



Entrepreneurship in hyper-diverse neighborhoods: An exploratory study in 13 European cities

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Abstract

The relationship between neighbourhood diversity and entrepreneurship has been discussed concerning neighbourhoods where immigrants with different cultural and ethnic backgrounds are concentrated. Recently, these immigrant neighbourhoods experienced further demographic changes not only in social and ethnic terms but also concerning lifestyles and attitudes and they have become the incubation zones of various types of enterprises. Understanding the effects of neighbourhood diversification on entrepreneurship, however, is still a new field of inquiry. This paper explores the changes in entrepreneurship patterns in ethnic, immigrant and deprived neighbourhoods turning into socially diversified environs and draws upon the findings of research conducted within a cross-national EU project entitled DIVERCITIES that focused on the role of neighbourhood diversity on entrepreneurship in 18 neighbourhoods in 13 European cities. The findings show the coexistence of different types of enterprises including existing ones that adapt themselves to new conditions and creative and innovative enterprises that try to get the benefits of population diversity and a tolerant environment. The findings highlight that the existing categories are temporary and shift into new business fields and adaptive processes are continual due to neighbourhood diversity that generates new market conditions and attracts not only visitors from different parts of the city but also national and foreign tourists.

Highlights

- This article explores entrepreneurship in hyper-diverse neighbourhoods.
- It defines changes in entrepreneurship patterns in immigrant neighbourhoods attracting various types of firms including creative and recreation enterprises.
- The findings of the fieldworks indicate continual changes in such neighbourhoods.

Keywords

Diversity; Entrepreneurship;
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enterprises; Lifestyle-diversity

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Aşırı çeşitliliğin olduğu mahallelerde girişimcilik: 13 Avrupa kentinde keşif çalışması

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Öz

Kentsel çeşitlilik ve girişimcilik ilişkisi uzun yıllar etnik ve kültürel açıdan farklılık gösteren ve göçmenlerin yoğunlaştığı mahalleler özelinde tartışıldı. Son yıllarda göçmenlerin yoğunlaştığı mahallelerde demografik dönüşümler yaşanmakta, sosyal ve etnik çeşitlenme yanı sıra yaşam ve davranış biçimleri açısından da çeşitlilik artmakta ve nüfus yapısı değişen bu mahalleler çok farklı tipteki girişimlerin kuluçka alanları haline gelmektedir. Ancak, bu değişimin girişimcilik üzerindeki etkisi hala yeni bir çalışma alanıdır. Bu makale, etnik ve kültürel farklılıkların olduğu ve yakın geçmişte çöküntü yaşayan alanlardan sosyal ve kültürel çeşitliliğin en fazla olduğu kent parçalarına evrilen mahallelerde değişen girişimcilik örüntülerine odaklanmakta ve 13 farklı kentteki 18 mahalleyi kapsayan bir AB araştırma projesinin (DIVERCITIES) bulgularını sunmaktadır. Elde edilen bulgular kentsel çeşitliliğin yeni boyutlar kazandığı bu kent parçalarında çok farklı girişimcilik türlerinin bir arada yer aldığını göstermektedir. Mevcut girişimlerin bir bölümü yeni koşullara uyum sağlarken, çeşitlenen nüfus yapısı ve bunun sağladığı özgürlük ortamından yararlanmak isteyen yeni yaratıcı ve yenilikçi girişimler ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bulgular mevcut girişimcilik desenlerinin geçici olduğunu ve kentsel çeşitliliğin yeni piyasa koşulları yaratması nedeniyle yeni iş alanlarına kayışın süreceğini ve bu kent parçalarının hem kentin değişik bölgelerinde yaşayan hem de ulusal ve yabancı ziyaretçiler için çekiciliğinin artacağını göstermektedir.

Öne Çıkanlar

- Bu makale sosyo-ekonomik ve etnik çeşitliliğin olduğu göçmen geçmişe ve farklı yaşam biçimlerine sahip kişilerin birarada olduğu mahallelerdeki girişimciliği araştırmaktadır.
- Makale yaratıcı ve eğlence odaklı girişimler başta olmak üzere pek çok yeni işyerini çeken göçmen mahallelerindeki değişime odaklanmaktadır.
- Araştırma bulguları bu mahallelerdeki sürekli değişimi işaret etmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Çeşitlilik; Girişimcilik; Göçmen işletmeler; Etnik işletmeler; Yaşam tarzı çeşitliliği

