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*Ethnic diversity in social networks and the  
 success of self-employed migrants*

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*How the composition and ethnic diversity in social networks of self-employed migrants effect their business success: a case study of self-employed Polish people in Berlin.*

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 September 2019*

**Abstract**

Polish self-employed migrants in Berlin differ to a large extent from what could be expected, according to the relevant literature; they seamlessly blend in with the local German population. It seems likely that those who are successful with integrating are more successful in self-employment as well. A survey is used to analyse the relation between ethnic diversity in the social networks of self-employed Poles and their success. Though the sample size is small and the results are not statistically significant, it makes it plausible that a social network with a high share of locals positively affects the likelihood of success.

## Colofon

Title	<p><i>Ethnic diversity in social networks and the success of self-employed migrants</i> <i>How the composition and ethnic diversity in social networks of self-employed migrants effect their business success: A case study of self-employed Poles in Berlin.</i></p> <p><i>Master thesis Economic geography</i></p>
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## Preface

19-09-2019, Berlin

In front of you is my master thesis about self-employed migrants. This final project for the master made me migrate myself for a while, to the capital of Germany. The process of going to Berlin to write my thesis is pretty similar to how I ended up in social geography in the first place: with a little bit of vision and a whole lot of luck. Both things were not really planned, and if it didn't happen I would probably have had a very different life by now. Writing my master thesis abroad has been an amazing opportunity. It made the writing of the thesis itself much harder, but it was very educational in many ways. But only when you entrust yourself with a lot, you notice how much you actually can.

This is like what Polish migrants must experience when they move to Berlin and become self-employed. My respect for both self-employed people and migrants, especially when they are both, definitely grew. The same counts for everyone researching this topic, since I now found out how difficult this can be.

I would like to thank Olga and Simon, for helping me with translating to Polish and German. Adée, Messi! And Sanne, for checking my English. My personal advisors in every language needed! My sister Sylvia, for advising me on statistical matters and telling me it will be fine at times I needed to hear that. Mark, as my guide in the German capital (mijn gids in Duitse tijden). And finally, thanks a lot to Sierdjan, for advising me on starting this master program and supervising me with the final project.

Kind regards,

Astrid Wentzel

*Man kann viel, wenn man sich nur recht viel zutraut*

-Wilhelm von Humboldt, founder of Humboldt universität zu Berlin-

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# 1. Introduction

Walking through the streets of Berlin, it is remarkable to see all the diversity in people. Here, people dress to be noticed, to set a kind of image of themselves. Hair coloured in green, blue or purple, dressed like they are going to a tech-party when they are just grocery shopping. Punk rockers share the U-bahn with young parents and women wearing hijabs. In the shops there is a lot of diversity noticeable too: Greek restaurants, Asian nail art studios and Turkish döner places stand side by side with the hipster coffee shops and second-hand clothing stores. It represents the diversity in culture and ethnic backgrounds Berliners have.

Berlin is inhabited by 3.6 million people, of which about 18% does not have the German nationality (31-12-2018) (Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2019). These inhabitants originate from 193 different nationalities (Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2018). Together with this diversity comes a lively and open-minded culture in the city. As a result of that culture, Berlin is generally known as a start-up hub, since it allows for creative minds to build their dreams in Berlin. Immigration and diversity increase creativity in a city (Simonton, 1999). In 2014, over 16% of Berlin's inhabitants were self-employed, at the time the German average was only 10% (Kritikos, 2016). In 2018 only, 43.923 businesses were founded in the German capital, of which 36% by non-Germans (Statistik-Berlin-Brandenburg, 2019). This number is particularly high and increasing when looking at migrants. In 2005 about 570,000 persons with a migrant background were self-employed, this number increased to 709,000 persons in 2014 (Fuchs et al., 2016). This is an increase of 25 percent in 10 years. Especially the Polish community accounts for a large part of business registrations (statisches amt Brandenburg/Berlin, 2019).

When a new business is successful, society benefits as a whole, because it brings innovation and new ideas (Hegarty, 2006). The added value of self-employed migrants can be various: the business they start can fulfil a demand for certain products or services. It can improve local productivity by increased competition, which challenges existing firms to become more competitive and efficient (Forohaar, 2015). Furthermore, entrepreneurs provide new short and long term job opportunities (Kritikos, 2016).

Self-employment can improve a migrant's situation if successful. It gives them the chance? to be independent and to take matters in their own hands. Ethnic entrepreneurship is a useful tool for improving social inclusion of immigrants and to contribute to better living circumstances of subordinated groups in society (Brezis and Temin, 1999; CEEDR, 2014). Typically, people become self-employed either because of difficulties in finding a wage-paid job or because they prefer the flexibility and freedom acquired by being their own boss (Earle and Savoka, 2000). Self-employment can give migrants the opportunity to live the life they had in mind when moving to Berlin. For them, self-employment is not just about earning a living, it is also a means of recognition and social acceptance (Sahin, Nijkamp & Baycan-Levent, 2007). Self-employment may improve the social integration of migrants as well as reinforce their economic position (Masurel et al., 2004).

Unfortunately, push-factors often play a major role the migrants' decision for self-employment. A disadvantaged social position is an important factor why migrants become self-

employed (Mata & Pendakur, 1999; Sahin, Nijkamp & Baycan-Levent, 2007). The most relevant personal characteristics which explain why so many migrants become self-employed are: a lower education level, a less favoured position as a result of a lack of skills, and as a result, high levels of unemployment (Kourtit & Nijkamp, 2012). Even though Berlin is seen as an open-minded city, migrants have disadvantage on the labour market and feel discriminated (Velt & Yemane, 2018). Many feel like they have no other choice than to start a business for themselves.

However, there is a risk involved, because a lot of businesses do not exist long. In the European Union 50% of newly founded businesses end within five years, of which 15% is caused by bankruptcy (EC, 2011). On top of that, migrants have an even higher tendency to go bankrupt (Kourtit & Nijkamp, 2012).

Bankruptcy creates a risk of poverty and causes the destruction of capital. Because of the potential risks and benefits from self-employment among migrants, it is important to understand the success factors for self-employment. It is an interesting topic with a high societal relevance. Studying this can help migrants in increasing their chances of becoming successful in self-employment.

In existing literature, a lot of factors are seen as important regarding predicting the success of a self-employed migrant. For example, Sahin, Nijkamp and Rietdijk (2009) state that the success of a self-employed migrant is dependent on two things: their individual abilities and the capability of building social capital. According to Kourtit and Nijkamp (2012) there are 7 main success factors for self-employed migrants, of which one is whether a migrant is able to grow a (new) social network. Social networks of community- and family-members play a major role in the operation of ethnic enterprises (Ram, 1994). A business network is necessary to keep up with developments and see opportunities (Stephens, 2013). Social networks are important to self-employed migrants, it helps them in attracting necessary supplies for their business.

Networks are thus often named as an important factor in the success of self-employed migrants. Yet in Berlin, the segregation on the basis of ethnic background is high, due to the large diversity in the city (Jaczevska & Grzegorzcyk, 2016). The Turkish in Kreuzberg and more and more in Neu-Kölln, the Polish in the west and the YUPers (young urban professionals) in Mitte and the trendy neighbourhoods surrounding it. Large ethnic groups live side by side, but don't show much interaction. Because of that, it is hard to build a diverse social network in terms of ethnic background. With the 'constrict theory', Putnam (1993) argues that the increased diversity in societies reduces the trust in the community. This general lack of trust makes it hard for newcomers to access social networks, and with that, to benefit from social support and resources it supplies. According to Ryan et al. (2008), this forces migrants into staying in their own ethnic community.

Yet, diversity of the actors in the network is important in order to verify credibility of information and advice from people in the network (Aldrich, 1999). Possibly, a social network that shows little diversity creates a risk for self-employed migrants to get locked-in into their own community, and by that restricted to the limited amount of business options. It is the purpose of this thesis to look into that more deeply.

Moreover, from the perspective of Berlins business climate, understanding the effects of ethnic diversity in social networks is important. Derived from a theory in ecological studies called the 'diversity-stability hypothesis', Martin (2011) states that a lack of diversity in business networks can explain low resilience to economic shocks. Migrant entrepreneurship increasing the degree of diversity in and by that prevents the network of lock-in dynamics as a result of over-embeddedness (Ryan et al., 2008).

According to Portes (1995) social networks are one of the main types of structures needed for economic transactions. The success of self-employed migrants affects society as well as their own lives, which is why knowledge on the effect of social networks on the success of self-employed migrants is necessary. It can help self-employed migrants in making the best out of their time in Berlin.

It is relevant to research this problem, in order to find possible solutions (Ryan et al., 2008). On top of that, a better understanding of the social network of self-employed migrants and the effect of ethnic diversity can contribute to the business climate in Berlin. For those reasons, this thesis focuses on the effect of the social networks of migrants, and specifically on the ethnic diversity. In those networks, on their success in self-employment.

The main contribution of this thesis is to analyse to what extent ethnic diversity in social networks helps self-employed migrants in becoming successful. For that purpose, the case of social networks of self-employed Poles in Berlin is investigated.

The focus is on this group because the Polish population in Berlin is among the largest minorities in the city. About 7,7% of the immigrant population in 2017 had a Polish background (Statistischer bericht, 2018). In contrast to other ethnic groups, like the Turks, the Polish group has grown over the last few years, and thus many people from this group moved to Berlin themselves (Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2018). The effect of their movement will therefore likely have a large effect on social networks. Additionally, the group of Polish migrants contribute significantly to the number of start-ups in Berlin (Kritikos, 2016), and therefore the societal relevance of studying the Polish self-employed in Berlin is high.

Multiple researchers investigated success factors and social networks of self-employed migrants and migrant entrepreneurs over the last decades. Many different minorities were investigated in different cities throughout the (western) world, but mostly in the United States. According to Baycan-Levent and Nijkamp (2009) more research should therefore be conducted in European cities. Future research should aim to broaden the evidence on the relationship between cultural diversity and entrepreneurship by investigating this for other countries (Audretsch et al., 2010). Researching this topic in different cities on different groups of migrants can help generalizing the effects found of social networks on the success of self-employed migrants. Brüderl and Preisendörfer (1998) state a similar thing, their research on only a small area was a restriction to their research and they state that more research is therefore necessary. Moreover, most of the literature on this topic is based on qualitative data, quantitative research can also help generalizing the findings (Kourtit & Nijkamp, 2012).

In addition, from a theoretical point of view it is necessary to specify the conditions under which networking contributes to business effectiveness (Dubini & Aldrich, 1991). Ryan et al. (2008) argue that more attention should be paid to how migrants create their network and how they access existing ones. The research field of migration studies has gotten a lot of critique on taking networks for granted and not paying enough attention to the opportunities and obstacles migrants experience when building a social network (Wierzbicki, 2004). This thesis tries to contribute to filling these gaps in the current state of research on this topic.

The research question central in this thesis is the following:

**In what way does ethnic diversity in social networks affect the success of self-employed migrants?**

In order to answer this question some sub-questions have to be answered:

Q1: What kind of connections are important?

Q2: What characteristics (in terms of strength, range, composition) make Polish networks contribute to the success of self-employed Poles in Berlin?

Q3: How does ethnic diversity in social networks affect the success of self-employed migrants?

Q4: Which factors affect the ability of migrants to build a valuable social network?

Q5: What other factors affect the success of the self-employed migrant directly?

To research this, a survey will be used to collect data. Self-employed people with a Polish background will be asked to participate by filling in the questionnaire.

This thesis is set up as follows: Chapter 2 is about the Theoretical framework, where the sub-questions will be investigated more in-depth. The Methodology is explained in chapter 3, which lists the problems and biases of the data. Chapter 4 contains the Analysis and Results. Chapter 5 ends with the conclusion and discussion. Added in the end are the references and the survey as used for data gathering.

## 2. Theoretical framework

The success of a self-employed migrant is mainly determined by two factors: social capital and human capital (Sanders and Nee, 1996). Social capital is about the relationship between actors (Coleman 1990). It is based on the size and type of social network one can count on (Bourdieu, 1986). Human capital, on the other hand, refers to the set of skills and experience a person has (Sanders and Nee, 1996).

To understand the term ‘social capital’, first the general aspects of connections will be discussed. Theories about types of connections and about why we connect are discussed. The second part moves up to a network perspective. What composition of connections makes a valuable network? What kind of people are these connections normally to? This leads to the term ‘social capital’: the value of a social network. Alongside this, the role of ethnic diversity in all this is discussed, specifically in the third part. One aspect is the ability of a self-employed migrant to connect with co-ethnics (people with the same ethnic background, in this case Poles) and natives (People that are from the country they live in now, in this case Germans). The fourth part is about other aspects that affect the success directly. Three factors that seem to be most relevant are discussed: the motivation to become self-employed, the human capital and the business characteristics. The fifth part combines the findings and shows the conceptual model. The hypothesis are also listed here.

### 2.1 Connections

To understand the social network, first connections will be investigated separately. Ethnic diversity in a social network is important because the ethnic background affects the role a connection plays in a network. There are two types: strong and weak connections (Ram, 1994). Both are important and have different functions in the social network.

Connections between people are based on their mutual occupational, familial, cultural or affective ties (Portes, 1995). Social connections are fluid and adapt to changes in the needs from the people connected, as well as changing circumstances over time (Morgan & Schwalbe, 1990). Generally, people do not build connections to everyone they meet, because this requires a lot of time and effort (Nooteboom, 2013). Mutual trust is fundamental for the willingness to invest in a social connection. Trust is the belief that the “results of somebody’s intended action will be appropriate from our point of view” (Misztal, 1996).

