



*MMG Working Paper 19-02* • ISSN 2192-2357

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Approximating Entrepreneurial Superdiversity:  
Reconceptualizing the superdiversity debate in  
ethnic minority entrepreneurship

Max Planck Institute for the Study of  
Religious and Ethnic Diversity

Max-Planck-Institut zur Erforschung multireligiöser  
und multiethnischer Gesellschaften



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Max-Planck-Institut zur Erforschung multireligiöser und multiethnischer Gesellschaften,  
*Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity*  
Göttingen

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ISSN 2192-2357 (MMG Working Papers Print)

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## Abstract

One decade after its introduction, the superdiversity concept (Vertovec, 2007) has widely found echoes in migration research, but also in business studies, particularly in ethnic minority entrepreneurship (EME). Apart from discussing EME as a rather generic superdiversity phenomenon, however, the debate on entrepreneurial superdiversity lacks in proper conceptualization. Dimensions missing are: 1) ethnic but also religious and linguistic diversity of entrepreneurship, 2) entrepreneurial diversity regarding business-types and 3) the incorporation of the city as the analytical unit. On the empirical basis of an extensive intra-urban analysis of ethnic businesses in Glasgow, using ethnographically assessed site surveys combined with statistical data, this paper contributes to the operationalization and conceptualization of entrepreneurial superdiversity. In doing so, it proposes the Entrepreneurial Superdiversity Index (ESI), which is a viable method for approximating entrepreneurial superdiversity in cities. The ESI allows intra- and inter-urban comparative analyses of entrepreneurial superdiversity, and also delivers grounds for developing a general index for urban superdiversity research.

**Keywords:** Superdiversity, ethnic minority entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial superdiversity index, site-survey, ethnographic assessment, urban analysis

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## Acknowledgements

The Authors would like to thank Professor Steven Vertovec, Professor Sara Carter, Professor Sarah Dodd and Dr Jonathan Scott for their insightful comments and constructive feedbacks on previous versions of this paper. We also appreciate the colleagues from the Entrepreneurship and Minority Groups track at the Institute for Small Business and Entrepreneurship (ISBE) Conference in 2017 for the intriguing discussion of the research this paper bases on as well as the encouragement we have received in form of the Best Paper Award in the track.

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## Introduction

Ten years after its introduction, the concept of superdiversity (Vertovec 2007) that ushered in the new superdiversity paradigm in cultural and social sciences, is now being broadly used in different research strands beyond the disciplinary boundaries (Vertovec 2017). Empirical research on superdiversity, however, remains still limited, with the exception of urban anthropological works such as on “trans-ethnography” by Hall (2015), which has the urban transformation through superdiversity in explicit focus. Others analyse aspects of superdiversity in general in the urban context (Wessendorf 2013; Padilla et al. 2015). The superdiversity paradigm has also found echo in business studies, especially within entrepreneurship research, yet with little empirical work on the superdiverse nature of ethnic minority entrepreneurship itself. The nexus of superdiversity and entrepreneurship has been sustainably set forward by scholars, such as Sepulveda et al. (2011) and Ram et al. (2013) in the context of ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurship. However, the transference of the actual intention of the superdiversity concept, which encompasses many dimensions of migration characteristics, into ethnic minority entrepreneurship (EME) research appears not to be realized so far, at least not sufficiently enough. Both the criticism of the so-called ethno-focal lens, but also the city as the unit of analysis which Vertovec (2007) pointed out, are merely touched upon but not conceptually followed in entrepreneurship literature. Empirical works so far focus on the presence of ethnic business clusters in cities or even more generically discuss specific ethnic minority entrepreneurs’ (EMEs) activities from single ethnic minority groups in selected cities. Empirical research on the superdiverse character of entrepreneurial endeavours in the urban context is still largely missing and the superdiversity lens applied to entrepreneurial activities, venturing beyond the migrants’ characteristics are also virtually non-existent. By translating the ideas of superdiversity into the ethnic minority entrepreneurship context on the empirical basis of intra-urban analysis of the superdiversity of ethnic businesses and entrepreneurial urban landscape in Glasgow, we call for a refined conceptualization and a clear application of the superdiversity debate in entrepreneurship research, which includes more attributes of diversity of the ethnic minorities but also emphasizes the potential of entrepreneurship research, i.e. complementing the actual business perspective to the superdiversity debate. It also proposes the Entrepreneurial Superdiversity Index which is a viable method for approximating entrepreneurial superdiversity in cities, allowing intra- but also inter-urban comparative analyses of superdiversity in further entrepreneurship research.

### *I. Missing superdiversity of the entrepreneurial population*

Though the original superdiversity debate is embedded in migration research, to apply the concept on entrepreneurship, it is crucial to take ethnic minority entrepreneurship as the basis and not only the narrower approach of migrant entrepreneurship, which focusses on the sole dimension of ethnicity. As Vertovec argues on the new complexity of migration in today's societies, the multidimensionality goes beyond just the country of origin. It also encompasses the dynamic interplays of further variables, such as ethnic and religious backgrounds (which can differ within the same country of origin), the legal status and the migration channel. The migrant status of entrepreneurs is thus only one of the different aspects attributed to them and not necessarily the core or single condition impacting their economic activity.

The "ethno-focal lens" criticized by (Vertovec 2007) is another aspect that is still prevalent in entrepreneurship research and requires reconsideration. EME has so far focussed on single ethnic minority groups of entrepreneurs, such as one nationality/country of origin: i.e. studying Pakistani minority entrepreneurs, Chinese minority entrepreneurs or Polish minority entrepreneurs, each in one specific location (Zhou and Logan 1989; Light and Bonacich 1991; McPherson 2008; Dai et al. 2011; Vershinina et al. 2011; Fong et al. 2013; Lever and Milbourne 2014). Even when broader categories of ethnic minority entrepreneurs, such as 'South Asian' (Ishaq et al. 2010), 'Black Ethnic Minority' or 'Black African and Caribbean' (Nwankwo 2013; Ojo et al. 2013) have been considered, these approaches are still based on an ethno-focal (unidimensional) consideration of ethnic minority groups (Barrett et al. 1996; Wang and Altinay 2012; Storti 2014; de Vries et al. 2015). Despite clear acceptance of the superdiversity concept and attempts to include multiple attributes of ethnic minority entrepreneurs in the analysis (Sepulveda et al. 2011; Ram et al. 2013), entrepreneurial research has so far been reduced to the study of single ethnic minorities and their entrepreneurial activities rather than the diversity of ethnic minorities, let alone the diversities within the population group.

