”, but rather randomly chose a place of settlement, partly on inaccurate information, due to human trafficking or coincidence. There was no such distinct assessment process of the best location (“country/benefit shopping”) that is often expected from migrants who arrive in developed countries, on the contrary, they chose a small city with limited demand structure. The post-migratory entrepreneurial activity was very reactive, not following classic causation or effectuation (cf. Read & Sarasvathy, 2005) but rather a bricolage kind of strategy (Fisher, 2012), if any, to gain a livelihood via business (cf. Dana, 1993, 1997). Thus, there were no clear entrepreneurial determinants of selecting a location and destination or entrepreneurial purpose in selection (cf. Elo, 2016), as there was no a priori entrepreneurial strategy either (Dana, 1993). The entrepreneurship emerged as a solution to stay in a location, ex post as a coping strategy (Mir, 2013), but this solution worked despite all disadvantages as all five cases were surviving or growing the business, which is interesting regarding small business mortality research.

What is highly interesting, is the strong relationship to this new place of settlement that does not follow the pattern of selecting an entrepreneurial hot spot or opportunity (Kotabe et al., 2013; Saxenian, 2005) and the preference for “small and beautiful”. This behaviour contradicts the trends towards the “centre” and the business requirements for adequate demand structures. The resulting relationship to the location is both family- and entrepreneurship- related and forms a full and permanent life settlement, with transgenerational features. These findings relate to the extraordinary findings from the Närpiö region in Finland, where entrepreneurial migrants and their families (also with refugee backgrounds) have found their own sweet spot of settlement and have successfully hybridized the local lifestyle and entrepreneurship (Mattila & Björklund, 2013). Hence, we propose that disadvantaged and refugee migrants may have different, seemingly random and even non-economic dynamics guiding their settlement and entrepreneurial processes. This underlines the existence of a distinct sub-category of migrant entrepreneurs strategically and behaviourally (Elo & Servais, 2018). The study implies that small cities could develop twining and bilateral matching programmes with, e.g., the UNHCR and Chambers of Commerce to attract the right “type” of a migrant from suitable “regions/ecosystems” to settle entrepreneurially (e.g. cooking—HORECA, mountain-mountain).

Managerially, these cases illustrate that a very adaptive bricolage style in entrepreneurial activity is a viable option and seems to match well psychologically with their disadvantaged and/or traumatized backgrounds. They also focused on the “right direction”, not on the impediments or problems, although their entrepreneurship could be also seen as a means of coping with marginality, liminality and necessity (cf. Dana, 1993). Social capital, social networks and especially family relations were a crucial and highly central element in their lives, providing motivation, assistance and various tangible and intangible resources, although they were not necessarily even in the same location (cf. Light & Dana, 2013; Gurău et al., 2020). This indicates that it is not just the remittancing behaviour that is theoretically interesting, it is also the positive approach and motivation that family and social relations may foster,

across contexts. The lack of full mixed embeddedness did not impede the establishment of entrepreneurship; with resilience, these entrepreneurs were able to break out of the disadvantageous status and root themselves and their families in the local community. Future research is needed to study the business configurations in more detail to theorize on ways of achieving positive entrepreneurial integration.

Such invisible and complicated processes are sensitive and very difficult to study. The limitations of the research stem from the limitations of the sample, the chosen cultural origins and context as well as the idiographic nature of the study, as another setting might provide highly different cases. Methodologically, it is challenging to examine a process like this in retrospective, as the human memory and psyche influences the way such life events are interpreted and remembered (Mathews et al., 1989).

Migration policy tends to address disadvantaged migrants (due to their limitations), as if they were not able to take care of themselves, and as objects of policy making. This deficit-approach ignores the inherent entrepreneurial potential and agency (see, e.g., Dana, 1997; Bakewell, 2010). In this study, the entrepreneurial drive and activity clearly supports their integration, development and resulting wellbeing (e.g. Liu & Schøtt, 2019). The societal factors, such as discrimination, extreme-right dangers but also complicated formal impediments via bureaucracy are notable problem areas and point out the need for better institutions and inclusive-protective measures for visible minority entrepreneurs. They may perceive and develop local opportunities that the locals are not interested in benefitting the local society and business ecosystem. We conclude that implantation of the UN SDGs¹ that foster empowerment, equality and inclusion can also embrace disadvantaged migrants' entrepreneurial agency and inter-diaspora collaboration. Future studies on these measures and more attention on the business environment's capacity to include newcomers via policies and institutional collaboration are needed, especially employing a more positive organizational scholarship lens (e.g. Stahl & Tung, 2015). Future research on mentoring and exploring useful integration tools by immigrant business organizations could offer fruitful findings for the disadvantaged new migrants.

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¹See more in <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/> retrieved 3.2.2020.

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