People tend to have more trust in people that are like us, because it is easier to predict their behaviour. Their cognitive structure, as a result of experiences and environment, is like our own (Nooteboom, 2013). People that have a lot in common have a low cognitive distance, which leads to connections that are called strong (Ram, 1994) or bonding (Granovetter, 1973) ties. Because of the higher level of mutual trust, strong ties are generally more willing to help out than weak ties (Granovetter, 1973). Through strong ties one can get information from people that are known and trusted (Koller, 1988). It makes it more likely that the received information is trustworthy and accurate (Casson, 1982).

A characteristic of strong ties is that they tend to be self-enforcing when they are put to use (Lancee, 2010). Trust is easily gained when people have a lot in common and have a shared history (Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2004; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). The strength of an interpersonal connection can affect the easiness of knowledge transfer (Hansen, 1998): the stronger the connection the easier to transfer knowledge. This kind of connections are

considered as the building blocks for relationships with broader social networks (Levitte, 2004). It is often between family members, close friends, and neighbours (Gittell & Vidal, 1998), and in the case of migrants, between co-ethnics; people from the same ethnic community (Putnam, 1993).

Strong ties are important because of their reliability, but do not add much value when it comes to innovation (Nooteboom, 2013). People who are alike often have the same information and by that, these connections offer little business opportunities. It is the Strength of weak ties argument by Granovetter (1973). Even though transferring information is easier between strong ties, this type of connection will unlikely provide news business opportunities. Only a weak tie will be a bridge to interesting other social worlds (Flap, 2002). Connections to people who are different in some important way are therefore valuable to have in a social network. These kinds of connections, known as ‘weak’ (Ram, 1994) or ‘bridging’ (Granovetter, 1973) ties, are between people who have a larger cognitive distance (Nooteboom, 2013). Weak ties are for example between business partners, acquaintances, former employers, or former colleagues. Connections to natives are more likely to be weak ties (Putnam, 1993). Weak ties function like an information bridge that makes different sources of information and knowledge available that is based in strong-tie networks (Fuduric, 2008). The transfer of knowledge between people with a larger cognitive distance can improve the performance of businesses (Reagans & McEvity, 2003). Weak connections, to people that are more unlike the self-employed migrant, are therefore important. Weak ties are mostly effective when they bridge over social distance (Granovetter, 1973) and by that connects people that otherwise would not have met.

Both kind of ties seem to be important, but whether the support from either strong or weak ties is more important is an issue researchers did not manage to agree on. Brüderl & Preisendörfer (1998) say that support from strong ties seems to be more important than from weak ties. On the other hand, dense and homogenous networks can be ‘truncated’ (Portes, 1995), meaning that it provides a limited amount of opportunities. When a social network only contains strong ties, one may lack connections that can help expend opportunities (Erickson, 1998; Levitte, 2004) and provide valuable information (Granovetter, 1973). A combination of both strong and weak ties is therefore the most effective composition of a network (Levitte, 2004). Strong and weak ties should not be seen as mutually exclusive, this view can lead to a false simplification (Patulny & Svendsen, 2007). Putnam (1993) argues that dense and bonding networks are useful for ‘getting by’ and outward looking bridging ties contribute to ‘getting ahead’. This gives the opportunity to benefit from both types of ties.

## **2.2 Composition of the social network**

The social network is about the sum of these connections (Portes, 1995). The support resources a social network provides, determines the social capital; It is the goodwill –sympathy, trust, and forgiveness- the network offers to a person (Adler & Kwon, 2002). Social support plays an essential role in the survival and growth of businesses (Brüderl & Preisendörfer, 1998). The main component of social capital is mutual trust (Gambetta, 1988; Putnam, 1993; Fukuyama, 1995). Solidarity and mutual trust create social capital, which benefits all the members of the network (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993; Portes & Zhou, 1992).

Adler and Kwon (2002) agree with that and even go a step further: they say that both the concepts of trust and social capital are synonyms. They state that trust can be seen as both a source and a form of social capital. It is a self-enforcing interaction between trust and cooperation: mutual trust will increase the cooperation, which will again increase trust (Aaltonen & Akola, 2012). Social capital is a product of past consumption (Becker, 1996). Spending time together can help with deciding whether one can trust the other person, which makes people more willing to engage in social exchange (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). The

investment in social capital is most of all human time (Westlund & Bolton, 2003). Yet, when it is only used without investing in it, social capital wears out. Just asking for help and not putting time into the connection makes the other person less willing to help.

### Support resources

Support resources are an important aspect of the social network of migrants (Flap, 2002). There are a lot of ways in which friends and family can help a self-employed migrant, for example by answering questions, sharing experience, involvement in decision making, supplying crucial resources, providing new connections to potential clients, and offering loyal labour (Kourtit & Nijkamp, 2012). Also from the ethnic community support can come in several forms (Cobas & DeOllos, 1989), like providing information and cheap labour.

Additionally, clients are important for a business. The co-ethnic migrants are often a good and loyal selling market (Chiswick et al., 2005). Yet, focusing on this group can be a risky strategy, since it can scare off potential clients from other ethnic backgrounds. Polish businesses seem to have not only Polish, but also German clients and people with others ethnic backgrounds. Kot (2017) found that about 70% of the Polish restaurateurs in Berlin have German clients, 50% have Polish clients in Berlin and 25% have Polish clients in Poland.

There are several categorizations of support resources available in literature. According to Ram (1994), there are three main ways in which network can help the self-employed migrant: labour, information and assistance. Light et al. (1993) have a different distinction and consider financing and advice as the main support resources. Labour support can be important, but this only counts for slightly larger businesses. Support by financing can be seen as a form of assistance. People in a network can provide the self-employed migrant with their knowledge as well as goods. 'Labour', 'Advice and information' and 'Assistance and financing' are the three support resources that will be considered below.

#### - Labour

In case the self-employed migrant is in need of labour force, the social network can be an easy and cheap way to find employees. Within the social network an employer can search for flexible labourers with the right skills. Migrants are more likely to hire people from the same ethnic background to work in their business (Ram, 1994). Especially family plays an important role in the operation of ethnic enterprises: usually spouses and children contribute by offering free labour to the business (Cobas & DeOllos, 1989; Ram, 1994).

#### - Assistance and financing

The migrant network can provide access to various kinds of mutual aid and assistance, like training, purchasing at lower prices, dealing with formalities from institutions, marketing and the introduction of new products or techniques (Ram, 1994). Furthermore, information about business opportunities is an important resource that can be derived from the social network. When looking at cooperation between entrepreneurs, it seems that Poles work together with businesses from different ethnic backgrounds. According to Kot (2017) Polish restaurateurs in Berlin indicate to work together with German (70%), Polish (40%) and other ethnic backgrounds (20%) within Berlin. 30% cooperates with firms in Poland.

An important form of assistance from the network to the self-employed migrant is by financing. It is often hard for ethnic entrepreneurs to find formal ways of funding. Self-employed migrants have difficulties applying for a loan because one needs to understand where to apply and how the procedure works. Migrants often have problems with this because of a lack of knowledge on the local financial administrations and bureaucratic legislation (Collins, 2003). Also language can be a barrier in this (Toussaint-Comeau, 2005). On top of that,

institutions are more strict in lending to self-employed migrants compared to natives, because migrants have no history of borrowing money (Tseng, 1997). All together, these constraints make that ethnic entrepreneurs use less formal sources for financing (Aaronson et al., 2000). Connections to natives, who usually have more knowledge of the rules and regulations in the host country, can help mitigating this problem. Weak ties offer the self-employed migrant a way of solving small problems.

Instead of formal funding, migrants use their personal social network to find funding for their business (Light & Bonacich, 1988). Co-ethnic ties are important for financing immigrant businesses (Tseng, 1997; Menzies et al., 2003). Ethnic financial resources play an important role in setting up immigrant businesses (Toussaint-Comeau, 2005), since opportunities for funding are less often available for immigrant businesses than for businesses owned by natives (Kushnirovich & Heilbrunn, 2008). Migrants are more likely to finance their businesses with capital borrowed from family and friends, compared to native entrepreneurs (Tseng, 1997). This can be an obstacle for migrants to start a business, since they need to know people who are willing and able to lend them the necessary amount of money.

#### - Advice and information

People in the network can provide one another with advice, on topics like pricing, technology, business operations, entering sectors (Light et al., 1993), and maintaining credibility of the social connections (Chriswick & Miller, 2005). Also, all kinds of information can become available through the network, which opens new business opportunities. Formal sources of advice are abundantly available too, but self-employed migrants often consider information coming from network ties to be more useful, reliable, exclusive, and less redundant than information from formal sources (Brüderl & Preisendörfer, 1998). On top of that, knowledge transfer is easier when both individuals have knowledge in common, thus between people with similar training and background characteristics (Reagans & McEvily, 2003). People who have a strong connection can help with the thinking process and advice. Yet, these people are likely to have similar knowledge and by that the information they have is often abundant.

#### The number of connections

According to Flap (2002), another main aspect of the social network is the number of connections. Yet, it is not simply about the sum of people, but more importantly about the amount of support resources the network provides (Haug & Pointner, 2007). Not all connections provide support resources, and some provide sources that can also be found elsewhere. Furthermore, relations are not only helpful, but ask for attention as well. Too many demanding relations can pressure the growth and maintenance of a business (Levitte, 2004). In order to build an efficient and useful social network, one needs to consider whether certain ties are worth the investment (Nooteboom, 2013). Besides choosing the right people to connect with, the intensity of the connections should be considered as well (Nooteboom, 2006). One should consider whether it is worth the investment, in terms of time and commitment, to build strong relations with certain people. Strong ties are not always cost effective, excessively strong links can be very costly to maintain (Hansen, 1998). The function of connections in the network should therefore be taken into consideration.

When connections demand more than they provide it can even have negative consequences for the value of the social network. When considering tight networks, there can be four possible negative consequences for the group: “exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, restrictions on individual freedoms, and downward levelling norms” (Portes, 1995). Internal rules keep the group together, but restrict members from growing and making their own decisions as well. Negative consequences are often rational solutions from the past that were meant to safeguard the group’s interest (Westlund & Bolton, 2003). Whether social

capital is used in a more positive or negative manner depends on whether the group's goals are in line with those of the society as a whole (Westlund & Bolton, 2003). But, since networks and situations can change over time, it can make old solutions unsuitable.

### 2.3 Ethnic diversity

These negative consequences as stated by Portes (1995) are a risk for ethnic communities. This community can be a source of safety and stability, but can also create limitations. Self-employed migrants can become restricted by the finite opportunities the ethnic community has to offer. The ethnic community can restrain a self-employed migrant to connect to people with other ethnic background and by that, they can get locked-in with their own ethnic group.

'But why do migrants depend on their co-ethnics so much then?', one may wonder. Of course, clustering and being part of the community has perks as well. Ethnic groups tend to cluster in large cities, like Berlin, to take advantage of network externalities (Carrington et al., 1996). Social networks are place and time dependent, they seem less homogenous when viewing it from a higher level (Westlund & Bolton, 2003), meaning that people living in the same place more likely have similar experiences which makes them more alike and have the same information. For building a social network, this clustering is useful in connecting to co-ethnics. Most people find it easier to move to a place with co-ethnics when they migrate to another country, since this is often an easy start for building a social network. Maybe the migrants knew some people from home already, but others they met in the host country. Because they likely have relatively a lot in common, people are more likely to trust the other person, and that is crucial in order to build strong ties (Nooteboom, 2013). The ethnic community can provide a tight network of strong ties and mutual trust.

Even though the ethnic community seems like an easy start for building a social network, having a certain ethnic background does not mean that one is a member of the community right away. Whether or not a self-employed migrant is able to build a social network within the ethnic community depends on how much connected one feels to this ethnic background. Involvement tells more than whether someone has roots in in country of origin (Chaganti & Greene, 2002). For instance, migrants that strongly identify themselves with their ethnic background are more likely to buy from co-ethnics, especially when the service does not require large involvement (Donthu & Cherian, 1994). Socio-cultural bonds create an above average loyalty between the ethnic firm and the client (Donthu & Cherian, 1994). This is an advantage for migrants over natives (Chriswick, Lee & Miller, 2005), which may have a positive effect on the success of self-employed migrants. Feeling connected to the ethnic background is important in bonding with co-ethnics.

Migrant networks are a special kind: they score lower in stability and continuity of social relationships, because migrants moved over large distances (Ryan et al., 2008). Within the ethnic community there is often a lot of trust, which is an important factor in explaining why this group is often so important (Masurel et al., 2004). The fact that migrant networks more rapidly change can be an advantage, because as explained earlier, new connections are important for keeping the social capital productive. One should look for new 'input' in the network while preserving the best features of the old ties (Westlund & Bolton, 2003).

The migrants' network is frequently used for sharing information and knowledge (Light et al., 1993), because it is easy, inexpensive and the credibility of the information is secured by the mutual trust and relationships in the network (Ram, 1994). Dyer and Ross (2000) found an intra-cluster ethnic loyalty and intensive communication behaviour within the ethnic community. Knowledge sharing requires mutual understanding, which can be a result of shared culture and goals (Ryan, 2011). Ethnic culture seems to create specific customer relationships (Donthu & Cherian, 1994), which can be a comparative advantage for self-employed migrants over people who are not part of the community (Dyer & Ross, 2000).