Against this background, and to account for the multidimensionality of ethnic minorities in entrepreneurship, it is vital for research on entrepreneurial superdiversity to also include further attributes of EME, such as religious and linguistic diversity, thus breaking the notion of ethno-focality in entrepreneurship. Such individual and social attributes of the EMEs themselves are rather difficult to capture on a larger scale and more important to grasp in the context of the ethnic social capital that is used for creating opportunities and starting-up ethnic enclaves (Zhou 2004) within the co-ethnic community (Waldinger et al. 1990; Portes and Sensenbrenner



1993; Waldinger 1993, 2005; Deakins et al. 2007; Kloosterman 2010). Nonetheless, the visible sign of such diversity attributes on the ethnic minority businesses are the main clues for capturing the superdiversity of entrepreneurial activities in urban settings. These visible signs, be it as part of promoting Kosher or Halal products, or accommodating multilingual services within the business, can be regarded as a proxy of the degree to which the EMEs engage in ethnic or religious minority businesses, contributing to the superdiversity of the local market beyond the single ethnic market. As the trans-ethnographic approach states, too, the “visual arrangement of the shop fronts, which must do the work of attracting a base of customers” (Hall and Datta 2010, 71) are “choreographed arrangements of urban surfaces and spaces by proprietors” (Hall and Datta 2010, 70). As a matter of fact, linguistic landscapes are one of the core aspects discussed in superdiversity research (Blommaert 2013) and should be considered further as signs of entrepreneurial superdiversity.

## *II. Missing entrepreneurial superdiversity*

One novel and viable aspect which entrepreneurship researchers can bring into the superdiversity debate with their specific expertise of business studies is the actual diversification processes of entrepreneurial activities beyond the co-ethnic community market. However, research on superdiversity in entrepreneurship has so far ignored the diversity of business types in which the EMEs engage. Even studies considering the superdiversity of migrant populations in entrepreneurship have so far focused on the diversity of ethnicities. When sectors are considered, the focus is on the analysis of labour intensity and survival (e.g. Phizacklea 1990). Furthermore, although ethnic retail has been intensively researched and profiles of shop types have been surveyed ethnographically (Hall 2011), a systematic consideration of the diversity of the EMEs regarding their business activities as such, as well as the combination of the diversities of EME and businesses have not been exhaustively explored. The diversifications of businesses to enlarge their limited co-ethnic client base and to also follow breakout strategies to access the indigenous or mainstream clientele locally, have already been identified as an important feature of EMEs' activity (Jones et al. 2000; Smallbone et al. 2005; Rusinovic 2006, 2008; Kitching et al. 2009; Lassalle and Scott 2017). Such endeavours also have high relevance for society, both with regards to the integration of the migrant and ethnic minority population (Phizacklea 1988; Deakins et al. 2005), but also as a crucial positive impulse of creativity and innovation as more general drivers of economic development (Storper and Venables

2004; Audretsch and Belitski 2016). As such, they should be studied more in superdiversity in entrepreneurship research. This approach would push superdiversity and entrepreneurship research towards genuinely studying entrepreneurial superdiversity in societies.

Merely quantifying the amount of EMEs in one specific city or even the accumulation of EMEs on a national level does not do justice to the phenomenon of superdiversity in entrepreneurship. What must be scrutinized is indeed whether and what business diversity can be found within the ethnic minority of entrepreneurs, and, how that diversity of businesses is also distributed among the diversity of the present ethnic *minorities* of entrepreneurs. Combining the diversity of business types in relation to the diversity of ethnic minorities, and further considering other attributes of diversity such as religion and language, or even gender perspectives, is the actual intention of elaborating analysis on the complexity of superdiversity in entrepreneurship. This paper takes the first step in this direction, by surveying and sighting ethnic and business (super)diversity of entrepreneurship.

### *III. Missing superdiversity in the city as an analytical unit*

Furthermore, though the EME literature has been studying and pointing out the importance of locality in entrepreneurial ventures, and superdiversity studies within entrepreneurship have also acknowledged the city as the most practical and appropriate unit of analysis (Meissner and Vertovec 2014), the urban context has not been properly operationalized. Cutting-edge attempts of urban researchers, such as Hall (2015), to approach the city from different perspectives, using macro-level “data sets on population census, indices of deprivation and locality” (Hall 2015, 7) as well as ethnographic data and mapping on the street-level, have not yet found systematic application in the analysis of entrepreneurial superdiversity in cities. Embedded in the context of Global City London, Sepulveda et al. (2011) have contextualized the entrepreneurial activity in terms of spatial and ethnic clustering of EME activities, however, the debate on the diversification of EME itself in this specific spatial context has not been set forth. The locality, however, as both Vertovec from the migration research side, but also EME scholars have pointed out, is crucial as policy responses to diversity as well as entrepreneurial issues are heavily locally embedded. Local authorities, support institutions and service providers contribute to the favourable or unfavourable entrepreneurial ecosystems, and the local residential population acts as the potential of the local niche market in which EMEs venture into.