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1. INTRODUCTION

Over the last two decades, while many cities have experienced new waves of immigration, both changing conditions and status of immigrants and ethnic minority groups (Faist, 2009; Kloosterman and Rath, 2003; Syrett and Sepulveda, 2011), and the enthusiasm of several people to live with diversity caused significant changes in urban environs that were once portrayed as mixed and deprived neighbourhoods (Vertovec, 2010). It is also possible to observe the growing numbers of businesses engaged in new types of services and recreation activities, well above the national averages, besides creative and innovative businesses that are drawn to these neighborhoods (North and Syrett, 2006). The neighbourhoods, which have undergone diversification of population in socio-economic, ethnic and cultural terms are called ‘super-diverse neighbourhoods’ (Brunner, 2019; Phillimore and Pemberton, 2016; Hoestra and Dahlvik, 2017) and recently as ‘hyper-diverse neighbourhoods’ because of the increasing differences within the same socio-economic and ethnic groups with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities (Tasan-Kok, et al., 2013; Peterson, 2017). However, there is limited research on neighbourhoods turning into hyper-diversified, and even fewer studies exploring entrepreneurship in neighbourhoods experiencing the transition process. They rarely addressed growing numbers of business start-ups in different activities other than enterprises serving ethnic enclaves (Barberis, 2017). As Reuschke et al. (2015) highlighted entrepreneurship literature has been unsuccessful in scaling down to the neighbourhood level and grasping the recent transformation experienced in immigrant neighbourhoods.

While this field remains unexplored, the theoretical perspectives that connect entrepreneurship and neighbourhoods are rather fragmented and still, entrepreneurship in ethnic, immigrant and deprived neighbourhoods turning into hyper-diversified environs is a new field of inquiry. Moreover, as underlined by Zuk et al. (2015), the emphasis of the existing literature on several issues is not entirely consistent with the evidence on the present dynamics of diversified neighbourhoods. That said, this paper claims that there is a need for contextualising entrepreneurship in neighbourhoods in transition.

This paper introduces research on hyper-diversified neighbourhoods of major European cities, rather than urban areas dominated by refugees and/or migrants from one country or by an ethnic group and aims to provide insights into entrepreneurship in hyper-diversity. The research is conducted in 18 neighbourhoods of 13 European cities using exploratory/experimental methodology that is based on observations, documentary analysis, in-depth and semi-structured

interviews, roundtables with different stakeholders, and semi-structured discussions among research members from different universities and research centres. The aim was to explain differences among case study neighbourhoods and to explore entrepreneurship in hyper-diversified environs by giving a special emphasis on entrepreneurs' perspectives. The paper draws on the findings of a cross-national EU project entitled DIVERCITIES¹ that has been carried out among entrepreneurs in 18 selected neighbourhoods of 13 European cities; the neighbourhoods which are designated as hyper-diverse in their urban context. The paper is organized as follows. After the introduction, a brief review of the literature on the significance of neighbourhood context for entrepreneurship is followed by the findings of the research, which addressed two issues; the multiplicity of entrepreneurship attracted by and adapting to hyper-diversified environments and the role of neighborhood context for entrepreneurship. The last section is devoted to a discussion of the insights gained from the research together with the possible fields of further research.

2. ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN DIVERSITY

It is possible to distinguish four relevant theoretical articulations between entrepreneurship and neighbourhood context. The first strand of the literature mostly focuses on the following question: 'How do neighbourhoods and communities shape entrepreneurship?' and explores the way ethnic and immigrant enterprises are embedded in neighbourhoods. There are copious studies that have been concerned with the embedded nature of the immigrant and/or ethnic entrepreneurs, who are being pushed into entrepreneurship (Kloosterman and Rath, 2003; Kloosterman, 2010; Williams and Williams, 2011) by emphasising the role of ethnic enclaves which entrepreneurs can exploit (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2011) and neighbourhood-based social ties as important resources for starting a business (Bailey, 2015).

The second strand of literature, gentrification literature, attempts to uncover new entrepreneurship patterns connected to residential gentrification processes (Curran, 2007; Deener, 2007; Gonzales and Waley, 2012; Hutton, 2009; Murdie and Teixeira, 2011; Rankin and McLean, 2015; Zukin et al., 2009). Significant numbers of studies on commercial gentrification (Doucet, 2014; Keatinge and Martin, 2016; Murdie and Teixeira, 2011; Zukin et al., 2009) claim that when a district becomes gentrified, it is not just the housing landscape that changes, but also commercial enterprises undergo a transition (Meltzer and Schuetz, 2012; Plowman, 2014). Many studies claim that a vibrant and tolerant atmosphere and the cosmopolitan character of a neighbourhood are stimulating factors in generating new types of enterprises, especially in the recreation and entertainment sectors, which attract urbanites who are looking for new lifestyle activities. This literature puts a strong emphasis on gentrifiers. According to Ley (1994), commercial gentrification is a result of the arrival of gentrifiers, who search for not only low-cost premises but also a cosmopolitan culture, a tolerant atmosphere and a place where it is possible to practice new lifestyles. Chapple and Jacobus (2009) claim that shifts in purchasing power and the cultural preferences of gentrifiers may influence the composition of enterprises in the retail sector. According to the stage theory of gentrification (see Yoon and Currid-Halkett, 2015), the first pioneers settle in a neighbourhood and open independent businesses by taking advantage of relatively low rents and central location.