Despite the fact that feeling connected to your roots is important in connecting to co-ethnics, it can make it harder to connect to people from other ethnic backgrounds. Both Dyer and Ross (2000) as well as Donthu and Cherian (1994) observed potential clients who were scared off to consume at businesses that are strongly identified with a certain ethnic group, especially when these clients are from other ethnic backgrounds. This stigma can be caused by language barriers, lack of trust and racism (Chen & Cole, 1988; Ram, 1994). It is a trend in society, explained by the 'constrict theory', which makes it hard for migrants to build a social network that contains natives (Putnam, 2007). According to this theory, the increased diversity in societies reduces the trust and community participation. This general lack of trust makes it very hard for newcomers to access social networks.

Although it may be hard to build those, connections to people from other ethnic backgrounds, and especially natives, can be very valuable. It is important that migrants connect to people who are slightly different from themselves because it provides the ability to test to a diverse audience. Yet, migrants have fewer opportunities for building these kind of ties compared to natives (Brüderl & Preisendörfer, 1998). They show that non-German business founders receive less support from weak ties, compared to native Germans.

Connections to natives can be valuable because they can provide knowledge on the local culture and rules and regulations. Besides, they can be used as a bridge to new business opportunities. Natives often have better access to information, naturally because they have been exposed to the host-country goings and regulations for a longer time (Kanas et al., 2009). Yet, building such connections is easier said than done. Local knowledge is essential to building effective social capital (Ostrom, 2000; Ryan et al., 2008). Lacking the ability to speak the local language and knowledge and understanding of the culture likely have a negative effect on the possibility of creating a useful personal social network (Mata & Pendakur, 1999). Native intermediaries can be used to connect to other natives (Ram, 1994). It seems to be a way to solve this but it may be hard for migrants to start with that. Additionally, when a migrant is able to build connections to natives, their help in this may not be that necessary anymore. Those who are most in need of this kind of help, cannot make the connections, and those who can do not need that much help with this anymore. It is a contradiction that makes socializing very hard and ties migrants to their connections to co-ethnics. Yet, the ones who are nonetheless able to break through the barriers of segregation will benefit from their connections to people from other ethnic backgrounds, since diversity in the network is very important.

Additionally to the natives and the co-ethnics in the host country, there are also the people from the same ethnic background that are still in their homeland, in this case Polish people in Poland. Where social networks in general are closely connected to the geographical location one lives in, the network of migrants is often dispersed over a wide area, and even transnational (Portes, 1995). Berlin is only 100 kilometres away from to the Polish border and it is therefore likely that Polish self-employed migrants in Berlin stay in contact with people they know in their homeland. Not just by travelling back and forth; modern technology can make it easy to stay in touch.

Family and friends that stayed behind often still play an important role in providing support (Haug & Pointner, 2007; Wellman, 2002), as well as in transferring knowledge (GEM Country Report Germany, 2017/2018). Transnational ties with people in the country of origin are even one of the main sources of social capital (Haug & Pointner, 2007). It is therefore important for migrants to stay in touch with the people who stayed in the country of origin.

### Conclusion social networks

To conclude on social networks, different aspects of connections and networks are important in order to create social capital. It is the sum of capital the connections in the network can provide. Optimally, all the connections provide information and other kinds of capital that is

new and could not have been gathered in other, easier ways. It introduces the self-employed migrant with new business opportunities and provides capital in a useful and easy way. It seems that this can be derived from weak ties. Yet, connections to people with a smaller cognitive distance are more willing to help in general. Also, transferring knowledge is easier with people who have similar experience and background.

The ethnic community can be a valuable source of strong ties to people who have a small cognitive distance. It provides loyal customers and trustworthy information supply. However, it may be that those who are not dependent on this will be more successful. It can be hard for migrants to break through the barriers of integration. It is hard to make connections to people with completely different backgrounds, beliefs and who speak a different language. Presumably, those who are able to break through this are more successful entrepreneurs.

A self-employed migrant is thus preferably strongly connected to her/his ethnic background, but at the same time not too much. This seems to be hard to balance. One should be able to connect to both co-ethnics and natives to build a valuable network with the required diversity. The right balance probably depends on the situation, the preferences of the person and her/his environment and the ambitions as a self-employed person. What the composition of the social network ideally looks like will be investigated further throughout this thesis.

## 2.4 Other factors

Predicting whether someone will be successful in self-employment is very complex, because of interrelated factors affecting these chances (Ray, 1993). In addition to social capital, as discussed before, human capital is a main factor in the success of self-employed migrants (Sanders & Nee, 1996). Therefore two factors will be discussed: motivation and business characteristics. Motivation is an indicator for success, because incentives that pull someone into self-employment create a higher chance of becoming successful (Amit & Muller, 1995). With business characteristics especially the demand market one is active in affects the likelihood of success (Masurel et al., 2004; Chriswick et al., 2005).

### Personal characteristics

Personal characteristics that seem to affect the success are human capital and motivation to choose self-employment as a career. Those factors will therefore be discussed below.

First, human capital is the set of experience and skills a person has (Sanders & Nee, 1996) and contains for example language ability, knowledge about relevant laws and regulations, networking skills and management skills. It enables immigrants to effectively handle difficulties that newcomers typically experience (Sanders & Nee, 1996). According to the theory of Bourdieu (1986) different kinds of capital can be transformed into one another. A high level of human capital can be put to use in building a personal social network and earn money in a job or self-employment. With a higher human capital, chances that someone will recognise opportunities, use effective business strategies and build a valuable network are maximised (Kourtit & Nijkamp, 2012).

Human capital highly correlates with class of origin (Sanders & Nee, 1996). Social background largely affects the a person's character. Having a high social background can be helpful for the self-employed migrant in acquiring the necessary capital. Besides, it is associated with the likelihood that someone finished a high level of education (Sanders & Nee, 1996). A higher level of education increases the human capital (Westlund & Bolton, 2013; Sanders & Nee, 1996).

Family background can also increase the human capital because growing up in the context of a family business can provide valuable training (Lentz & Laband, 1990). This kind of experience can provide both general and specific business human capital, meaning both

general business skills as well as sector- and job-specific knowledge (Dunn & Holtz-Eakin, 2000). Children of business owners have a higher chance than others to become self-employed (Fairlie & Robb, 2007). Parents function like a role model to their children, those who have parents successful in self-employment are more likely to be successful self-employed people as well (Dunn & Holtz-Eakin, 2000). Even though this type of human capital is often not highly valued, informal learning through family business is an important success indicator (Fairlie & Robb, 2007). It is an opportunity for future-self-employed to acquire the necessary skills and knowledge.

This lack of valuation is not just the case in informal learning. Migrants are often disadvantaged by the fact that natives do not know how to value human capital gained in the country of origin. This can make it hard for migrants to put their skills to use in the host country. Yet, it is appropriate for locals to think this way up to a certain extent. Experience and skills gained in the host country are often more useful (Kanas et al., 2009), since they help the migrant in understanding the local business climate.

Second, motivations to become self-employed can be various. One does not just start a business because needed resources are available; deciding to become self-employed depends on various time and place dependent factors. As Kloosterman (2010) explains it: the type of business a migrant starts is not just determined by the available resources, but is also affected by the time- and-place specific opportunity structure.

Types of motivation for choosing self-employment can be divided into push and pull factors; Migrants become self-employed either out of a lack of other labour options or because they recognise opportunities (Deakins & Whittam, 2000; Abada, Hou & Lu, 2014). Some people choose self-employment because of the benefits it can provide in the case of successful self-employment. These benefits commonly include: independence, freedom, personal fulfilment and growth, flexibility, making more money and overall increased satisfaction (Carter et al., 2003). These are just a couple of the 38 motivations these researchers found.

Pull factors are seen as motivators that give a higher chance of success (Amit & Muller, 1995). This is the case for a couple of reasons. For instance, if unemployment is the incentive to choose self-employment, there may not be time nor resources to set up a business properly (Brüderl, Preisendörfer & Ziegler, 1992). On top of that, some factors that push migrants into self-employment -like poor language skills and little recognition for their human capital- likely have a negative effect on the possibility of creating a useful personal social network (Mata & Pendakur, 1999). Certain skills are useful in both finding a job and in self-employment. It implies that those who are motivated by pull factors, more likely have difficulties with building up a valuable social network.

When looking at the self-employed Poles in Berlin, being unable to find a sufficient job seems to be a relevant motivator, according to Kot (2017). This groups suffers from insufficient integration on the labour market, which drives them into self-employment.

### Business characteristics

As with personal characteristics, for the business there are many variables that affect the success of the self-employed migrant. In the case of self-employed migrants, often the target market plays an important role in this. They try to benefit from the specific skills they have as a migrant, often by targeting their co-ethnics. Migrants tend to cluster themselves in geographical areas. Besides segregation as a negative effect from that, it also creates some benefits. The main one being that clustering of potential customers of the same ethnic origin creates market niches, and with that business opportunities (Masurel et al., 2004). According to Chiswick et al. (2005) migrants can have a comparative advantage over people from outside the ethnic community when it comes to the production of goods targeting people from a specific country or language group. It is easier to understand what people want when you are a part of their group. Due to

economies of scale and cheaper labour costs by hiring people from the ethnic community, self-employed migrants can also produce even cheaper than their native competitors (Chiswick et al., 2005).

However, moving to a location with a lot of fellow immigrants has disadvantages as well. First of all, often there is fierce competition within the market niches migrants are operating in (Masurel et al., 2004; Chriswick, Lee & Miller, 2005). This is the case because of the low access barriers and again the clustering in geographical areas. Building close connections to co-ethnics is therefore a risky strategy, because the risk of the competition finding out about this information is high. Secondly, there are limited opportunities for expansion within the market, and breaking out of the market is often hard. Self-employed migrants often lack the skills to recognise chances in other markets (Masurel et al., 2004).

Focussing on the niche of co-ethnics can be a good strategy, but it contains the risk of being locked-in to this niche. Just like a social network that only contains people with the same ethnic background, this strategy creates a very limited amount of opportunities and with that it limits the chances of being successful as a self-employed migrant.

## 2.5 Conceptual model

### Hypothesis

Social capital is the sum of support resources a social network provide that help with maintaining and growing a business. The amount of social capital and whether or not it is put to use is important in explaining the success of self-employed migrants.

**H.1: *Self-employed migrants who make use of the available social capital are more successful than those who do not utilise these opportunities.***

In many cases it is easier for migrants to build (strong) connections to co-ethnics than to natives, since the small cognitive distance increases trust, which makes bonding more likely (Nooteboom, 2013). The ethnic community often plays a key role in the personal social network of self-employed migrants, co-ethnics know how to value human capital. Besides, the geographical proximity of migrant businesses due to clustering behaviour brings opportunities, but creates fierce competition as well. Self-employed migrants should be aware of not getting locked-in this limited range of opportunities. The community can oppose the chances of a self-employed migrant when it comes to networking with people from other ethnic backgrounds. Migrants who maintain strong ties exclusively with groups of co-ethnics may be socially disadvantaged (Wierzbicki, 2004). Diversity is important because it optimizes the possible support resources a social network can provide. Hence, connections to people outside the ethnic community are very important. They have more knowledge about the goings in the host country and can therefore provide valuable support resources. Ethnic diversity in the social network of the self-employed migrant -ties to both people from the ethnic community as well as to natives- is a strength and increases the chance of being successful.

**H.2: *Connections to both natives and co-ethnics make a more useful network compared to a more homogenous network.***

Yet, it is hard for migrants to connect to natives, because of segregation and racism (Chen & Cole, 1988). When it comes to the ethnic community, the connection to the ethnic background and the home country is more important than the land of origin (Chaganti & Greene, 2002). In general it can be concluded that a self-employed migrant needs to find a way of living between these two worlds and connect to both communities.

Personal characteristics; speaking the language and understanding of the local culture make it more likely that a migrant is able to connect to natives. These characteristics help in building social capital, which supplies support resources. Those with many connections to people who are both willing and able to help can utilise the possibilities these support resources have to offer.

**H.3: *Personal characteristics affect the ability to build an ethnically diverse social network.***

The level of human capital a self-employed migrant has gained over time is an important indicator for success. The social class someone grew up in is affecting the human capital to a large extent. High levels of social and human capital can be transformed in other sources of capital, according to the theory of Bourdieu (1986). By that, a high level of social capital also makes it easier to acquire the necessary support resources. Work experience and education gained in the host country are more valuable because of the higher usefulness. The higher the applicability of human capital to the specific situation, the more valuable it is.

**H.4: *Personal and business characteristics affect the success of the self-employed migrant directly.***

**Conceptual model**

The hypotheses together form the conceptual model, as depicted below. The main relation that is analysed in this thesis is the effect of ethnic diversity in the social network on the success of self-employed migrants. Social capital which can be derived from ones network is regarded as an important factor for success in literature.

Additionally, the effect of the personal and business characteristics is analysed. This is mainly the case in order to complete the model, which makes the end results of the analysis more accurate (Mehmetoglu & Jakobsen, 2016). The most important part of personal characteristics is the human capital. It is an important success factor for self-employed migrants (Sanders & Nee, 1996). Furthermore, the motivation to become self-employed is analysed, since starting because of pull factors seems to be a better motivator than push factors and therefore makes success more likely. In the case of business characteristics, it is considered whether self-employed migrants are active in the niche market of their own ethnic background.