Whereas the city has been used as an administrative unit and level of analysis in research on EME, particularly due to the pragmatic reason of cumulative data being mostly available on that level, the urban context has been far too neglected so far. In contrast to entrepreneurship studies, neighbourhood level and even smaller scale street-levels are common in urban anthropology and geographical studies, including also face-to-face surveys (Hall 2015). However, surveys and mappings of ethnic minority businesses are limited to the study of their multi-ethnicity. Further research on superdiversity of EME should consciously take the urban lens on the phenomenon and also take intra-urban differences in diversities of ethnic but also business diversities into account. The inclusion of the urban context consequently also requires taking into consideration different levels of diversification of the ethnic minority population in the districts, which is simultaneously (except for commonly city centre) an indicator of the diversity of the potential ethnic minority client base for EMEs, instead of concentrating on only one specific ethnic population.

Following these three main critiques on current research on superdiversity and entrepreneurship, this paper presents empirical results on entrepreneurial superdiversity, which (1) goes beyond the ethno-focal lens and studies the diversity itself of ethnic minorities' entrepreneurship but also include further attributes of the ethnic minorities; (2) takes into consideration the diversity of business types of EME in the analysis; and (3) uses an urban analytical approach of comparing the diversities in the EME, the ethnic residential population and the businesses types to identify areas of entrepreneurial superdiversity, introducing an Entrepreneurial Superdiversity Index, as a proposed tool to further explore superdiversity of entrepreneurship within urban settings.

## Capturing superdiversity in the city: selecting the field

In accordance with the proposals of Sepulveda et al. (2011), Meissner and Vertovec (2014) and Smallbone et al. (2010), the analytical unit for entrepreneurial superdiversity should be the local city level, and its business "landscape" (ibidem. 478). Yet, the urban context should be further broken down and investigated on the smaller scale of intra-urban areas, as the city level itself does not give any indication of the diversities of EME within the actual urban context apart from illustrating ethnic clusters (Sepulveda et al. 2011), while neglecting the actual ethnically mixed hubs of EME.

A small-scale district-level analysis allows more in-depth research on the accumulation and overlapping of different dimensions of the superdiverse attributes of EME, too. The selection of areas of superdiverse EME should therefore be based on the degree of ethnic diversity rather than simply on the large number of one particular ethnic minority group in specific areas.

However, such small district-level urban data are rarely available. Glasgow, as the largest Scottish economy with its vibrant entrepreneurial landscape and with a diverse ethnic minority population, is an ideal field for in-depth intra-urban research on the super-diversification of ethnic entrepreneurial activities. Available data are, however, limited to either larger scales or larger ethnic/racial groups. Though imprecise in the ethnic breakdown on the district level, such data and also previous literature already indicate the superdiverse dynamics in this particular city, which has recently experienced a strong increase of its ethnic minority populations from 13% in 1991 to 21% in 2011 (Kelly and Ashe 2014). Apart from strong increases in the population of Black Africans and Caribbeans (890%), Other Black (339%), Chinese (176%) and Other Asian groups (176%), Glasgow has also been the site of recent arrivals of white migrants from A8 countries after the 2004-enlargement of the European Union (Stevenson 2007; General Register Office for Scotland 2010; Glasgow City Council 2012)<sup>1</sup>. Using such areal data based on the latest census of 2011 already allows an approximation of the ethnic diversity of the residential population<sup>2</sup>. Based on such data of ethnic minority distribution, we propose building a cumulative indicator of the superdiversity of ethnic minorities in the districts within Glasgow, illustrating

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1 It must be noted that tremendous care is needed when using the different data sets available. In many countries, especially with a *jus soli* as the basis for migration policies, such as US, Canada, France or UK (the latter European countries with restrictions), population data are often collected according to the country of birth, with data illustrating foreign-born vs. native. Other countries base their data on citizenship, whereas in some more exceptional cases, such as in Germany, also data on citizens “with a migration background”, irrespective of the naturalization and citizenship at birth, are collected. Further categories of capturing the ethnic diversity are (usually self-indicated) data on ethnic or racial identities. Harmonization issues are undeniable (Lemaitre et al. 2006; Lemaitre et al. 2007, OECD), yet the complexity of the data available also aligns with the original idea of superdiversity in migration by Vertovec (2007).

2 Statistically, available data refer to the residential population. It may differ from the client base, as businesses do show larger catchment areas than the actual district in which they are located. However, especially ethnic minority businesses have been observed to show strong tendencies in – at least initially- focusing on the local ethnic niche market and only later venturing out. The residential population can thus be regarded as an appropriate and pragmatic approximation of the diversity of ethnic minority entrepreneurship.

not simply the concentration of each of the Pakistani, African, White Other British, White Other etc. population, but the areas with the highest diversity of ethnic minorities, hence hinting towards interesting areas to further explore.