¹ Detailed information on DIVERCITIES project is available at <https://www.urbandiversitycities.eu/about-divercities/>

After initial changes in commercial activities that follow new residents, these neighbourhoods appeal to more affluent consumers and tourists and attract upscale restaurants and boutiques, cool cafes, funky ethnic restaurants, art galleries and entertainment facilities. As businesses' reputation as a new hangout builds it attracts customers from other parts of the city (Lees et al., 2015; Zukin et al., 2009), as well as different types of enterprises.

The emphasis of the third strand of literature is connected to urban economic restructuring (Fothergill et al., 1986; Rondinelli et al., 1998; Sassen, 2006) and two main faces of newly emerging urban economies; "technology-intensive production enhanced by creativity and innovation and service-oriented activities" (Folmer, 2013, p.744). Fainstein (2005) argues that different forms of social, cultural, ethnic and spatial diversity attract human capital, encourage cultural and artistic creativity and trigger technological and scientific innovation, which all are important in the rise of several types of enterprises in such neighbourhoods (Nathan, 2015; Sepulveda et al., 2011). Florida (2005) and Clifton (2008) emphasise the importance of social and ethnic diversity of neighbourhoods and the tolerant atmosphere of such neighbourhoods in attracting creative and innovative people and enterprises. According to Florida and Gates (2003, p.200), 'a connection exists between a metropolitan area's level of tolerance for a range of people, its ethnic and social diversity, and its success in attracting talented people and high-technology firms'.

The last relevant literature is connected to outcomes of government policies and institutions on the diversification of entrepreneurship in deprived and mixed neighbourhoods, especially policies and institutions defined by central and local governments for stimulating start-ups (Welter et al., 2008; Williams and Williams, 2011; Sleutjes et al., 2012). These policies aim to improve the business environment in ethnically diversified and deprived neighbourhoods and enable people living in such neighbourhoods to start new businesses (Sleutjes et al., 2012; Ram et al., 2012). The governments invest in new incubators, and provide financial support and training related to new business fields, while there are also indirect support schemes which cover policies related to the built environment, including renewal and regeneration projects and the provision of low-rent premises, among many others (see Ferm, 2016).

Each strand of the literature summarised above explains partially the link between entrepreneurship and neighbourhoods in transition. While immigrant and ethnic entrepreneurship literature focus on ethnic enclaves, social capital and networks, the gentrification literature mainly concentrates on gentrifiers and enterprises serving them. The latter literature emphasises the displacement of businesses operating at the lower ends of the market in favour of new creative and innovative companies and only a few studies. Urban restructuring literature, on the other hand, is mainly aspatial and its connection to the neighbourhood level is restricted to locational attributes of neighbourhoods. Similarly, entrepreneurship policies literature is loosely connected to neighbourhoods. The hyper-diversity of the neighbourhoods in connection to entrepreneurship is not discussed in the literature yet.

The empirical studies conducted at the neighbourhood level, however, pay more attention to new businesses started in hyper-diversified neighbourhoods. Among these studies, some of them focus on the demographic features of neighbourhoods and define demographic change as an essential feature of neighbourhoods in attracting new types of activities (such as Zuk et al., 2015; Meltzer

and Schuetz, 2012) indicating changes occurring in the retail environment are both instigators and consequences of residential demographic change. They argue that a vibrant and tolerant atmosphere created by a mix of people with distinct cultures is a stimulating factor in generating new types of enterprises, especially in the recreation and entertainment sectors. However, the way diversity and cosmopolitan and tolerant atmosphere of neighbourhoods are promoted has been criticised recently by several scholars with accusations of ‘selling ethnic neighbourhoods’ (Aytar and Rath, 2012). Similarly, Zukin (2010) underlined that authenticity had become a material out of which urban entrepreneurs fashion new consumerist spatial experiences.