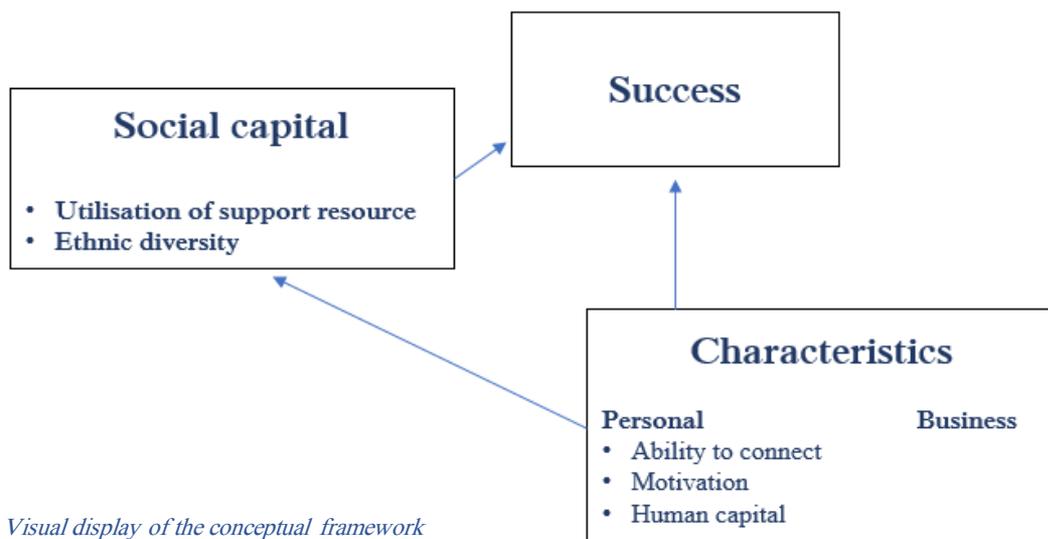


Figure 1: Visual display of the conceptual framework

Theory presents several contradictions which make it difficult to build a useful social network, especially for self-employed migrants. In general, it seems that those who are willing to help are people with a strong connection, and thus people that are a lot alike. Because of this, these connections are often less valuable in their ability to help, since people who are alike often have similar knowledge and information. In contrast to that, those who are not alike are often less willing to help, but do have the necessary support resources. This makes it hard to build a useful social network; those who pursue this should put a lot of effort in building one.

Another challenge is particularly the case for migrants, although it can be valuable for everyone to have an ethnically diverse network. When it comes to connecting to people with another ethnic background it is helpful to understand one another. Skills like speaking the same language are essential in conversation and therefore in networking. Understanding the other person's culture makes connecting easier and minimalizes the risk of misunderstanding. Literature states that native intermediaries can be used to connect to natives (Ram, 1994), but it is very hard to make a start with that.

These challenges stress how difficult it can be to build a useful social network for someone who recently migrated. The social network plays an important role in the success of self-employed migrants, and it is therefore important to overcome this problem. When the community of co-ethnics is large, it is therefore not surprising that many self-employed migrants turn to this group as their target market and business partners. However, this may be different for Poles, since the Polish community seems to be very good in merging into the masses. This will be investigated more closely in the following chapters.

## 3. Methodology

In order to research the main question and the hypotheses data is needed. In this chapter will be explained how the necessary data is gathered. First it will be discussed which data is necessary and how this is gathered. The questions in the survey will be set-out as well. Second, the respondents are discussed: who are the Poles in Berlin?, who were approached to participate in the research?, and some information about the people who actually filled in the survey is included. Third, the quality of the data is discussed.

### 3.1 Necessary data

To research the hypotheses, specific information is needed about the composition of the migrants' social network. In existing literature this type of data is mostly gathered using interviews. Yet, this thesis uses a different approach in an attempt to fill a research gap by using a quantitative approach (Kourtit & Nijkamp, 2012). The use of a survey makes the received data more easily comparable, which can give different insights in the matter compared to a qualitative approach. In comparison to using an existing dataset gathering data by using a survey is a time consuming method. Yet, little information is publicly available on self-employed Poles in Berlin, and therefore using an existing data source is not an option.

The survey contains 23 questions about the social network, characteristics of the self-employed migrant and her/his business and success. It will be explained below how the questions contribute to the factors. To maximise the change that everyone understands the questions, the survey is handed out in both German and Polish. Both translations are checked by someone who speaks the language as a mother tongue. In this way the risk of a bias on language skills and education level is limited.

#### Social capital

There are many ways to determine the composition of the social network, but just like Kourtit and Nijkamp (2012) did, it is tried to keep the questions simple. Difficult questions would possibly scare off possible respondents. To start with, data about the utilization of social capital is needed. To determine whether the social network and the support resources it provides affects the self-employed migrants and her/his success, the connections the network contains need to be charted. First, it is asked how the connections came to existence in the first place. This indicates whether they focus on the informal personal social network or a more professional network. Second, respondents were asked whether they get any help with financing or advisory, just like Kourtit and Nijkamp (2012) did. The possible answers to this question indicate the kind of relation; support from someone they are either strongly or weakly connected to, or a formal source. Also, a question regarding support from people that are still in Poland is included. Third, to get a better idea of how the network is composed and built, respondents were asked where their stakeholders are located: in Berlin, elsewhere in Germany, in Poland, or in another place. People in the same location are more likely to have similar experiences, and with that, similar knowledge and information (Westlund & Bolton, 2003). This increases the risk of information being redundant. Yet, knowledge about the local market and the rules and regulations is necessary in running a business (Brüderl, Preisendörfer, & Ziegler, 1992). People in the same geographical area more likely have the necessary information.

## Ethnic diversity

In order to analyse the effect of ethnic diversity in the social network, information about the ethnic background of people in the network is needed. Four types of people the self-employed migrant can be connected to are considered: Connections to employees, clients, business partners, and other people that provide any kind of support.

Migrants are more likely to hire people from the same ethnic background (Ram, 1994), the network of the ethnic community is an effective and cheap way to recruit personnel. The survey contains a question about the ethnic background of personal (if applicable) to indicate to what extent the self-employed migrant is connected to the ethnic community and to see if the respondents make use of the opportunities this network may provide.

In the case of clients, there is a delicate balance in ethnic diversity. On the one hand, co-ethnics are often loyal customers (Donthu & Cherian, 1994), what can make this an interesting target group. Yet, on the other hand, a clear connection to a certain ethnic community can scare off potential clients from other ethnic backgrounds (Dyer & Ross, 2000; Donthu & Cherian, 1994) and with that create a lock-in effect (Ryan et al., 2008). To see how the respondents deal with this, questions about their target market and the ethnic background of their clientele are included.

Support in the form of advisory and financing often comes from co-ethnics, even though this may not be the best source of support in some situations. Transferring information is easier between people with a small cognitive distance (Reagans & McEvily, 2003), but natives are more likely to have specific knowledge about the local market and rules and regulations (Kanas et al, 2009) which is very helpful in running a business. The survey contains questions about the ethnic background of the business relations and support resources to learn more about this balance and how respondents deal with it.

When it comes to the composition of ethnic backgrounds in the network, it is not useful to ask for the amount of connections, since it is very hard to say a number of people you know from a certain ethnic background. And as the theory shows, it is not about the total number of connections, but about the sum of support resources it provides (Haug & Pointner, 2007). Instead, questions about ethnic backgrounds ask for a percentage.

## Personal characteristics

The personal characteristics can have both a direct and an indirect effect on the success. Directly though the level of human capital and the motivation to start in self-employment, indirectly by affecting the ability to build a valuable social network. On top of that, questions about other personal characteristics are included in the survey to create an idea of the people who participated in the survey. It therefore contains questions regarding age, gender, time spend in Germany, language skills, education level and country and experience level and country are included, just like in the article by Kourtit and Nijkamp (2012). Their article also includes questions about family composition (marital status, number of children), but to keep this survey short not to scare off possible respondents, this kind of questions are not used here.

### - Direct effects

Questions about education and experience are included in order to measure human capital (Sanders & Nee, 1996), which can affect the migrants' success directly. Human capital is positively affected by the level of education (Westlund & Bolton, 2013; Sanders & Nee, 1996) and the amount of experience with self-employment and the sector one is currently active in (Brüderl & Preisendörfer, 1998). Since experiences and skills gained in the host country are often more useful (Kanas et al., 2009), questions about whether they tended education and gained experience in Poland, Germany or in another place are included.

Those who choose to become self-employed in the first place out of pull factors are more likely to be successful than those who became self-employed out of a lack of other options (Amit & Muller, 1995), a question regarding motivation is therefore included in the questionnaire.

- Indirect effects

The motivation for choosing self-employment can also indicate an indirect effect on success. Factors that push migrants into self-employment likely make it harder to build a useful personal social network (Mata & Pendakur, 1999). Several other factors influence the ability to build a valuable social network as well. First, to what extent someone feels connected to her/his ethnic background can affect the ability to connect with people in their co-ethnic community. One is not simply a member of the ethnic group just by having the same ethnic background; feeling connected to the culture and heritage is important in this (Chaganti & Greene, 2002). Second, the survey contains questions about German and English language skills. It is important for two people to speak a common language in order to make a connection (Mata & Pendakur, 1999). English could make the importance of speaking German less, since Berlin is such an internationally oriented city and many people are able to speak English. Respondents are therefore asked about their skills in both languages. Third, the time someone has spent in Germany can affect the success indirectly. It can affect the ability to build a valuable network and connect with natives, since local knowledge is essential in building effective social capital (Ostrom, 2000; Ryan et al., 2008). Lacking knowledge and understanding of the culture and insufficient skills in speaking the local language likely have a negative effect on the possibility of creating a useful personal social network (Mata & Pendakur, 1999).

### Business characteristics

To check for other factors that might explain the success, the business characteristics are taken into account. First, the local market can affect the likelihood that a business will thrive (Brüderl, Preisendörfer, & Ziegler, 1992). A saturated market makes success less likely. Also, an innovative and experimental product is higher in risk of going bankrupt. Second, businesses who have employees at the moment of founding are more likely to thrive (Brüderl, Preisendörfer, & Ziegler, 1992). When a business has employees more people together can have more skills and knowledge, which can help the business forward. In addition, self-employed migrants can get help from family and/or close friends, which can also affect the success of the business in a positive way (Brüderl & Preisendörfer, 1998).

### Success

Finally, data about the success is gathered. The age of the business is asked, because survival can be seen as minimum criterion of success (Brüderl & Preisendörfer, 1998). If a self-employed person is still in business at the moment the survey was filled in can be seen as a right-censored observation. No information about a further future is provided by this question. Additionally, the number of employees is considered, since it indicates the size of the business. Also, questions are asked to determine how content the self-employed migrant is, regarding the finances, amount of work and to what extent someone is overall content.

Regarding the finances, the Likert scale may not be the most obvious method. In literature -for example Robinson and Sexton (1994), who also use earnings as a measure of success- respondents are asked for an amount of profit. Yet, this thesis uses the Likert scale, for several reasons. First, respondents may not know these things by heart, which makes it less likely that they will fill in the survey completely. Second, this kind of data is confidential and can easily be manipulated, either on purpose or accidentally. Besides, these things can change quickly over time. It is not possible to check whether the numbers are correct, since the

researcher does not have insight in the administration. It may therefore not be ethical as well as useful to ask these kind of questions. Third, it may not even be interesting to know how much someone makes exactly. By asking the respondent whether (s)he is content, the profit is already compared to what the person needs and expected. This seems to be a more appropriate indicator of success in this thesis.

The other two indicators are used to give better insight into satisfaction of the respondents. Where the finances mostly are about the present, satisfaction with the size of the business and the amount of work also includes ambition for the future. The final question puts everything together, since there can be many causes for why someone is content being self-employed.

In these three questions regarding success (and some other factors) the Likert scale is used (Likert, 1932), on a scale from one to seven. It is a useful tool to indicate the respondents' personal opinion. Yet, the method has a limitation, namely that the optimum is not always the same. For example in the question 'Are you content with the size of the business/the amount of work you have?' The answer can range from 'too small/little' to 'too large/much', and therefore option 4 is the optimum. This is different for a question like 'Are you overall content with the operations of the company?'. Here option 7 indicates maximum satisfaction with the business. This can be confusing for respondents. To prevent this from happening, which one is the optimum is clearly stated in these questions.

<b>Social capital</b>	<b>Personal characteristics</b>	<b>Business characteristics</b>
Social support	Age	Sector
First meeting business relations	Gender	Age business
Geograph. location stakeholders	Time in Germany	Target group
Support home country	Language skills (German, English)	N employees
<b>Ethnic diversity</b>	Level of education	<b>Success</b>
Ethnic background clients	Country of education	Content, size business
Ethnic background employees	Relevant experience	Content, finances
Ethnic background other	Resemblance work experience	Overall content
Ethnic background support	Geographical location experience	Age business
Target group	Motivation	N employees
	Connection to ethnic community	

Table 1: Factors and indicators as used in the survey

## 3.2 Respondents

### Poles in Berlin

Nowadays, 55000 inhabitants of Berlin have a Polish background (statisches amt Berlin/Brandenburg, 2019). In economic sense, it the largest non-German economy in Berlin (Kot, 2017). The number of Polish migrants in Berlin increased a lot after Poland joined the European union in 2004. In that time the number of Polish firms in the city increased rapidly. Though there is no information available on the exact number of Polish businesses, the graph below gives an indication. It shows that the number of Polish businesses has slightly been growing for a number of years; over a period of 9 years the number of Polish businesses in Berlin increased by 23.247. With minus 191 businesses, 2018 was the first year in which the deregistrations outnumbered the new businesses (statisches amt Berlin/Brandenburg, 2019).