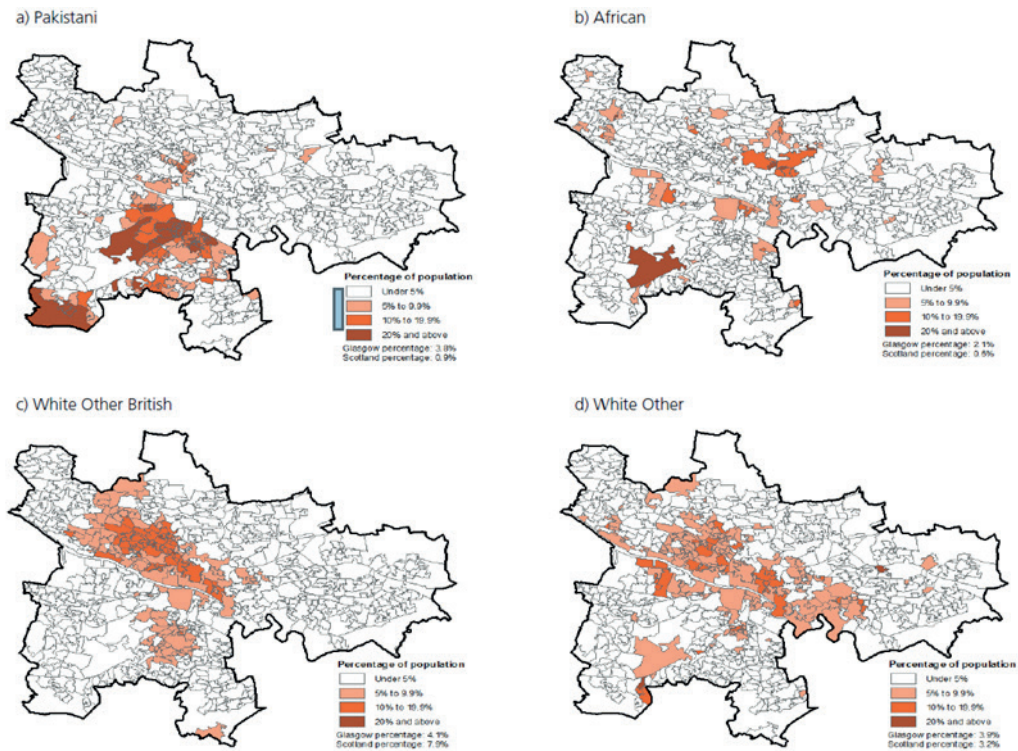


Figure 1: Density of ethnic minorities in Glasgow (Kelly and Ashe, 2014)

Another approach of capturing the diversity of ethnic population is the Scottish Indices for Multiple Deprivation (SIMD), also based on the Scottish census data. Encompassing seven weighted domains, including income, employment, geographical access and housing, the SIMD is used for monitoring also ethnic minorities in such deprived neighbourhoods<sup>3</sup> (Mokrovich 2011; Kelly and Ashe 2014). The SIMD in the context of diversity in EME is of higher relevance as this is the factor which takes the urban analytical unit properly into consideration. The selection of urban areas for the study of superdiversity in entrepreneurship should not necessarily only focus on the higher density of ethnically diverse populations in deprived areas only. However, with regard to issues of the strong societal implications of the development of deprived areas and of migrants' integration in Glasgow, the consideration of the SIMD as a criterion for area selection appears to be

3 Deprived neighborhoods are defined by the cut off at 10% of the most disadvantaged.



more than reasonable as a basis for the analysis of entrepreneurial superdiversity at the district-level of the entrepreneurial landscape.

The third aspect taken into consideration for selection of further in-depth research on the superdiversity phenomenon in EME, is the potential of the areas for ethnic businesses. Basing on previous research on the Glaswegian entrepreneurial ecosystem in particular (Lassalle and McElwee 2016), and on the migrant communities (e.g. Piętko 2011; McGhee et al. 2013), as well as further sources of information, such as mass media coverage and knowledge of local residents, areas with high entrepreneurial activity, especially of ethnic niche markets, were also taken into consideration.

Ruling out the city centre itself, so as to avoid the impact of diversification deriving from the unique and ubiquitous context of urban centres, the areas were selected according to following three dimensions of diversity<sup>4</sup>: (1) areas with high concentrations of ethnic diversity, which is a prerequisite for the development of an ethnic niche market and also ethnic diversification of the local customer base along with the businesses; (2) areas with high concentration of businesses with ethnic minority labelling and signs, especially focussing on streets well-known for their business activity and vibrancy; and (3) reflecting the diversity within the Glaswegian city itself, areas with different multiple deprivation indices according to the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD).

The final selection consisted of three areas, in which to conduct the site survey: West End, in particular the University of Glasgow area (1a) and Kelvinbridge/Maryhill (1b), East End with High Street (2a) and Duke Street (2b) areas, and South Side covering Eglinton Toll (3a) and Govanhill (3b) areas. The areas of entrepreneurial activities refer to business streets, such as Great Western Road, Maryhill Road, Byres Road in the West End, Duke Street, High Street in the East End, Victoria Road, Pollockshield Road, and Allison Street in the South side. The rest of the areas are primarily residential with none to very limited number of businesses. The data collection consisted of a site survey in the selected areas, based on the mapping of visible signs of entrepreneurial superdiversity complemented by ethnographic assessment of the entrepreneurial landscape.

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4 The focus on main or “high streets” in ethnographic assessments of superdiversity is also found in Hall’s seminal works on trans-ethnographic study; see also Hall and Datta (2010, 70) on the significance of the urban high streets within the scale of the neighbourhood as the empirical context studied.



Figure 2: Selected areas for site survey

### Capturing superdiversity: surveying the sites on ethnic minority entrepreneurship

The subsequent site survey on the entrepreneurial superdiversity focused on three different aspects of diversity dimensions. All three selected areas were surveyed for ethnic minority entrepreneurship (N= 247) by collecting data not only on 1) the ethnicity of the business (ethnic labelling), but also 2) the business type, and when visible also 3) religious and linguistic signs. The ethnographic assessment was carried out by two independent researchers equipped with GPS-located application on mobile devices recording the site survey results. Importantly, since the interest was on visible diversity in entrepreneurial activity in these urban districts, which are also the access point for the ethnic minority customers in these areas, the focus was not on the ethnicity of the owner but on the ethnic labelling and visible signposts (including religious and linguistic signs). These are reflections of the strategic intentions regarding the targeted market by ethnic businesses. For this conceptual reason, ethnic minority entrepreneurs that have totally broken out to the mainstream market – i.e. ethnic entrepreneurs serving non-ethnically labelled goods or services to a non-ethnic

mainstream clientele – were excluded. For the same reason, those engaging in ethnic businesses owned and ran by entrepreneurs with no ethnic minority background but who purposefully either target an ethnic minority population or use an ethnic label to their product (e.g. a British owned and ran Vietnamese restaurant) are included. This is, in fact, a novel dimension of diversification of the entrepreneurial landscape and undeniably contributes to the superdiversity of ethnic entrepreneurship.