Many studies emphasise the importance of the location of previous immigrant neighbourhoods. Neighbourhoods once defined by high shares of immigrants attract businesses that seek to benefit from advantages by locating nearby central business districts, as well as to use several local advantages these neighbourhoods offer, especially low-cost premises (see Gonzalez and Waley, 2012). Although ICTs and the internet are the key drivers of new forms of businesses, geographic proximity is still of great importance for many work and business relations, which results in increasing attraction of the earlier ethnic, immigrant and deprived neighbourhoods. Building stock and the significance of vacant office and production spaces that beginner entrepreneurs can obtain at a reasonable price (Clifton, 2008) are discussed by another group of empirical studies. Koebel (2002), who made a study on factors behind changes in neighbourhood retail and service businesses found that many variations in neighbourhood commerce can be attributed to property and location characteristics. Renewal and regeneration policies are debated within this context (Kovács et al., 2015; Lees, 2003), as there is evidence that renewal and redevelopment projects can be attractive for new generation businesses, but may also result in a loss of existing firms (Gonzalez and Waley, 2012). According to these studies, state-led interventions referred to as third-wave gentrification (see Lees, 2003), can also divert present dynamics, bringing positive and negative pressures to ongoing changes in the commercial landscape.

3. THE RESEARCH

To understand entrepreneurship patterns in neighbourhoods turning into hyper-diversified and to understand what attracts enterprises to make business in such neighbourhoods, exploratory research is conducted in 18 neighbourhoods in 13 European cities: namely Budapest, Leipzig, Tallinn, Warsaw, Athens, Milan, Istanbul, Antwerp, Copenhagen, London, Paris, Rotterdam and Zurich (see Table 1). The neighbourhoods studied all featured diversified populations (in terms of ethnicity, socio-economic status, gender, age, lifestyle, etc.) and were defined as hyper-diverse within their urban and national context. 13 research teams involved in the research project, which is organised in three stages.

First, focus group studies with key informants (leading economic actors, policymakers, etc.) in each city and neighbourhood are conducted, which helped researchers to understand the changing dynamics of entrepreneurship in the case study neighbourhoods. Second, the information garnered in focus group studies is verified by data collected from desk work, documents and other published and digital material. The collected material is used for understanding and discussing the general features of entrepreneurship dynamics in hyper-diversified environments. Third, the interviews (40

in-depth interviews in each city, for a total of 520) were carried out with entrepreneurs. The semi-structured interviews aimed to understand the perceptions of entrepreneurs, their motivations for starting and doing business and their reflections on changes taking place in the neighbourhood. The snowball approach is used in defining interviewees, not prioritising a certain type of enterprise. The interviews with residents of the neighbourhoods, which have been conducted in the earlier stage of the research project (see DIVERCITIES, 2016) were used to understand current temporalities and spatialities concerning making business in such neighbourhoods. The field research was carried out in each city in the second half of 2015. Each interview was recorded for audio, which are transcribed and coded later. Following the fieldwork and the analysis and documentation of the interviews from each case study area, the findings are discussed among research team members in several meetings during 2016 and documented in research briefs (DIVERCITIES, 2016) and city books prepared for each city in 2017.

Table 1 - Case study areas

Country	City	Study Area	The share of the immigrants (% of the population)		
			Neighbourhood	City	Nation ⁴
The Netherlands	Rotterdam	Feijenoord	68	49	11.7
UK	London	Haringey	39.5	40.2	13.2
France	Paris	Goutte d'Or La Chapelle Flandre	30.3 36.9 32.8	20.2	12.1
Belgium	Antwerp	Antwerpen-Noord, Borgerhout	32.0	20.0	12.3
Denmark	Copenhagen	Bispebjerg	30.6 ²	17.6	10.1
Italy	Milan	Northern Milan (Via Padova, Niguarda)	28.3	19.1	9.7
Greece	Athens	Akadimia Platonos	19.2	10.6	11.3
Hungary	Budapest	Józsefváros	11.9	7.8	4.6
Germany	Leipzig	Leipzig Inner East Leipzig-Grünau	n.a	14.1	14.9
Poland	Warsaw	Praga Północ	n.a	3.4-8.5 ³	1.6
Turkey	Istanbul	Beyoğlu	10	5.63	3.8 ⁴

² Including immigrant from Western countries (EU 27)

³ "Warszawa lubiana przez cudzoziemców. Ilu ich mieszka w stolicy?". *gazeta.pl*. Retrieved 22 October 2016

⁴ 2015 figures. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SM.POP.TOTL.ZS>

3.1. The importance of changing neighbourhood context: Enterprises attracted by and adapted to hyper-diversity

In general, exploratory studies in each city showed that the neighbourhoods studied are not dominated by a single type of entrepreneurship, but a substantial mix of enterprises. Existing enterprises included retail and wholesale firms, small enterprises engaged in traditional and new types of services, enterprises specialised in hospitality and recreation activities, creative and innovative businesses, small producers, and for-profit and non-profit culture industries, while the enterprises lost are mainly industrial firms (see Saeys, 2016 for Antwerp; Tammaru et al., 2016 for Tallinn; Kersten et al., 2016 for London). However, it was not possible to find out a concise account of such firms that moved or stopped operating.