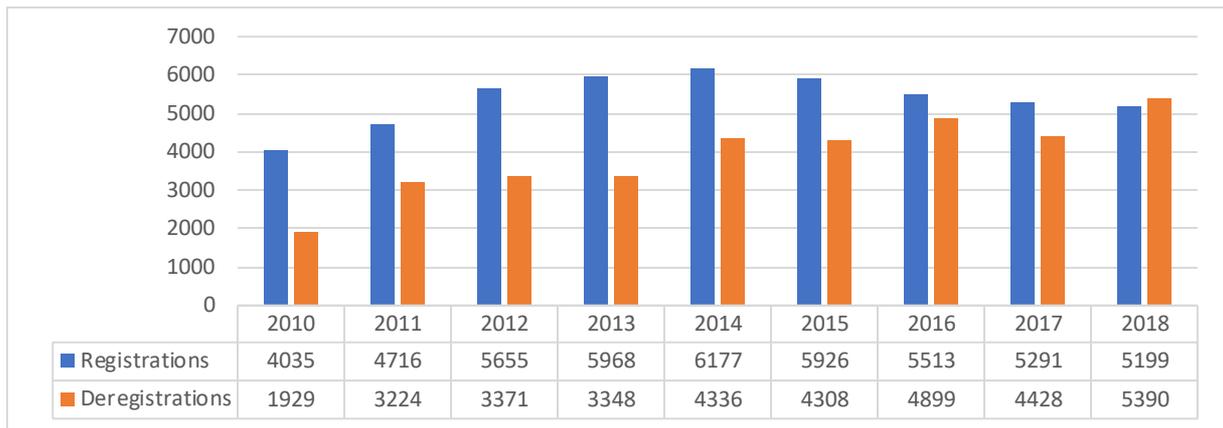


Figure 2: Change in number of Polish businesses in Berlin. Source: statisches amt Berlin/Brandenburg, 2019).

Geographically speaking, most of those businesses are located in the areas Mitte (center) and to a lesser extent in Charlottenburg-Wilhelmsdorf (West) and Neukölln (southeast) (Kot, 2017). Yet, since Berlin is located close to the Polish border, it is likely that there are many people that do not officially live in the city, but are active in Berlin. To illustrate, an entrepreneur at the Polish Berlin tech meeting explained that he has an apartment both in Berlin and in Poznan and he often commutes between those two cities. Because it is likely that more people commute and thus may not be registered in Berlin, it is hard to tell how many Polish people exactly live and run a business in Berlin. Besides, it can be that some are active in the unofficial market, and are therefore not to be found. The number of self-employed Poles that are active in Berlin is therefore likely to be incomplete.

In addition to that, Poles are very hard to find in the German capital, because they try their best not to stand out. Polish businesses are very well integrated into the Berlin business climate (Kot, 2017). Experts call the Poles ‘an invisible minority’ [‘eine unsichtbare Minderheit’] (Smechowski, 2017), for example because some change their names to more German-sounding versions (Smechowski, 2017): Emilka became Emilia and Pawel turned into Paul (Rubinroth, 2019; Watty, 2019). Even though these are individual stories, it illustrates the situation of Polish people in Germany well. Although scientific research nuances the story a bit (Panagiotidis, 2019), this might explain why Poles are so invisible in the streets of Berlin.

### Finding respondents

Only 12 people filled in the survey, even though many methods were used to approach possible respondents. By using Facebook and other social media, as well as organisations and network associations, a lot of people were reached at once. Additionally, by e-mail and personal visits in establishments individual entrepreneurs were asked to participate in the research. Also, Poles in Berlin who are not self-employed themselves were asked to spread the survey among their network.

Most people were reached through Facebook; the groups in which the survey was distributed together had almost 70.000 members. Yet, it is likely that many of those groups contain the same people, which makes it hard to determine the exact amount of people that was approached. The Facebook groups are regarding Polish businesses in Berlin, start-ups in Berlin or are focussed on people in Berlin with a Polish background. The message was spread in German, Polish and/or English, depending on the target group of the Facebook groups. Also, 30 people received a personal message through Facebook, asking to participate in the survey. The message was in Polish and German.

On top of that, about 145 small businesses were e-mailed to ask for their participation. Of these, presumably almost everyone is a self-employed migrant with a Polish background in

Berlin, although it is sometimes hard to state this for sure. E-mail addresses were found by google search, but also via Facebook, articles in online magazines and a list from the embassy with Polish speaking legal advisers. Since it is hard to determine the ethnic background and type of legal entity from some of these sources, it is likely that several e-mails were sent to people that are not part of the population of interest. In the e-mail it was made clear that only self-employed Poles are asked to participate.

Additionally, two organisations -Ostpost and SIBB- e-mailed some possible respondents. Ostpost e-mailed 5 people, it is not clear how many were asked by SIBB. Several organisations were contacted, for example the Polish embassy in Germany (located in Berlin), Polish institute in Berlin and several associations, as listed by Kot (2017). Unfortunately, the help they were willing to provide is less than expected. In general, organisations did not reply or did not want to help.

With another association -Polish tech Berlin- one of their meetings was attended. They gave the opportunity to explain the thesis on stage and ask for participants. Unfortunately, because this meeting took place in the summer time, few people showed up that time. Also, not everyone at the meeting was Polish or did want to participate. Because of that, just a few respondents were found by this method.

It is impossible to determine how many people exactly saw the survey because of these methods for finding respondents, and by that, it is not possible to calculate the response rate. But looking at the number of people asked and the total number of respondents, the response rate is likely to be very low. The number of respondents is generally low in this field of research, and because of that a significance level of 10% seems to be appropriate (See for example, Kourtit & Nijkamp, 2012). Besides, the response rate is also generally low in researching Polish entrepreneurs in Berlin (Kot, 2017) and therefore simply as many people as possible, given the time restriction, were asked. Because it is not clear how many Polish self-employed people are actually active in Berlin, it is not possible to calculate the number of respondents that is needed for a significant result.

The survey is completely anonymous to secure the privacy of the respondents. Because of that it is not clear who asked the respondent to participate and therefore the most effective method is unclear. But, looking at the time of responding, it seems that most answers were recorded after sending personal e-mails.

### Ethical aspects

Because of the segregation and discrimination Poles in Berlin sometimes experience, it should be considered whether a research specifically on this group is ethical. Possible outcomes of this thesis could contribute to racism towards this group, since it confirms that ethnic background may actually be relevant. Yet, this ethnic group is approached respectfully and the goal of this thesis is not to accentuate differences, but to help overcome these. The intention is to contribute to this groups' well-being and therefore this thesis seems to be ethical to conduct.

As stated before, the e-mail addresses of the ones responding are not registered, the survey is completely anonymous. The e-mail addresses that are used to find respondents are openly available, with that it is assumed that these can be used for the purpose of this research.

### Demographics respondents

The database exists of 12 self-employed migrants of Polish origin who are active in Berlin. This is a low number of respondents, which is the case because people from the population of interest are very hard to find and approach. The small sample makes it difficult to generalize the

findings over the population as a whole. The sample will be described below, followed by the exploratory results in the chapter 4.

The age of the respondents is between 26 and 54, with an average age of 41. The majority came to Germany in their twenties, 1 person lived in Germany his whole life. On average, the respondents lived in Germany for 16 years and the moment they filled in the survey. Most of them became self-employed in their thirties. On average, respondents lived in Germany 9 years before they started with the self-employment as they do now. Two were already self-employed when moving to Germany.

When looking at the gender of the respondent, is it equally distributed: 50% were female and 50% male. This is not in line with the theory, since in migrant groups often the number of males is higher than of females (see for example, Kourtit & Nijkamp, 2012; Sanders & Nee, 1996).

Several sectors are represented by the respondents. The largest part (36%) is in the art/music/design sector. After that, other sectors (27%) and shops (18%) are answered most frequently.

The respondents were in general highly educated, 92% finished a high level of vocational education or university. 58% followed education in Poland, the other 42% in Germany. The level of language skills is generally high, as well. Two third (75%) indicates to speak German and 67% speaks English.

Concerning the geographical location of the people in the social network, stakeholders are mainly located in Berlin (55%), few are elsewhere in Germany (10%) or in Poland (10%). The other stakeholders (25%) are located in other countries.

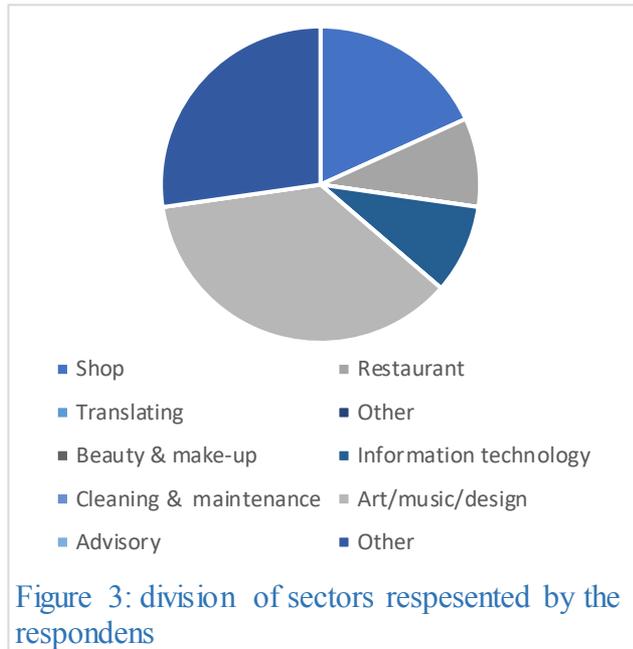


Figure 3: division of sectors represented by the respondents

### 3.3 Quality of the data

A small number of people participated in the survey, despite many attempts of approaching self-employed Poles in Berlin. This is a common problem with many studies in the field of migrants and minorities (for example, Kourtit & Nijkamp, 2012; Kot, 2017). It would probably be easier for a researcher with a Polish background and language skills, who is preferable already familiar with Berlin and the (Polish) culture in the city, to approach respondents for such a research. Attempts to collaborate with Polish organisations and associations in Berlin did not give the desired effect.

A solution considered for increasing the possible respondents is by broaden the target group. But since the Polish community in Berlin is already a large group, adding other ethnic backgrounds does not seem to be a helpful tool. This same argument counts for researching more German cities. An adjustment like this would change the thesis completely. A specific group of interest is chosen to maximize the similarities in the group and therefore minimalizing the number of other factors that could affect differences in success. Researching different ethnic groups would make it harder to control for other differences between the respondents.

## Randomness

About 80% of the Polish firms in Berlin is active in the building sector (Kot, 2017). Yet, when looking at the respondents, this sector is not represented accordingly. Reasons for that can be multiple. First, self-employed people in this sector often do not market themselves intensively through the internet and were therefore not found by the researcher. Second, they often do not have an office or any other form of fixed location, which makes it difficult to ask them in person. Third, this group is underrepresented in business associations. Fourth, if people active in this sector do make themselves available through the internet, the information is often in Polish. Altogether, this makes it hard to find them.

Comparing this, the situation is presumably very different for highly educated people. The reasons as stated above may be opposite to the explanation of the high number of highly educated respondents. On top of that, it may be the case that those who have been to university themselves are more motivated to participate in a survey, because they are more familiar with the concepts of 'research' and 'master thesis'. Because the number of respondents in the building sector is low and the education level is high, it could be that the results are not representative for the whole population. Presumably, there is a bias of highly educated people being over-represented.

On top of that, the respondents are self-employed and therefore are still in business. On average the respondents have been self-employed for slightly over 8 years in the work they are doing now, 75% has been active for over 5 years. It indicates that the respondents are generally successful. This high age of businesses might as well be caused by a bias. Since businesses that already quit are not included in the dataset, naturally because they are not in business anymore, the unsuccessful cases are therefore underrepresented. It is a false assumption that the whole population is above-average successful. Survival is after all necessary in being successful (Brüderl & Preisendörfer, 1998). The age of these businesses is high comparing to the European average, which states that 50% of the newly founded businesses in the European union ends within five years (EC, 2011). Likely, many businesses did not make it, also within among the Polish self-employed. Less successful migrants are not in business anymore or may have even decided not to start at all. It is therefore likely that the successful self-employed migrants are over-represented.

The respondents on the survey were approached using existing channels and by simply visiting their location. Because of this approach, there will be a bias on the sample of entrepreneurs that either are connected to an existing (formal) network or have a physical location for their undertaking. On top of that, most locations that were visited are either in Lichtenberg or Mitte. This approach can simply be explained by it being much more convenient as a researcher to approach people that live nearby, since Berlin is such a large city (I was located in the district of Lichtenberg myself). Although there are no signs that self-employed Poles are much different in this area than in other districts, this may explain possible differences when comparing it to other studies in Berlin.

The research took place in the summer, which is the holiday season. To illustrate, the Polish Berlin tech-meeting was the final one before the holiday break and was therefore attended by less people than is regularly the case. It may be that the more wealthy people are on holiday and are therefore not included in the data. Besides, to may be that the ones who are still closely connected to people in Poland are visiting family.

When looking at the people who were approached via internet, only those businesses that have a website which contains an e-mail address and is likely to be Polish are being asked to participate. By that approach, some businesses are being left out, which are mostly those who lack the skills to build a website or do not think they need one, or those who are very well integrated and do not show any sign of being Polish. Considering that Poles are presumably very well integrated in general (Smechowski, 2017), possibly a part of the population is already left out of the research based on that characteristic.