Pre-categorizing the diversity of ethnic backgrounds according to the statistically available data in the UK on the largest groups of ethnic minority population, the categories of business types were also developed on the basis of administrative categories of economic activities used in official occupational and labour statistics of the Office of National Statistics. Accordingly, of the 247 total businesses identified and surveyed, the largest group of business types were restaurant and cafés (98), followed by convenience stores (74), and beauty services (27). Further businesses were categorised as design & interior and fashion (13), health & wellbeing (11), below ten each were businesses in financial and legal services (6), travel services (6) and internet & communication technology (4), and further eight miscellaneous. For the ethnic labelling, the majority of businesses identified as using ethnic labelling in the selected areas concentrated on businesses of Indian and Pakistani (49), Chinese (31), followed by African including Maghreb (14), Other South Asian (12) and Other Muslim origin with no specific visible ethnicity indication (26), but signs of ethnic businesses through the products and services presented as well as the linguistic landscape. Moreover, there were businesses assessed as Other Middle Eastern (6), Caribbean (6); among non-British White businesses, ethnic labels identifiable were Italian (7), Polish (8), Other Eastern European (4), such as a convenience stores with flags of multiple Baltic and Eastern European countries on the shop front and Other Europeans (12). Finally, 66 further businesses using ethnic labels, or providing ethnicized services and products, such as an “American” nail salon, “German” kitchenware or kebab stores without explicit linguistic, religious (halal) or other indications of ethnicity, were also surveyed.

Furthermore, as the locational aspect of the city-level analysis of entrepreneurial superdiversity was crucial, these data were collected with GPS locations. In addition, observations were complemented by a dozen short interviews with several entrepreneurs and employees on their customer base and their ethnic labelling. The full data set also included the survey of landmarks, such as religious, ethnic cultural and educational institutions to characterize the areas in the diversity of the residential population.



## Sighting Entrepreneurial Superdiversity in Glasgow: empirical findings

The West End and East End show fairly different pictures of entrepreneurial diversity within Glasgow, despite their similarity in terms of ethnic population density and deprivation. The most intriguing findings is the case of the two local areas on the South side of Glasgow (for descriptive findings of the other areas, see Lassalle and Yamamura 2017). The surprising empirical results in this area emphasize the necessity and viability of research on the urban analytical unit, and particularly of in-depth research on even smaller scale intra-urban contexts.

The area of the South side has a large ethnic population with a moderate diversity of ethnic populations and an entrepreneurial landscape highly different from the local Scottish White population. The differences in the entrepreneurial (super)diversity of the two sub-areas of Eglinton Toll and Govanhill, however, lies in the diversity of the ethnic minority businesses regarding both their ethnicity as well as the types of business. Whereas the area of Eglinton Toll can be regarded as a strong ethnic clustering, if not an ethnic enclave of Indian/Pakistani businesses, and would therefore – according to literature so far – be characterized as a superdiverse area (Sepulveda et al. 2011; Ram et al. 2013), the actual diversity of the businesses is extraordinarily low. There are primary groceries and convenience stores, with some individual travel agencies, yet the area is characterized by a high density of similar business types of the same ethnic background, i.e. South Asian. This reflects a classical ethnic cluster matching with previous accounts on EME, which discuss this phenomenon particularly in catering and retailing.

Walking down the streets of Eglinton Toll, one loses the sense of being in a Scottish neighbourhood; instead, we see characteristics of clustering area from a single ethnic group. People on the streets (visitors or shop owners) are almost only from South Asian former British colonies. There is little traffic from visitors and the few people passing by are actually coming to the convenience stores or to the few other businesses (barbers, ethnic-focussed legal advisers or travel agencies with shop front in Arabic). They are dressed in traditional clothes from South Asia, and the very few women encountered are wearing the veil. Men, on their side, are wearing longer dresses and traditional hats. Likewise, shop owners, standing or sitting in front of their shop despite the bad weather, are men from South East Asia. They are talking to each other loudly in their home language or with acquaintances on the street. They are ready to support other shop owners and help them with products that they

lack in their stocks. Regarding landscape, front shops also show a lack of diversity and suggest instead a cluster of one ethnic group. The shop fronts of convenience stores that constitute the majority of businesses in the area, display similar signs of ethnic labelling with most of the writing in Arabic, Halal and religious signs and references to South Asian products. Interestingly, the businesses are clustered (and even packed) together, with no space in-between the shop fronts, aligning in rows of very similar businesses. Most of the shops are convenience stores, providing food products (meat, vegetables, and fruits) and household goods. To see what the business offering is, we need to actually look in the stores and come inside the blinded displays. Once inside, we see a mixture of South Asian food and household wear, one would rarely see in a British kitchen, all labelled for a clientele of co-ethnic. All products are densely packed into small shops. Customers are quite rare, hence the visitors feel quite observed. Customers from other ethnic backgrounds (and particularly females) could have the feeling of invading this space and could feel uncomfortable or ‘out-of-place’. Most clients actually know what they are looking for and briefly interrupt the shop owners to purchase a product and pay. Overall, the area constitutes an ethnic