The research findings showed the increasing multiplicity of entrepreneurship. While some of the existing enterprises adapted to changing conditions, several new ones have started businesses in neighbourhoods that have become diversified. Enterprises specialised in traditional retail and service activities were still in the majority in all neighbourhoods studied, and among these, ethnic entrepreneurs constituted an important ration in all the neighbourhoods. However, apart from the examples confirming the conventional view that ethnic enterprises work predominantly for local customers in such low-end sectors as retail, bars and restaurants, the research has revealed that they search for different markets and specialised in new segments of services. The in-depth interviews with entrepreneurs engaged in traditional retail and service activities, especially the ones in the hospitality industry underlined two important attributes of these enterprises. First, they have a high adaptive capacity. It was possible to observe several examples that have switched their field of activity and/or changed their customer base. Moreover, several retail and service enterprises serving ethnic enclaves now serve not only local customers but a wider range of customers in the city by promoting their products as exotic and authentic, as underlined by Zukin (2010). It is possible to classify ethnic/immigrant firms in terms of the role diversity plays in their market position by use of the categories developed by Ambrosini (2012). First, there are businesses run by ethnic entrepreneurs serving ethnic customers; second, there are intermediary businesses linking immigrants to their home countries; and third, there are extended ethnic businesses specialised in the provision of ethnic products targeting co-ethnic and mainstream customers (see Barberis and Angelucci, 2016). As the fieldwork in the neighbourhoods of Paris exemplified many restaurants serving ethnic groups earlier now offer ethnic food for visitors, and several retailers have begun supplying organic and home-made products, promoting new ways of consumption, such as biodynamic fruits and vegetables, natural and biological wines, high-quality locally roasted coffee, etc. for customers from all over the city (Lev evrier and Riviere, 2016, p.9).

Besides traditional service activities, almost all neighbourhoods have experienced an apparent rise in creative and cultural enterprises and enterprises in specialised services. The findings related to creative entrepreneurs support previous studies, which described creative businesses as often youth-centred and freelance-oriented and employing highly educated individuals (Howkins, 2001; He and Gebhardt, 2014). For example, in Athens, Academia Platonos, entrepreneurs in creative and innovative businesses, are mostly highly-skilled, having undertaken not only higher education, but also postgraduate degrees obtained in Greece or abroad (Balampanidis et al., 2016), and the same is true for Beyo glu, Istanbul (Eraydin et al., 2016). For these entrepreneurs not only the

multicultural environment but even more access to multiple consumers is important. Actually, in Beyoğlu (Istanbul) more than half of the creative-innovative enterprises indicated that they are attracted to this district due to the agglomeration of different activities and already existing customers (Eraydin et al., 2016). The increase in creative businesses is parallel with the changing composition of residents in the neighbourhood, especially through the influx of students, early-stage professionals, and young families as the gentrification literature underlined. For these enterprises, the proximity to cultural facilities is defined as particularly important, such as theatres, concert halls and art galleries, as most of the cultural activities are already concentrated in the city centre and surrounding neighbourhoods. It is important to underline that businesses in specialised services and cultural activities benefit from diversity more than others since they provide multiple activities and benefit from a very diverse clientele.

Similarly, it is observed that small manufacturing enterprises, including bakeries, breweries, food products and repair shops, have incorporated new technologies into their businesses to a certain extent and have already begun to serve a broad range of customers. According to many respondents being in a neighbourhood known for its diversity widens the customer base of existing enterprises, and it is possible to observe that in some of the neighbourhoods, such as those in Northern Milan, entrepreneurs try to position themselves in the market as *exotic* businesses and use cultural elements from their motherlands to reach new customers. The findings indicate the existence of a substantial number of highly skilled entrepreneurs with higher levels of education against the belief that entrepreneurs specialising in retail and services are mostly low-skilled. In each neighbourhood, there are considerable numbers of highly skilled and highly educated entrepreneurs trying to reorganise their businesses in line with the changing market conditions, which is quite important to understand the difference between hyper-diversified neighbourhoods from traditional immigrant-dominated ones.