### Preparing data for statistical analysis

Several given answers were not useful and therefore had to be left out or be adjusted. First of all, the question about gender was not clear, since the German and Polish translations differed, which was confusing to the respondents. Because this made those answers unclear, the first five answers were not useful and I have been chosen to leave those out of the sample. Secondly, respondents were asked to indicate the percentage of Polish, German or other ethnic backgrounds they have in their networks. Yet, this did not in all cases add up to a 100 per cent. The answers that differ more than 25% were therefore adjusted. It is chosen to take the percentages of the given numbers, so the new answers add up to 100. For example, one answer added up to 165%, the percentages were all three 55%. This is adjusted to three times 33%. In this way, the proportions are maintained.

Eventually there were 13 responses to the survey. Yet, it is likely that not all these responses are unique. Two answers contained the exact same answers and were sent with in only 20 seconds in between. It seems likely that someone just sent the answer twice. One of these answers is therefore not taken into account in the results and statistical analysis, these are based on 12 respondents.

Given the small dataset, it is not possible to make a multiple regression analysis. Instead, indicators are discussed separately to explore the factors and interactions between factors are investigated using simple linear regressions. Data is combined into categories to show possible relations. Even though many results are not significant and therefore not useful for explaining the population as a whole, analysing the answers as given by the respondents can give some insights in the situation of Polish self-employed migrants in Berlin.

## 4. Results and discussion

In this chapter the results will be discussed per factor. Also, it is investigated whether factors affect each other. This will lead to the conclusions on the hypothesis, as discussed in the Conclusion (chapter 5).

### 4.1 Social capital

To understand better what the network of self-employed Poles in Berlin looks like, respondents were asked what method they use mostly to make new connections. Many self-employed migrants use the business associations in order to meet fellow self-employed people. This indicates that many respondents actively tried to build a social network. Also common relations and people from the neighbourhood are often in one her/his social network, which presumably leads to connections to a different type of person. People that happen to live nearby or have the same friends likely have less useful information than people who are entrepreneurs themselves. The question can have multiple answers, naturally because one can use more than one way to meet people.

Respondents who used networking events have less connections within Berlin. On average, those who used networking events have 43% of their connections based in Berlin, compared to 59% who only used other methods. It makes sense that those who know connections from within the neighbourhood have a many more local connections. The people who used this method, on average have 83% of their connections within Berlin.

Only a quarter of the respondents used the personal social network for support, which is less than expected. Almost half of the respondents got help in the form of advisory or financing. Those who do not use their social capital can have several reasons for that. Some because they are successful and think they do not need help, others may simply not have the social capital necessary. It is therefore not possible for what reason someone does not use social support.

When looking at the ethnic diversity in the social network, 50% of the respondents does have (almost) no clients or business partners with a Polish background. On average 25% of their clients and 31% of their other stakeholders is Polish. This is a fairly low amount, which indicates that the respondents do not have large problems connecting to people from other ethnic backgrounds. This may indicate that the migrants who connect to natives are more likely to survive. It also indicates that the Polish community in Berlin probably does not provide Poles with the advantages ethnic communities are able to (Dyer & Ross, 2000).

The small number of Polish clients is in line with the target group, which is often not focused on co-ethnics either. In fact, the largest part does not have a specific target group and only one respondent indicates to target the Polish community. With those low numbers, it seems that self-employed Poles are not dependent on their co-ethnics as a selling market.

Of the self-employed migrant with staff, 60% of their employees has a Polish background. According to Ram (1994), migrants prefer to hire people from the same ethnic background, this seems to be in line with the findings here. It is nonetheless remarkable, since many respondents indicated to not have many Polish contacts nor feel connected to the Polish community. The ethnic network seems nevertheless to be important in finding employees, one reason for that may be that they have more trust in their co-ethnics, people are more trusting when they have some important things in common (Nooteboom, 2013).

Some self-employed Poles in Berlin stayed in contact with people in Poland: 42% indicates to get any help from people in their home country. It is remarkable that the option ‘financial support’ was not answered by any respondent. This is not in line with theory, which states that this group is important in financing immigrant businesses (Toussaint-Comeau, 2005).

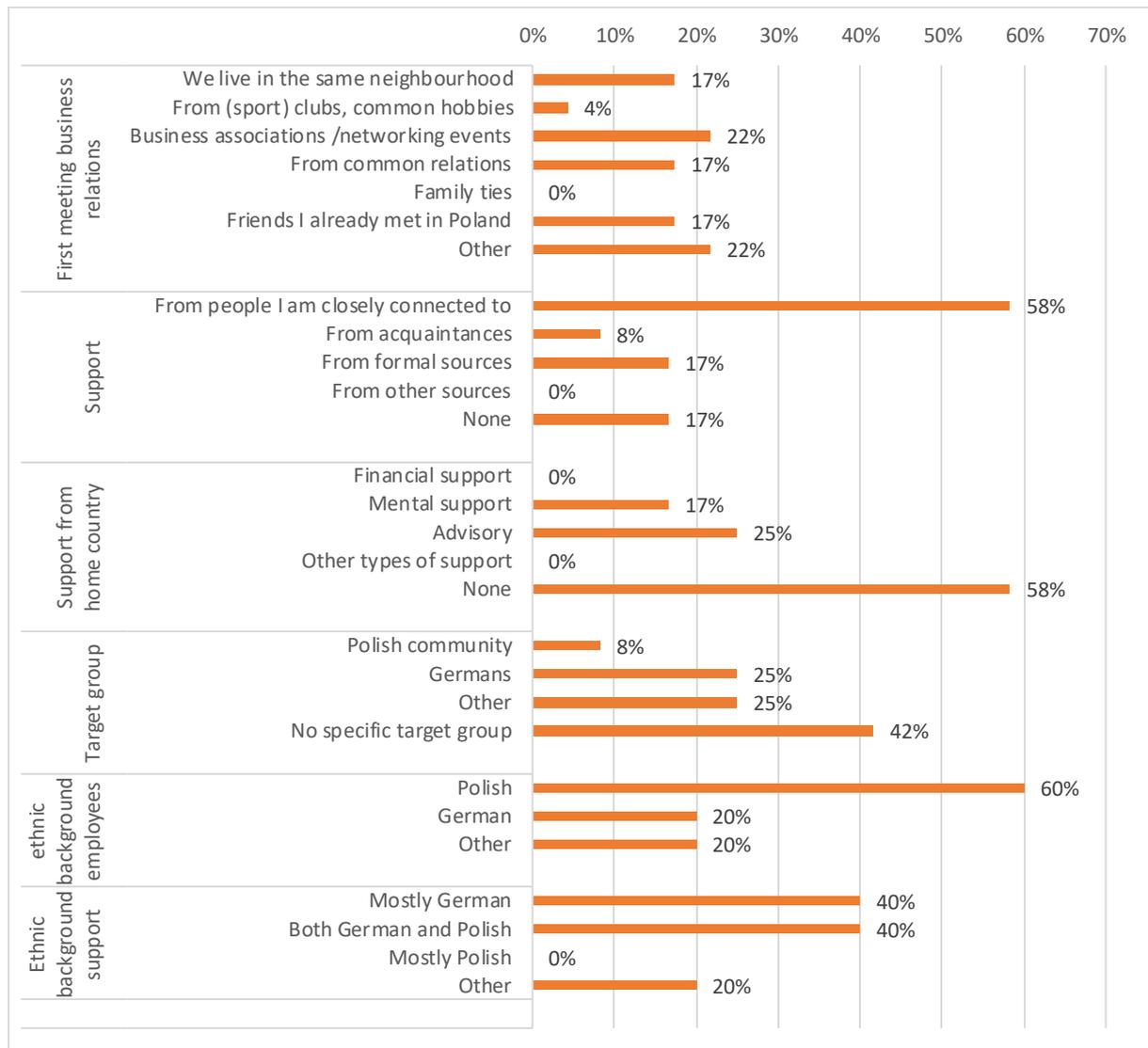


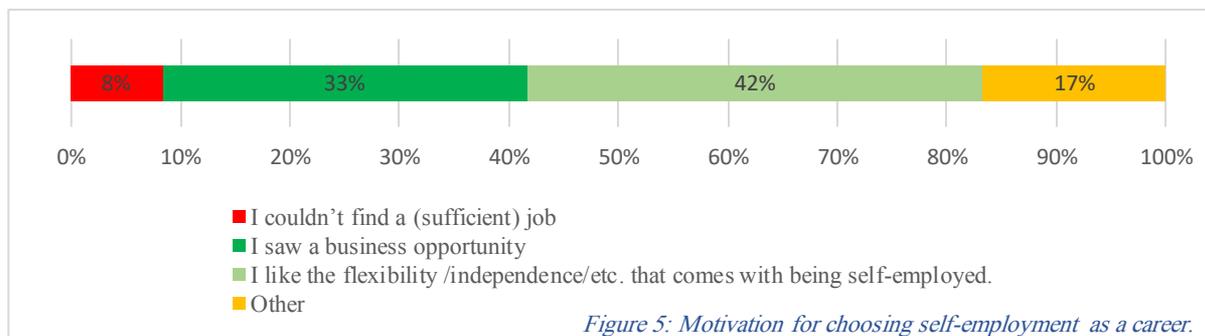
Figure 4: Results on social networks and ethnic diversity.

The respondents who make use of their social support have significantly more connections to Germans ( $P = 2,3\%$ ). This could mean two things. either those who put their connections to use have a stronger network, because connections tend to be self-enforcing when they are put to use (Lancee, 2010). And with that maybe putting a network to use causes there to be more ethnic diversity in the social network. It can also mean that a more diverse social network makes it more valuable. This distinction cannot be made from the available dataset.

The results from the survey do not show large differences when looking at the social support and the ethnic backgrounds. Whether or not the ethnic composition and the amount of social support affect each other cannot be cleared out by this dataset, but it seems that there is little effect. This is not as expected, because co-ethnics are often important in providing support resources (Tseng, 1997).

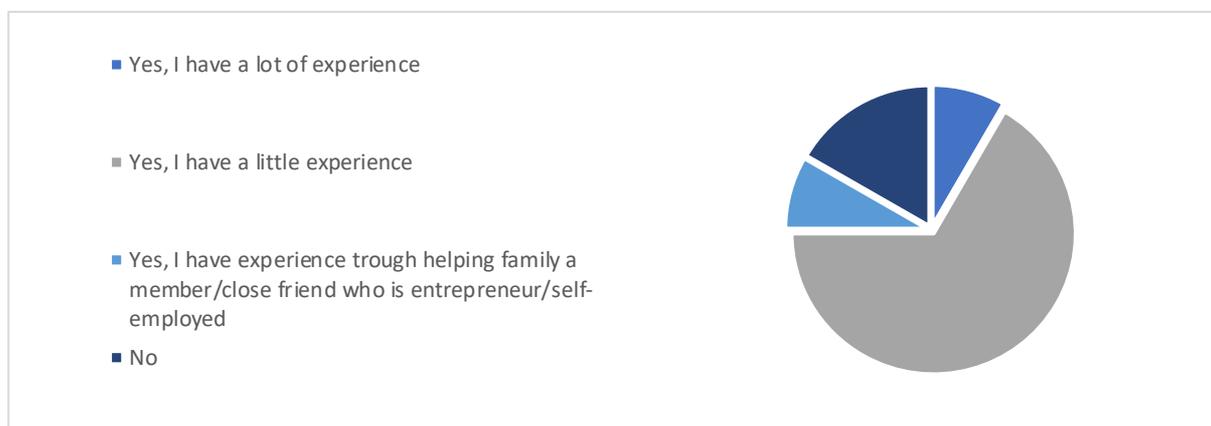
## 4.2 Personal characteristics

In order to connect to co-ethnics, it helps to feel connected to the ethnic roots (Chaganti & Greene, 2002). When looking at the results, 75% of the respondents indicates that they do not feel connected to the Polish community in Berlin (1,2,3 on a scale of 1 to 7). This is not in line with the theory, which states that the ethnic community typically has strong connections and cohesion (Putnam, 2007). As stated before, the number of connections to co-ethnic clients or business partners is low. This seems to be in line with the finding that the Polish community in Berlin is not closely connected.



When it comes to the motivation for becoming self-employed, pull factors seem to be the main motivator among the respondents. This is positive, since this is associated with a higher chance of success (Amit & Muller, 1995). Only 8% could not find a sufficient job and choose therefore to become self-employed. This shows that difficulties on the labour market has not pushed the majority to become self-employed out of necessity, which is seen as an important motivator among migrants (Mata & Pendakur, 1999; Sahin, Nijkamp & Baycan-Levent, 2007).

83% indicates to have experience with self-employment, either because they have been self-employed before (75%) or through helping others (8%). In 66% of the cases the previous work experience resembles the current work in self-employment. One person indicates that the current work is completely different from previous experience. 40% gained their experience in Berlin, which makes it more useful (Kanas et al., 2009). On average the respondents have been self-employed for slightly over 8 years, in the work they are doing now, 75% has been active for over 5 years. With that, their experience is on average high, which indicates a high level of human capital (Sanders & Nee, 1996). This is in line with the level of education and language skills, which are also discussed in the Demographics section (Chapter 3). The high level of education and language skills indicate a high level of human capital (Sanders & Nee, 1996; Westlund & Bolton, 2003).



### 4.3 Building a network

Almost half of the respondents attended school in Germany, as stated in the Demographics section (Chapter 3). Following education in the host country can contribute to the understanding of the culture, and that is important for building connections to natives (Ryan et al., 2008). Also speaking the language, in which many respondents have a high level of skills, is important in connecting. Those who followed education in Germany indicated to have a better understanding of the German language. This indicates that education in the host county contributes to the level of important skills in building connections to natives. Those who attended school in Germany on average have 60% of their clientele from a German ethnic background, compared to 30% for respondents who attended school in Poland.