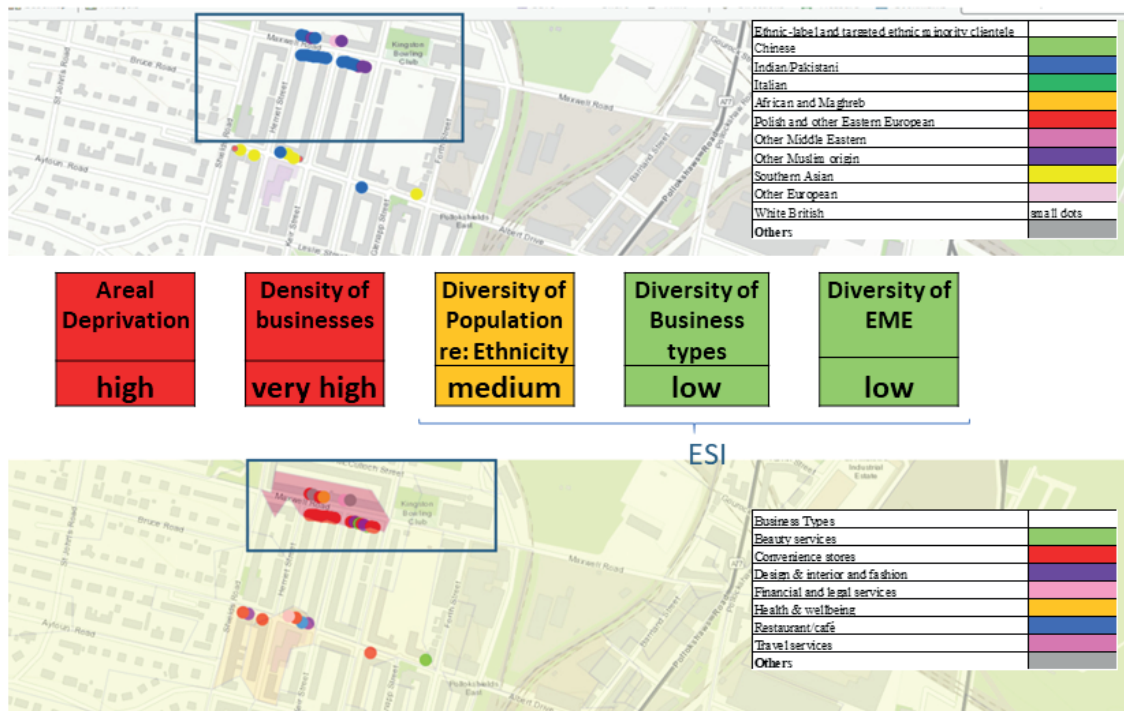


Figure 3: South Glasgow - Eglinton Toll (above: density of EME, below: diversity of business types)

cluster with a high ethnic population from one ethnic group, and a business cluster of similar businesses, operating in the same sector and serving the same co-ethnic customer base.

In contrast to this rather homogenous pattern of Eglinton Toll, the other area of the South side of Glasgow, i.e. Govanhill, is characterized by both higher diversity of the ethnic background as well as higher diversity of business types of EMEs. Govanhill, in this respect, exemplifies a real superdiversity of EME and of the visible business landscape. The superdiverse nature of entrepreneurship here is characterized not only by the ethnically diverse population, as is also the case with Eglinton Toll, but moreover by the diversity of ethnic backgrounds of the EME as well as the high diversity of businesses prevalent in the area, making it a highly dense ethnic minority entrepreneurial area. Apart from the classical ethnic minority businesses in grocery and gastronomy, the businesses also offer hairdressers, beauty but also financial and other services targeting a larger ethnic minority customer base.



Photograph 1: Example of a blind shopfront in Eglinton Toll





Photograph 2: Example of a bright display of shop window in Govanhill

The contrast between the two areas is thus striking. In Govanhill (Alison Street/Victoria Road area), the overall cityscape is much brighter and much more active, not just constituting of packed shops but with more space between larger businesses with spacious and brighter colourful displays, as well as larger roads and larger sidewalks. We see far more traffic (cars, buses, pedestrian, and delivery trucks), in what is a busier and lively area. Moreover, people on the street are very diverse in terms of their ethnicity, age, social level (although mostly working or lower middle class), and gender. In ethnic terms, there are local Scottish people as well as Kurdish, Romanian, Poles, Nigerian, etc. Those people that are going to work, or go shopping, are passing by or actively consuming (but nobody is sitting and waiting on the streets). On the business landscape, instead of blind small shops, businesses have large glass windows at the shop fronts (as for example a very bright cake shop, a flowery delicatessen shop front or an open display hairdresser).

This represents the need to attract customers, or the person who is just passing by, inviting them to look and (eventually) come in and buy. Compared to the ethnic-based 'captive' customer base of Eglinton Toll, businesses in Govanhill are com-

peting on the various ethnic and sectoral market segments. Similar to the population, there are businesses with a wide diversity of ethnic labelling, including (but not limited to) Polish, Romanian, Kurdish, Nigerian or South Asian, etc. Interestingly, in addition to this diversity of client-base and of ethnic businesses there is also a high diversity of business types, with car concessionaries located aside of hairdressers/barbers and restaurants. A delicatessen with colourful front shop, adjoins a travel agent and a nail bar, etc. In addition, when entering one of the shops (e.g. the aforementioned delicatessen), we see that there is a range of products available, targeting different ethnic groups (such as a Romanian shelf in a Polish business). Going further on the street, we see adverts in different languages in an Iranian-run barber shop. Even phone cards for international calls are more diverse and do not focus on a group of countries.