3.2. The role of neighbourhood context for entrepreneurship: Entrepreneurs' perspectives

Only a few studies provide information on how entrepreneurs perceive existing opportunities in diversified neighbourhoods (Folmer, 2013; Sleutjes et al., 2012). This section of the paper introduces some of the insights gained from the interviews with entrepreneurs on different attributes of hyper-diverse neighbourhoods important for entrepreneurship.

The neighbourhood embeddedness: From a strong attachment to apathy

In neighbourhoods with a considerable share of immigrant/ethnic populations, entrepreneurs mentioned proximity to potential customers with similar ethnic backgrounds as the primary factor in their choice of location: as found in the cases of Antwerpen-Noord, (Antwerp) and Feijenoord (Rotterdam) (Saeys et al., 2016; Tersteeg et al., 2016), which corroborates the findings of earlier studies of immigrant entrepreneurship (Labrianidis and Hatziprokopiou, 2010). In Haringey, a Polish a deli owner explained that she had chosen to base her business in its present location because she knew that a lot of Polish people live in the area (Raco, et al., 2017), while a Chinese medicine practitioner in Antwerp mentioned that she started her business in its present location because it fits in with her ethnic culture (Oosterlynck et al., 2017, p.114). In the fieldwork, those who have a strong attachment to a neighbourhood most often commented that they were attracted

to locate their business in its current location because they were grown up in the area. Moreover, they frequently mention proximity to the place where they live as a motive for choosing the location. A restaurant owner in Leipzig Grünau explains her choice of location like this: 'I live not far from here so I searched for a store nearby. Three years ago, I was walking around and saw that these [premises] were available.' (Budnik et al., 2017, p.140). Moreover, kinship networks and family legacy are also important in location decisions since some entrepreneurs have taken over a business started by a relative (usually a parent) (Barberis et al., 2017).

However, in-depth interviews revealed that for substantial numbers of enterprises run by ethnic and/or immigrant enterprises ethnic enclaves are becoming less important in neighbourhoods turning into hyper-diversified. Several immigrant enterprises see their businesses as a part of a wider, thriving and diverse urban economy. In the fieldwork of three neighbourhoods in Paris, it was found that only a small group of enterprises target local ethnic clientele explicitly, whereas many others, such as the ones called extended ethnic enterprises, serve the tastes and lifestyles of the middle-class native French newcomers (Lelévrier and Rivière, 2016). Similarly, in District 4 in Zurich, immigrant entrepreneurs have been trying to attract non-ethnic customers, with only a small percentage of ethnic entrepreneurs addressing exclusively an ethnically defined target group (Plüss et al., 2017). In Bispebjerg, Copenhagen, most ethnic enterprises target customers of Middle Eastern, African or Asian descent, whether or not they live in the neighbourhood, as well as ethnic Danes (Nielsen et al., 2016). New economic dynamics force ethnic/immigrant enterprises to search for larger markets, while they try to serve alternative lifestyles. Connected to the loss of dominance of ethnic enclaves, many entrepreneurs claim that social networks have little influence on their business decisions, contrary to the findings of previous literature (Aldrich and Zimmer, 1986; Greve and Salaff, 2003). The main role of social networks is restricted to keeping 'a peaceful living environment through courtesy, at most trying to establish reciprocity in the creation of trust among clients' (Barberis et al., 2017, p.103). Concerning the opportunities provided by business networks, there is contradictory evidence. In certain cases, such as Haringey (London), some weak ties exist among entrepreneurs of shared ethnicity and between firms operating in a similar sector (Kersten et al., 2016), whereas several entrepreneurs from different neighbourhoods declared that that is not an important factor for their business.

A multicultural environment: Creative atmosphere or potential customers?

The interview studies presented in this paper do not fully support the arguments of the previous literature that put a greater emphasis on the role of the multi-cultural character of neighbourhoods on entrepreneurship (see Bereitschaft and Camack, 2015; Haisch and Klöpper, 2015). Interestingly, even in the neighbourhoods where residential gentrification has already reached an important level, the multicultural character of a neighbourhood is seldom listed as a priority by entrepreneurs, aside from some of those working in creative industries. The atmosphere of a neighbourhood is indicated as decisive only in some neighbourhoods, such as the ones in London, Rotterdam and Milan. In these neighbourhoods, some groups consider neighbourhood diversity inspiring and stimulating for their job. These businesses are mostly in creative and artistic sectors, where entrepreneurs are active 'diversity-seekers', who wish to combine the plurality in their artwork or convey a 'bohemian' attitude' (Barberis et al., 2017, p.95).