Also language skills affect the amount of native connections; those who master the German language have more German clients on average. A similar picture is shown of the ethnic backgrounds of the businesses partners. This underlines the crucial role of mastering the language and understanding the culture in order to connect to people from other ethnic backgrounds, and with that expanding the business. On the other side, it seems to minimize the feeling of connection to the ethnic community. This may be because those who leave their ethnic community behind are more successful. Integrating in the local community seems to be important in building a successful business.

	Education in Germany (5 out of 12)	German language skills (8 out of 12)	Overall average
% German clients	59,8	53,375	43,1
% German business partners	51,8	45,875	35,6

Table 2: comparing personal characteristics to amount of Germans in social network

### 4.4 Success

Figure 6 shows the distribution of satisfaction as indicated on a scale of 1 to 7. In order to make the data useful despite the small number of respondents, the level of satisfaction is categorized. With the indicator 'overall content' the answers 6 and 7 are considered content, with the other two indicators the answers 3, 4 and 5 are considered content.

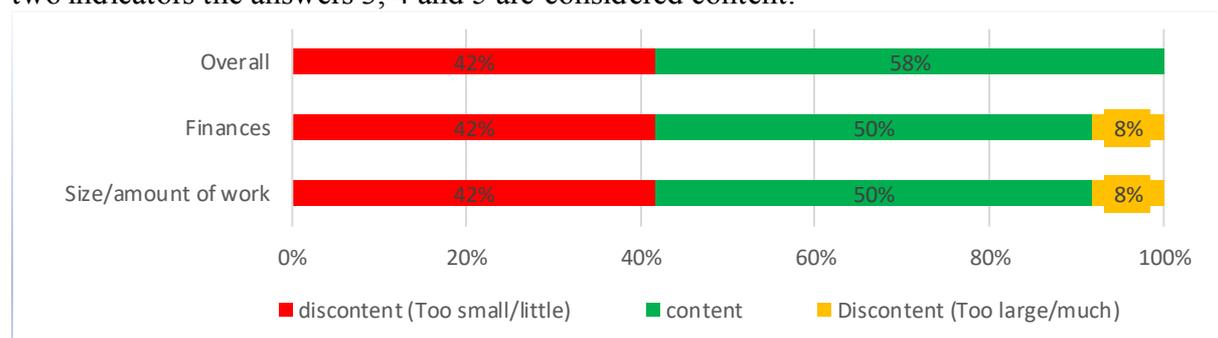


Figure 7: Self-indication of satisfaction.

Almost half of the businesses have employees, still, most respondents would like their business to be larger. When it comes to the financial stability, even more respondents indicate that they would like to see it differently: the profit is not enough for to provide personal finances 25% of the time. This indicates that the respondents do not consider themselves particularly successful. Yet, when looking at the overall satisfaction, 83% is content with being self-employed. The overall satisfaction with being self-employed seems to be high when comparing to the other two indicators. This can be explained by Sahin, Nijkamp & Baycan-Levent (2007), who state that self-employment is not just about earning a living, but also a means of recognition and social acceptance.

Moreover, the respondents are self-employed and therefore are still in business. As stated before, on average the respondents have been self-employed for slightly over 8 years in the work they are doing now, 75% has been active for over 5 years. It indicates that the respondents are generally successful.

#### 4.5 Social network and success

As the figure shows, those respondents who indicate to be content with all indicators (Business size, finances, overall content) generally have few Polish connections and do get support from the social network. The opposite is true for respondents who indicated to be discontent with all indicators. The sample is too small to draw any conclusions from, but this points out an interesting line.

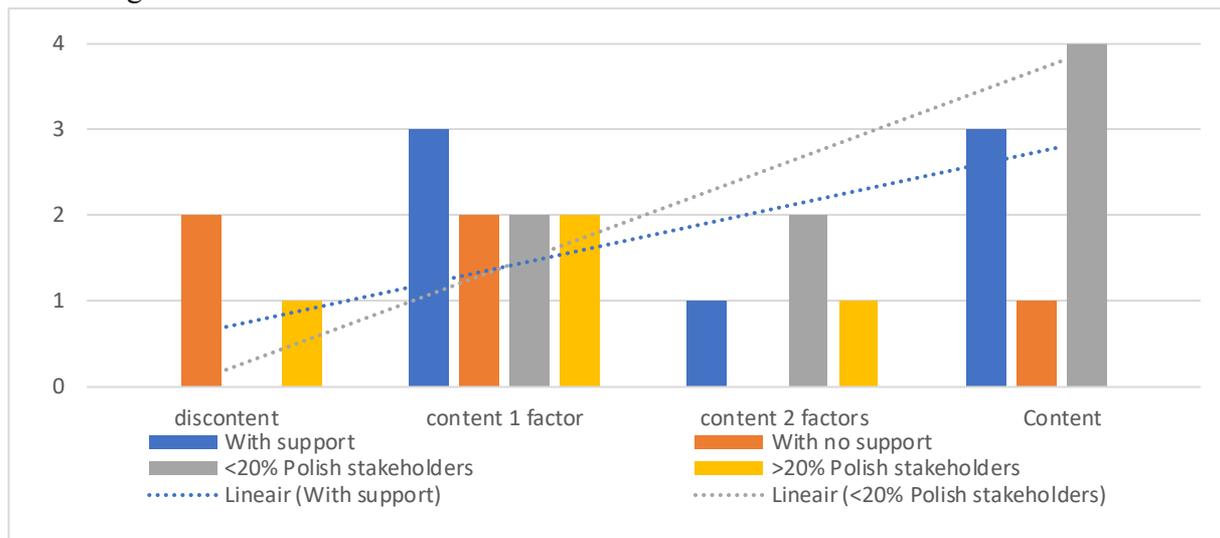


Figure 8: Comparing success with a availability of social support and ethnic composition of the social network

Social support seems to have a positive effect on the overall satisfaction (significant at the 5% level). None of the respondents who make use of social support indicated their overall satisfaction level lower than 6. This finding is in line with theory, which states that self-employment is not just about earning a living, but also about recognition and social acceptance (Sahin, Nijkamp & Baycan-Levent, 2007). Social support can be seen as proof of social acceptance and by that increase the satisfaction. This may explain why there is a difference between the three indicators for satisfaction. It is remarkable that the first and second indicator (content with business size and finances) much a lower level of satisfaction than the final question (Overall content).

58% of the respondents had less than 20% Business partners and clients that are Polish. Those who have more Polish stakeholders (Business partners, clients) seem to be overall less content. None of the respondents with less than 20% Polish stakeholders in their networks indicated to be overall discontent, of those who have more Polish stakeholders 50% indicated to be discontent overall. Although these results are not significant, it does signal a relation between the connection to co-ethnics and self-indicated success: connections to natives seem to have a more positive effect on the satisfaction of the self-employed migrant.

#### 4.6 Other direct effects on success

Older self-employed migrants are more likely to have employees (P=2,4%) and thus have a larger business. This is in line with the satisfaction when it comes to the size of the business: 25% of the respondents indicated to be optimally happy with the size of the business, all of

them are over 35. 80% of those above 35 indicated to be content with the business size (3, 4, 5 on a scale of 1 to 7), for the respondents younger than 35 this is lower than 30%. This indicates that older self-employed migrants more often have a large business and are therefore more successful. On the other hand it could also be that older people are less ambitious and are therefore more easily satisfied with the size their businesses.

More success for older self-employed migrants is likely the result of more time to build the business and gather relevant human capital; those over 35 on average spent 25 years in Germany and almost 10 years building their business, compared to 9 years in Germany and 6 years in business for respondents younger than 35.

Number of obs	=	12
F(1, 10)	=	47,05
Prob > F	=	0,0242
R-squared	=	0,4132
Adj R-Squared	=	0,3545
Root MSE	=	7,5067

Age	Coef	Std. Error	t	P> t	Conf. Interval
Employees (Yes, no, help)	-5,7500	2,1670	-2,6500	0.024	-10,5784 -0,9217
cons	49,7500	4,8455	10,2700	0.000	38,9535 60,5465

*Table 3: Statistical analysis employees and success (content, finances)*

As stated before, few respondents target their own ethnic community as clientele and few were pushed into self-employment by difficulties in finding a job. According to the theory this is a positive thing and increases the chance of success. Yet, because of this small numbers it is not possible to compare the results, both targeting the co-ethnic community and being pushed into self-employment were answered by less than 10% of the responses. The only conclusion that can be drawn is: it seems to be in line with the idea that many native clients and being pulled into self-employment has a positive effect on the change of surviving and thus on success.

In conclusion, several factors likely have an effect on the changes of success for self-employed migrants. First, social support increases the change of self-indicated satisfaction of the migrant. Especially Overall satisfaction seems to be affected by social support, which can be explained by the social approval that self-employed migrants may experience when receiving help from others (Sahin, Nijkamp & Baycan-Levent, 2007). Second, the connections among Polish people within Berlin do not seem to be tight in general. Most of the respondents show little interaction with their co-ethnics. But this does not seem to be a problem, in fact, those who have few connections to Poles seem to be more successful. Third, few of the respondents were pushed into self-employment or target the Polish community. In theory this is positive for the respondents. Their survival underlines the positive effects of pull-factors as a motivation to choose self-employment and targeting native clients in the market.

## 5. Conclusion and Reflection

In the final chapter the results will be summed up to a final conclusion. The four hypotheses, as presented in chapter 2 *Theoretical framework*, will be discussed, which leads to the analysis of the main research question. After that, the limitation of the survey and the overall thesis will be discussed. There are recommendations for further research included.

### 5.1 Conclusion

The participants in this research differ to a large extent from other ethnic communities as described in the literature; Polish self-employed migrants blend in with the local German population much better than expected. Consequently, they are very hard to find among German population in Berlin. It seems likely that those who are successful with integrating are more successful in self-employment as well. Though the sample size is small, the results suggest a likelihood that social networks with a high share of natives positively affects the likelihood of success. The risk of getting locked into the ethnic community does not seem to have affected the respondents' business' survival. The respondents have high human capital levels and are perfectly able to connect to people with other ethnic backgrounds. Keeping distance from their Polish background may be the reason why these self-employed people are able to survive.

In this thesis the following question is investigated more closely: **In what way does ethnic diversity in social networks affect the success of self-employed migrants?** With the available data it is not possible to make the hypotheses likely, all the hypotheses have to be rejected from a statistical point of view. Yet, the results can give some insights in likely scenarios.

Hypothesis 1 (*Self-employed migrants that make use of the available social capital are more successful than those who do not utilise these opportunities*) is likely to be true. Almost half of the respondents make use of any form of support, either from a formal or informal source. Only a quarter of the respondents uses the social network as a source of support. 42% of the respondents get support from anyone in their home country. Social support seems to have a positive effect on the overall satisfaction (significant at the 5% level). It is likely that those who have the social capital can use this in order to be (become) more successful, while those missing this type of capital are less successful. It is also possible that some self-employed people do not use their support system and are nonetheless successful. Maybe they feel like they do not need any help. Since the survey does not ask about the available support resources, it is not possible to make this distinction with the available data.

Those with many contacts to native Germans are more successful. Which is partly in line with hypothesis 2 (*Connections to both natives and co-ethnics makes a more useful network compared to a more homogenous network*). This indicates that migrants who are able to connect to natives do not need their co-ethnics anymore. Those are the self-employed migrants that survive and thus are still in business. In the literature the co-ethnic community seems important because it exists of people with similar backgrounds and a small cognitive distance. Yet, it seems that those who do not need this kind of support (anymore) are more successful business owners/self-employed people. The results indicate that those who are able to connect to people from another ethnic background are more successful.

The Polish community in Berlin is not closely connected. Polish self-employed migrants seem to be less dependent on social support than expected from the theory. The Polish community in Berlin does not seem to provide the advantages as ethnic communities are able to. This can mean a missed opportunity, since it is a source of support that is uniquely available to these migrants (Dyer & Ross, 2000). On the other hand it could indicate that those who do not need this kind of support (anymore) are more successful and therefore still exist. In that case, not depending on the co-ethnic community seems to be actually a good strategy that the Poles in Berlin are applying.

All respondents are connected to natives, so they must have the skills needed to build connections to people from other ethnic backgrounds. The personal characteristics, as referred to in hypothesis 3 (*personal characteristics help creating social capital by the ability to build an ethnically diverse social network*) raise no concern for the respondents, since they seem to have mastered the necessary skills. Attending education in Germany and speaking the German language seem to have a positive effect on the percentage of Germans in the social network of self-employed migrants, which indicates that these personal characteristics are important in connecting to natives. On the other hand, the Polish community in Berlin does not seem to be tight, that explains why most of the respondents have few Polish connections.

The results point in the direction the fourth hypothesis (*Personal and business characteristics affect the success of the self-employed migrant directly*) is true, yet most results are not significant. Age positively correlates with the number of employees and with that, the satisfaction with the size of the business. Older self-employed migrants are more likely to be content about the business size, which is in this thesis seen as an indicator of success.