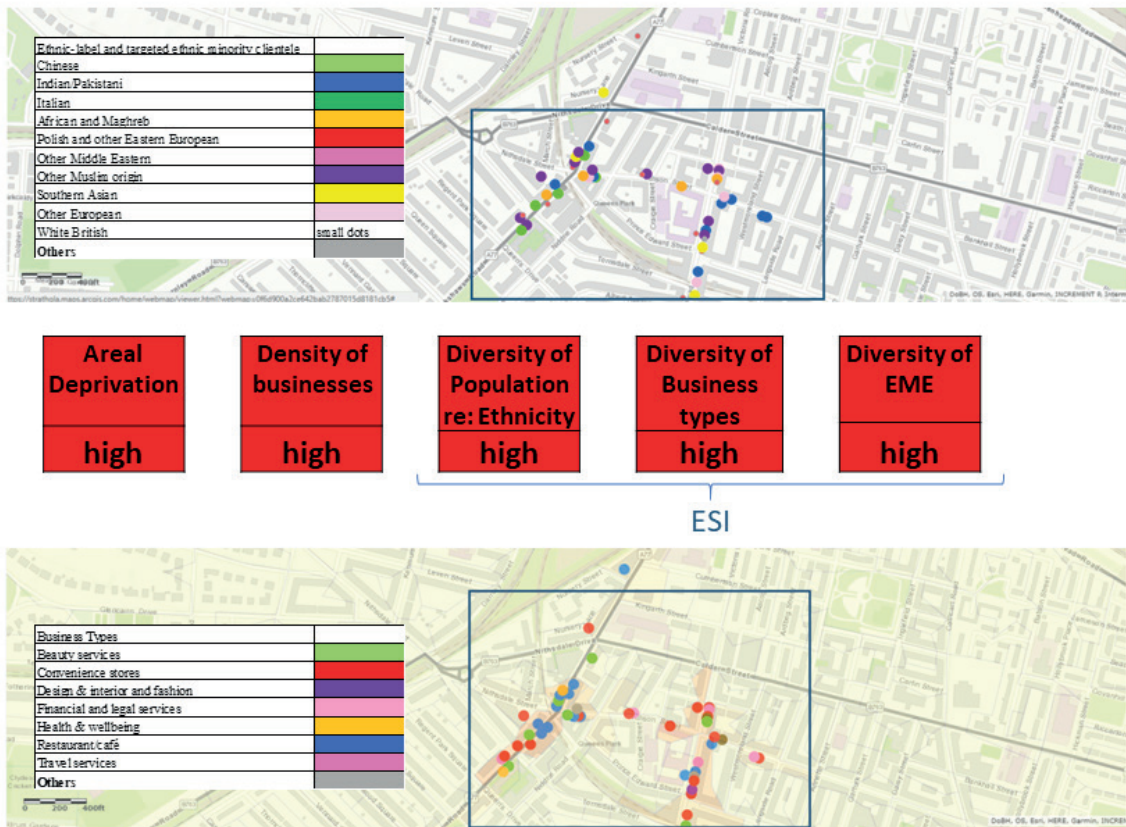


Figure 4: South Glasgow – Govanhill (above: density of EME, below: diversity of business types)<sup>5</sup>

5 The different symbols illustrate the diversity of business types as described in Table 1.

Despite similar selection criteria for both areas, i.e. high social deprivation and high (Govanhill) to very high business density (Eglinton Toll), the two areas present very different levels of diversity. The findings from the ethnographically assessed site survey reveal two very different stories of entrepreneurial (super)diversity: on one side, a non-diverse, ethnically clustered area of Pakistani and Other South Asian Muslims in Eglinton Toll; on the other side, only a few hundred meters away, the vibrant, multi-ethnic, and diverse hub of Govanhill, with a high level of diversity in the business landscape with ethnic shops from diverse backgrounds, serving not only their ethnic market but the diversity of communities in the area, and operating in diverse sectors.

Consequently, when superdiversity and entrepreneurship is only studied on a larger scale of urban context and also focuses on hubs with high ethnic minority population of one ethnicity (taking an ethno-focal lens) and only taking entrepreneurship generically into consideration without considering the diversity of business types, the actual superdiversity of entrepreneurial landscapes would not be properly captured. Though previous research on EME focusing on specific ethnic communities gives us important insights into diverse dimensions, including access and barriers and specific resources for these ethnic minorities that are crucial for better understanding ethnic entrepreneurship as such; the approach presented here has revealed quite a significant distortion of the picture. The scaling down of research to the urban district-level and also focusing on the *diversity in diversity* of ethnic entrepreneurship with regards to further dimensions, such as business types, appears to be the appropriate approach for grasping the superdiversity phenomenon in entrepreneurship.

### Approximating Entrepreneurial Superdiversity: proposing a conceptual framework

On the basis of the multidimensional diversity indicators presented above, we finally propose the usage of a so-called Entrepreneurial Superdiversity Index (ESI), which takes into account several of the criticisms voiced on the research surrounding entrepreneurial superdiversity. Calculating the intensity of diversity for each sub-area, the ESI considers the multidimensional diversity of business types, the EME as well as the ethnic population. Additionally, the density of businesses and the areal deprivation including the diversity in terms of socio-economic population data are taken into account as part of the overall selection criteria of the site surveys.

		Diversity of Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurs <sup>1</sup>	Diversity of Business types	Diversity of Population re: Ethnicity <sup>2</sup>	Entrepreneurial Superdiversity Index	Density of businesses	Areal Deprivation <sup>3</sup>
West End	UoG area	high (others)	low	low	low	high	low
	Kelvinbridge/Maryhill	high	high	medium	high	high	medium
East End	High Street	medium	medium	medium	medium	medium	high
	Duke Street	high	medium	high	high	high	high
South Glasgow	Eglintontoll	low	low	medium	low	extra high	high
	Govanhill	high	high	high	high+	high	high

1) Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurs (EME): identification according to visible signs

2) Data based on geographical distribution of largest ethnic minority groups, i.e. Pakistani, African, White Other British and White Others in 2011 (Kelly and Ashe 2014)

3) Religious backgrounds: identification according to visible dietary laws and religion of ethnic backgrounds

3) Data based on Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) in 2012, encompassing 7 weighted domains, incl. income, employment, geographic access and housing

Table 1: Entrepreneurial Superdiversity Index on cumulative diversity indicators

Although fully capturing the complexity of a phenomenon with numbers is generally problematic (Sen 1994; Arrow 2012), the proposed Entrepreneurial Superdiversity Index builds on the most widespread linear aggregation<sup>6</sup> and provides a reliable quantitative assessment. This can be used to capture, or at least approximate, the different dimensions of superdiversity in entrepreneurship, and can therefore constitute a first step in the comparative research of (entrepreneurial) superdiversity between districts or, internationally, between different cities.

The Entrepreneurial Superdiversity Index (ESI) measures achievements in three key dimensions of evidence of superdiversity in entrepreneurial activity: (1) ethnic diversity of the population in the area (for customer base), (2) diversity of business types, and (3) visible signs of ethnic diversity of the businesses. It is calculated using the following formula:

$$ESI (\text{Index}) = \Sigma (I_{\text{population diversity}} + I_{\text{diversity of business type}} + I_{\text{diversity of ethnic labelling of the businesses}})$$

The results provide a level of diversity ranging on a spectrum from ‘low’ entrepreneurial superdiversity to ‘very high’ entrepreneurial superdiversity for each of the areas selected<sup>7</sup>. In that sense, Eglinton Toll and Govanhill present very different superdiversity landscapes, despite similar level of high economic and social deprivation.