The emphasis on multiculturalism is not shared by all entrepreneurs in other neighbourhoods. For example, a few of the interviewed entrepreneurs chose Bispebjerg (Copenhagen) because of its diversity. For those who did, their decision is related to the wide variety of people using the neighbourhood regularly. One of them is the owner of a greengrocer:

The reason is that on this street people come from everywhere, so it's a very busy area, I know so many people, Pakistanis, Indian people, Nepali people and also Danish, from everywhere! and from everywhere in Denmark (male, 32, Pakistani background) (Nielsen et al., 2017, p.127).

Even when entrepreneurs mention the importance of multiculturalism they hardly refer to specific ethnic or social groups who live in the local neighbourhood, but the potential benefit of clustering their businesses together with others to attract a wide range of customers. Some creative entrepreneurs also declared that they settled in neighbourhoods turning into hyper-diverse since they were looking for young and relatively wealthy people with an urban lifestyle. There is also less reference to tolerance as a decisive factor in the locational choice, except for a few respondents.

Filling the market gap: Significance of market opportunities and location

While there is no consensus on several attributes of neighbourhoods, the majority of entrepreneurs interviewed declared that they were attracted by market opportunities, and in particular, to fill an existing market gap. Several businesses are established in the case study neighbourhoods because entrepreneurs expected limited competition in their specific fields. Some saw opportunities in creating innovative services, whereas others simply fill a gap in the market in specific businesses that were lacking in the neighbourhood. In Haringey (London), Raco et al. (2017, p.134) found 'for 10% of business owners the drive to start their enterprise came from having identified a gap in the market'. They gave two examples: the first entrepreneur was first motivated to start his West African bakery business as he noticed that at the time there were 'no other producers of African bread products' and the second entrepreneur was motivated by the fact that there was 'nothing like [their upscale coffee shop] in the area already' (p.135).

Connected to market opportunities the location of the neighbourhood has been defined as crucial by almost all entrepreneurs engaged in various activities. Location and foot traffic volume were highlighted as essential by more than two-thirds of all entrepreneurs interviewed during the fieldwork. Proximity to public transport (especially subway stations) is widely appreciated, as well as proximity to other commercial premises, private companies, or public facilities such as schools. All of these factors are believed to be important in attracting potential customers. A manager of a Turkish supermarket in Józsefváros, Budapest (36 ages, male) says that;

We chose Népszínház Street as the location of our business because it is a busy street with good accessibility (by car, tram and underground). We are located almost in downtown Budapest, but the rent is lower than in the neighbouring districts (Fabula et al., 2017, p.110).

Diversity in the built environment: Utmost importance for almost all entrepreneurs

The emphasis of the literature on the built environment is confirmed by interview results of all neighbourhoods. The existing building stock, real estate opportunities and ongoing projects, all of which influence rental costs and low barriers to entry, play critical roles in the location decisions of many enterprises. The findings in general, support Folmer (2013, p.742), who argued that ‘disadvantaged neighbourhoods may under certain conditions serve as incubators for business start-ups as they offer low-rent office spaces’. In the Goutte d’Or, La Chapelle and Flandre neighbourhoods of Paris, a significant number of entrepreneurs are attracted by the low rents of office spaces owned by public landlords (Lelévrier and Rivière, 2016). In Northern Milan, cheap housing and good connections have proved to be beneficial for businesses seeking new locations (Barberis and Angelucci, 2016), while another factor is the availability of rented premises provided mainly by public institutions, especially in post-socialist cities. In Praga Północ (Warsaw) and Józsefváros (Budapest) rented premises constitute a significant part of the municipality-owned housing stock, and although the majority of municipal premises can be considered below standard, this has been an indirect pull factor for small entrepreneurs to come to Praga Północ due to the associated low rents (Fabula et al., 2017; Korcelli-Olejniczak et al., 2016).

In various study areas, such as (Antwerpen-Noord and Borgerhout (Antwerp), Akadimia Platonos (Athens) and Haringey (London), there were ongoing renewal and redevelopment projects initiated by central and local governments. The majority of entrepreneurs in these neighbourhoods were very much concerned about the ongoing state-led gentrification of their neighbourhoods as defined by Lees (2003). However, conflicting views of entrepreneurs on renewal and regeneration projects on entrepreneurship were noted during fieldworks. While there were negative points of view on renewal and regeneration projects, in Józsefváros (Budapest) and North Tallinn many of the interviewed entrepreneurs spoke about the favourable impact of the ongoing urban development and gentrification processes on their business, indicating that they had been able to benefit from the new wealthier clients and the changing image of the neighbourhoods (Fabula et al., 2017).