6 The Index is the sum of the normalised individual indicators (OECD 2008; UNDP 2016).

7 Categorization depend on different criteria depending data availability. For example, regarding deprivation, the last decile was considered as ‘highly’ deprived whereas the last quintiles would be ‘very highly’ deprived.



The main claim of superdiversity is the complex interaction and overlapping of different dimensions, which contribute to the diversification of diversities occurring in the cities (Vertovec 2007; Meissner and Vertovec 2014). However, as presented previously in this paper, recent studies on superdiversity of entrepreneurship have been either comparatively analysing on a city level, or only focusing on singular ethnic entrepreneurs to be illustrating the diversification. This approach of subtle distinction of dimensions and suggesting an overall entrepreneurial index for superdiversity is novel and closer to what has been described as the superdiversity phenomenon.

In addition to the diversity of EME, as well as the diversity of business types derived from extensive fieldwork, the spatial dimension of this superdiverse ethnic minority entrepreneurial landscape is considered in the assessment of entrepreneurial superdiversity. By taking into account the multidimensional neighbourhood deprivation index of SIMD among the area selection criteria, the overall environment of the EMEs becomes clearer. The ESI adds a layer on understanding the customer base as well as the physical and social environment of the businesses, partly through the consideration of visible signs and the landscape. The relation between the different degrees of deprivation to the degree of diversity and diversification in entrepreneurial activities, however, requires further in-depth analysis by qualitative methods delving into the different impacting factors of the entrepreneurial environment for EMEs in each of the socio-spatial contexts given.

Furthermore, this approach of superdiversity also breaks with the notion of the ethnic lens – what Meissner and Vertovec (2014) criticize and call the ‘ethno-focal lens’ – when studying the activities of EMEs. By collecting and analysing data on the whole breadth of EMEs (and on entrepreneurs targeting ethnic minority clientele) in specific locations instead of concentrating on comparative analyses of singular ethnic clusters one with another, the study succeeds in better grasping the nature of diversity in its actual extent. The viability of this approach is clearly demonstrated in the cases of the ethnic cluster of Eglinton Toll, which shows little diversity with regard to business types. Areas, such as Govanhill, however, have shown more diverse areas, not only ethnically, but also by businesses diversity and by diversities of the residential population. These findings clearly highlight how much breaking the ethnic lens by considering other attributes of superdiversity can contribute to better understanding ethnic entrepreneurial superdiversity. The potential impact of such research on superdiversity in EME can improve policy-makers and institutions’ understanding of the phenomenon, going beyond applying an ethnic lens to support initiatives for prospective or new entrepreneurs in different areas.



Despite this novel and unique contribution to the superdiversity debate in entrepreneurship as initiated by Sepulveda et al. (2011), some limitations must also not be ignored. Although the superdiversity notion has been extended to also business types and the ethnic diversity as such, going beyond conventional approaches of the ethnic lens, superdiversity as a phenomenon has even more dimensions which need to be further investigated. Superdiversity of urban society, for example, also discusses linguistic and religious diversities as well as legal status. These issues would be difficult to collect as a dataset, however, and would give the dimension and extension of entrepreneurial superdiversity even more nuances. Such studies could also contribute to connect the idea of superdiversity of EME with the idea of entrepreneurial ecosystem as access to resources also depends on them, e.g. legal status for accessing public support or linguistic barriers or advantages to access further ethnic niche markets. Furthermore, it is surely also a limitation that the field works extended “only” to three larger areas within Glasgow, whereas an even larger-scale study could result in more detailed results, while qualitative in-depth interviews would be able to deliver a picture of the entrepreneurial activities and strategies in more detail. The results presented in this paper represent a first step towards capturing the richness of superdiversity in a specific location, and these successful efforts will be further amplified in future.

## Conclusion

This paper contributes to the burgeoning debate on and application of the superdiversity concept in business studies, in particular entrepreneurship, and gives an impulse for refining and operationalizing the concept for the entrepreneurial field. We call for an increased scrutiny of entrepreneurship and its diversification, as this is one of the core elements that business studies bring into the debate on superdiversity. At the same time, more insights from migration research have also to be incorporated into entrepreneurship. For ethnic minority entrepreneurship, this means that the diversity on the side of the migrants themselves, break with the ethno-focal lens. Further aspects of the migrant entrepreneurs, such as their migration history or legal status, have to be better conceptualized in entrepreneurial contexts. Finally, the unit of analysis of the city emerges as crucial to better grasp urban dynamics of migrant entrepreneurship. Still, the urban context must be incorporated, as well as interdis-

ciplinary insights from urban studies. As not all areas of the city are affected by the superdiversity dynamics, smaller-scale qualitative works as well as ethnographic approaches are recommendable to grasp the superdiversity in ethnic entrepreneurship (see also Hall and Datta 2010). Especially the fact that not all ethnic minority entrepreneurs have the desirable ecosystem for their entrepreneurial endeavours in all areas within the city, which is a highly politically relevant issue to be further dealt with.

The proposed Entrepreneurial Superdiversity Index incorporates both migration and urban aspects of the original idea of superdiversity and entrepreneurship (Meissner and Vertovec 2014) into entrepreneurship research and gives also a first step to operationalize the entrepreneurial superdiversity in empirical terms. Acknowledging that it is so far a mere approximation to entrepreneurial superdiversity, where further exploration especially regarding the available data and qualitative research on each of the entrepreneurial contexts is needed. Debates on the criteria and the weighing of the factors are also needed; the approach presented in this paper offers grounds for a more systematic inter-urban and intra-urban comparative analyses of superdiversity in entrepreneurship and can be regarded an important impulse for further research.

The concept of the ESI in fact offers potentials to be applied to the quantification, which in turns allows large-scale inter-urban comparative analyses, for urban superdiversity in general. Following this concept, a general superdiversity index could be built on the basis of the detailed urban data already available in some cities.

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