Limited impact of government policies on entrepreneurship

According to the literature government policies, public institutions and programmes are influential in fostering entrepreneurship. They are assumed to contribute to entrepreneurial success in deprived areas (Trettin et al., 2011) if they can supply appropriate business space and measures (Sleutjes et al., 2012). In this research, aside from post-socialist cities, such as Budapest and Warsaw, entrepreneurs did not cite central government policies as a key factor. Most of the interviewees in almost all neighbourhoods stated that they did not rely on government support. In contrast, local government policies seem more important. For example, Tersteeg et al. (2016) found that a new school and small- and medium-sized creative businesses in factory buildings that had been refurbished by the municipality had attracted new entrepreneurs to the Feyenoord area in Rotterdam. Entrepreneurs also pointed out the contribution of new spaces and facilities provided to creative enterprises. In Jasofvaros (Budapest), an enterprise centre that operates as an incubator space for start-ups today provides comprehensive services and subsidies and supports its clients (Boros et al., 2016), while the Creativity Centre in Targowa 56, and the very recently opened Google campus in Praga Polnac (Warsaw) are stated as successful in attracting start-up firms (Korcelli-

Olejniczak et al., 2016). Similarly, in Tallinn, enterprises located in creative centres enjoyed a concentration of creative enterprises in their immediate vicinity and cooperation among them (Tammaru et al., 2017).

4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

The insights gained during this research displayed that the arguments raised by the immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurship literature are not fully supported by the present dynamics of hyper-diversified neighbourhoods of major European cities, which accommodate people with multiple ethnic, cultural and socio-economic backgrounds and lifestyles. Several findings are notable and indicate the fields of further research. Firstly, the research presented the coexistence of different types of entrepreneurship but also highlighted the existing categories are temporary and shifts into new business fields and adaptive processes are continual. Connected to this it is possible to say that ethnic, immigrant and deprived neighbourhoods in transition are no longer safe havens for ethnic/immigrant entrepreneurship: new economic dynamics at the neighbourhood level force them to search for larger markets and reorganise their business accordingly. All of the above issues indicate the importance of understanding the adaptive capacities and resilience of enterprises. Second, some of the insights gained from this exploratory research do not reinforce the strong emphasis of the existing literature regarding certain opportunity structures in entrepreneurship (Hackler and Mayer, 2008). Some of the interesting understandings gleaned from fieldwork and in-depth interviews can be summarized as follows: For the majority of entrepreneurs, market dynamics and material opportunities offered by diversified neighbourhoods have a determining role, which means that overlooking classical location factors, as some of the literature did, can be misleading. Neighbourhood diversity is important if it generates positive market conditions. For some enterprises, locating their businesses in diverse neighbourhoods was not a conscious choice, at least not because of the diversity per se. As Alexandre-Leclair (2014, p.173) stated diversity is only partially 'a core motive for entrepreneurship', although enterprises get a small but significant 'diversity bonus' as Nathan and Lee (2013) defined for London firms in their study. The multi-cultural character emphasised in creative class and commercial gentrification literature as a decisive factor for entrepreneurs is not confirmed as a top priority factor by entrepreneurs as well, similar to the tolerant atmosphere underlined in creative class and commercial gentrification literature, while the issues concerning the built environment, regeneration and renewal policies and zoning regulations are referred to as essential features of neighbourhoods affecting location decisions by most of the entrepreneurs.

This exploratory research clearly shows the need for further studies not only to understand existing patterns of entrepreneurship but also to define how different types of enterprises adapt themselves to divergent pathways of neighbourhoods in transition and why new start-ups are attracted to these neighbourhoods. The findings indicate that instead of focusing on certain ghettoized subfields (Baker and Welter, 2017), such as creative and innovative enterprises and creative class, a broadened perspective on the way different enterprises are embedded in neighbourhoods can improve the understanding of entrepreneurship in hyper-diversity.

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There is no conflict of interest for conducting the research and/or for the preparation of the article.

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A. Fikir / Idea, Concept	B. Çalışma Tasarısı, Yöntemi / Study Design, Methodology	C. Literatür Taraması / Literature Review
D. Danışmanlık / Supervision	E. Malzeme, Kaynak Sağlama / Material, Resource Supply	F. Veri Toplama, İşleme / Data Collection, Processing
G. Analiz, Yorum / Analyses, Interpretation	H. Metin Yazma / Writing Text	I. Eleştirel İnceleme / Critical Review

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