The results are in line with the theory that motivational factors pulling migrants into self-employment increases their chances of success, compared to choosing self-employment out of a lack of job alternatives. The same this counts for the target market,

To answer the research question, it seems likely to be true: **ethnic diversity in social networks affect the success of self-employed migrants positively**. Because of the small dataset and the little amount of significant results that come with that, it is not possible to be very sure about this. It seems likely since those with many contacts to native Germans are more successful. The amount of connections to fellow Polish people in Berlin is less than expected. Therefore, Maybe being Polish does not really affect the self-employed Poles in Berlin. This is in contrast to what seem to be the general finding in other literature. Possibly Poles and Germans are quite alike, because it is not so far apart geographically speaking. The respondents seem to be able to master the language and understand the culture in order to connect to natives in Berlin. It seems likely that the successful self-employed migrants are the ones who are able to connect to natives and leave their co-ethnics behind. Yet, the ethnic community is a unique source of support resources and target market, which can be a comparative advantage for self-employed migrants over people who are not part of the community (Dyer & Ross, 2000). Since many respondents have just a few Polish connections, the balance in ethnic composition seems to be: a lot of natives and just a few co-ethnics.

This thesis can help in better understanding the social network and ethnical diversity in that network affects the success of self-employed Poles in Berlin. This has implications for various stakeholders, like policy makers, business investors and other ethnic self-employed and entrepreneurs. A better understanding of the social network of self-employed migrants and the effect of ethnic diversity in that can contribute to the business climate in Berlin. This goal seems to be reached to a certain extent. Yet, one should be careful when interpreting and keep in mind that the sample size is small. This thesis cannot make a contribute to generalizing the findings

in the field of research on self-employed migrants. As Kourtit and Nijkamp (2012) state, few articles use a quantitative approach in researching social networks of self-employed migrants. This thesis first of all shows why this is likely the case: It is very hard to find enough respondents to draw conclusions on.

From a method point of view, this thesis contributes by showing which methods for finding respondents worked and which did not. It would probably be easier to research this case for a researcher who speaks the Polish language and is familiar with the Polish culture and community in Berlin. Also, when more associations and organisations are willing to help it would probably be easier as well.

## 5.2 Reflection

When looking at the list of questions, several did not work out as expected, or could have been more informative. The complete survey can be found in the appendix.

### *‘Q 2. What is your gender?’*

One of the respondents pointed out a mistake in the first question of the survey: the words for male and female were not in the same order when looking at the German and Polish translation. This mistake is solved right away, but the gender of the first five answers is unclear.

Since the mistake was in the first question, which was already visible even before opening the online survey, it is likely that it made some people decide not to participate. The number of responses may have been higher without this mistake.

### *‘Q 4b. In which country did you follow education?’*

Because of the way this question is formulated it does not tell anything about whether people followed their complete education in the place they answered. It is not clear whether people answered his question as the last place they went to school, or the place they have been the longest.

### *‘Q 8 and 9: How many of your customers/stakeholders are German/Polish/other?’*

The question is asked in a way that the results should add up to 100%. Yet, this is not always the case. It is unclear in some cases how the respondent interpreted the question, which makes the results less valuable.

### *‘Q 12. In what sector are you operating?’*

27% of the respondents indicated to work in ‘other’ sectors. This is considerable amount. Research beforehand on the sectors in which self-employed Poles might be active was apparently insufficient.

Within this 27% may be respondents who are active in the building sector, this is the largest sector among Poles in Germany (Kot, 2017). Yet, if any respondent is active in that sector, it would not have become clear from this question.

In retrospect, it should have been checked better whether someone is Polish and self-employed. Both because now it can be that participants do not exactly match the target group. People were asked whether they are self-employed people with a Polish background, living in Berlin. It is assumed that those who participated fulfil these requirements, but it is not for sure.

And on the other hand, it may be that some people did not participate in the survey because they did not consider themselves part of the target group, even though they did, considering the definitions as used in this thesis. For example, when I talked to some people at an entrepreneurs meeting, it turned out they often thought that they were not part of this group while they actually were. They simply did not understand what the target group was. This is a missed opportunity, because maybe people did not participate because of this

misunderstanding. Additionally, some questions should have been added to the survey as well. Especially when looking at the factor Social capital, some questions seem to be missing.

Flap (2002) states that it should be considered whether the respondents are often in a situation where they can make connections to people with a certain ethnic background. If you never find yourself in a situation where you meet those people, it is unlikely that you make connections to them. Therefore, a question like 'Are you ever in situations where you can possibly meet people from either German or Polish background?' It is namely impossible to connect to a type of person you never meet.

To get a clearer view on the interaction between the respondent and her/his social network, a question concerning the frequency and nature of interaction could have been added to the survey. It would give more insight in the type of connections and the way they are used. Burt (1984) asks respondents how often they talked to anyone about being self-employed in the last six months, and what kind of relation they have to these people. To get a clearer view on the whole network, he also asks whether the people in the network know each other as well. This would be interesting to determine the cohesion within the group, which affects the willingness to help people within a group (Reagens & McEvily, 2003).

Willingness is anyhow a topic that did not get the attention it deserves. When someone does not make use of social support it could mean one of two things: either the person does not have a social network that can provide for the necessary support resources or the person thinks (s)he does not need this kind of capital. With the questions in the survey, this distinction not made clear. More questions should therefore be asked about the willingness and ability of the people in the network to provide social support. Besides, the survey should have contained questions about the demand for social support from the respondent. Questions concerning the knowledge about the local market and the German law, as well as possible difficulties in funding the business would therefore be valuable.

Finally, a limitation of the survey is the measurement of the factor Success. As can be seen in chapter 5 Results and discussion, the several indicators of success do not seem to be in line with each other. This could be caused by the set-up with the Likert scale of 1 to 7, because two questions have an optimum at 4 and one at 7. It is not surprising therefore that they give different results. Also, more aspects of success should be taken into account to get more reliable results.

In addition to the limitations of the survey, the main limitation of this thesis is the low number of respondents and with that the insignificant results. In general, it turned out to be much harder to find respondents than expected. Small business owners do not seem to know whether there are Polish entrepreneurs in the area. On top of that, unlike other ethnical groups, for example Greek or Turkish, the Polish may not show their background proudly. They do not write messages on their windows in Polish nor hang out the white-red flag. The Polish community is very good in staying invisible among the German population. This makes it very hard to find respondents by using this method. Furthermore, associations and organisations that have any affiliation with Polish entrepreneurs in Berlin were not keen on participating or helping out in general as much as expected. Also, the number of responses to their requests for participation was low, which was not expected.

The intercultural nature of this thesis makes it sometimes hard to understand and predict the behaviour of respondents. Since I am not Polish myself, it is hard to predict possible answers, resulting in some questions that are asked although the answer might be obvious for insiders. On top of that, the language barrier made it much harder to research the population of interest. Although the translation from English to German and Polish is done carefully, there might be

some mistakes in the translation of the survey question. Some things are hard to translate. On top of that, I do not speak Polish myself and my level of German is intermediate, which makes it hard to detect translating mistakes.

This thesis is based on data that was collected at only one point in time. By that a lot of information is left out. Social networks, and especially those of migrants, are volatile (Ryan, 2011). Collecting data only once can therefore be seen as a limitation to this research. Besides, data over a longer period of time makes it possible to research self-employed migrants that are not successful. Those who failed in within the research period may provide valuable information on success factors. This can be interesting for further research.

In further research it is also interesting to analyse the (Polish) migrant community in Berlin. Research on possible key persons, geographical spread and important factors in the occurrence and existence of migrant networks can give valuable insights. This can help increasing the societal relevance, because it can help migrants in building their network. Furthermore, better understanding of the network can help with finding more respondents to future research. Key persons can help finding and convince potential participants.

Still, little is known about migrant businesses and attempts to fill this gap should be conducted. Because of the high societal relevance and the strong connection to the specific city and geographical location, more research should be conducted in more different locations and ethnic groups. This does not only count for the social network, but for all success factors in general. More research can also help generalizing findings and possibly clarify certain patterns in this.

75% of the respondents indicated that the profit is not enough to provide for their personal finances. In this thesis no further questions were asked to find out more about this, but it can be interesting for further research. It should be focused on finding out whether these self-employed migrants are in danger of poverty or whether they have other ways to provide enough income. Maybe the social network even plays a role in this.

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# Appendix

- Translation of survey in English
- Survey as distributed; in German and Polish

## Appendix 1: Translation of survey in English

### Survey networks of self-employed migrants

Thank you for participating in the research by filling in this survey. The goal of the research is to see whether Polish migrants experience difficulties in building an ethnically diverse network and whether the ones who manage to do so are more successful. The survey is completely anonymous, so don't worry about privacy.

A business network contains many connections to different people. Business relations are all connections that contribute to the maintenance and growing of the business. Examples are: suppliers, employees, investors, co-self-employed/friends/family that support you with

1) *What is your age?* ... Years

2) *What is your gender?* Male/Female

3) *How long have you been living in Germany?* ...Years

4) *What is your education?*

- None
- Primary school
- Secondary school
- Lower vocational education
- University (of applied science)
- Training/evening courses
- Other

*In which country did you follow education?*

- Poland
- Germany
- Other

5) *How well do you speak German?*

Little knowledge very good

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

6) *Do you feel connected to the Polish community in Berlin?*

Not at all very much

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

7) How many of your customers are

- | Polish:                          | German:                          | Others:                          |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 0/10%   | <input type="checkbox"/> 0/10%   | <input type="checkbox"/> 0/10%   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 11/20%  | <input type="checkbox"/> 11/20%  | <input type="checkbox"/> 11/20%  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 21/30%  | <input type="checkbox"/> 21/30%  | <input type="checkbox"/> 21/30%  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 31/40%  | <input type="checkbox"/> 31/40%  | <input type="checkbox"/> 31/40%  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 41/50%  | <input type="checkbox"/> 41/50%  | <input type="checkbox"/> 41/50%  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 51/60%  | <input type="checkbox"/> 51/60%  | <input type="checkbox"/> 51/60%  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 61/70%  | <input type="checkbox"/> 61/70%  | <input type="checkbox"/> 61/70%  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 71/80%  | <input type="checkbox"/> 71/80%  | <input type="checkbox"/> 71/80%  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 81/90%  | <input type="checkbox"/> 81/90%  | <input type="checkbox"/> 81/90%  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 91/100% | <input type="checkbox"/> 91/100% | <input type="checkbox"/> 91/100% |

8) How many business relations are

Polish:

- 0/10%
- 11/20%
- 21/30%
- 31/40%
- 41/50%
- 51/60%
- 61/70%
- 71/80%
- 81/90%
- 91/100%

German:

- 0/10%
- 11/20%
- 21/30%
- 31/40%
- 41/50%
- 51/60%
- 61/70%
- 71/80%
- 81/90%
- 91/100%

Others:

- 0/10%
- 11/20%
- 21/30%
- 31/40%
- 41/50%
- 51/60%
- 61/70%
- 71/80%
- 81/90%
- 91/100%

9) Where are the people in your business network located?

Berlin:

- 0/10%
- 11/20%
- 21/30%
- 31/40%
- 41/50%
- 51/60%
- 61/70%
- 71/80%
- 81/90%
- 91/100%

Elsewhere in  
Germany:

- 0/10%
- 11/20%
- 21/30%
- 31/40%
- 41/50%
- 51/60%
- 61/70%
- 71/80%
- 81/90%
- 91/100%

Poland:

- 0/10%
- 11/20%
- 21/30%
- 31/40%
- 41/50%
- 51/60%
- 61/70%
- 71/80%
- 81/90%
- 91/100%

10) How do you know your business relations in general?

- We live in the same neighbourhood
- from (sport) clubs, common hobbies
- Business associations /networking events
- From common relations
- Family ties
- Friends I already met in Poland
- Other

11) In what sector is your firm operating?

- Shop
- Restaurant
- Translating
- Consultancy
- Beauty & make-up
- IT
- cleaning & maintenance
- Art/music/design

12) What was the main reason for you to become self-employed?

- I couldn't find a (sufficient) job
- I saw a business opportunity
- I like the flexibility /independence/etc. that comes with being self-employed.
- Other

13) Did you have experience with entrepreneurship/self-employment?

- Yes, I have a lot of experience
- Yes, I have a little experience

- Yes, I have experience through helping family a member/close friend who is entrepreneur/self-employed
- No

*If yes, where did you have this experience?*

- In Poland
- In Berlin
- Elsewhere in Germany
- Other

14) *To what extent does the work you do as a self-employed resemble the work experience you have?*

- Very little very much
- 1      2      3      4      5      6      7

15) *How long has your been self-employed/have you been doing exactly this?*

... months, ... years

16) *What is the main target group of your business?*

- Polish community
- Germans
- other
- No specific target group

17) *Does the business have employees?*

- Yes
- No
- Sometimes I get help from family members/close friends

*If yes, what is the ethnic background of the employees?*

- Polish
- German
- Other

18) *Do you get advice on your business and/or help with financing from any kind of source?*

- Yes, from people I am closely connected to (friends and family)
- Yes, from acquaintances, people to whom I am not closely connected
- Yes, from formal sources
- Yes, from other sources
- No

Are these sources German/Polish?

- Mostly German
- Both German and Polish
- Mostly Polish
- Other

19) *Do you get support from people who are living in Poland?*

- Yes, financial support
- Yes, mental support
- Yes, advisory



## Appendix 2: Survey as distributed among respondents; in German and Polish

### **Badanie dotyczące samozatrudnionych migrantów.**

Dziękuję za wzięcie udziału w badaniu i wypełnienie tej ankiety. Celem badania jest sprawdzenie czy samozatrudnieni Polacy migrujący do Berlina doświadczają trudności w budowaniu zróżnicowanej etnicznie sieci społecznej i czy Ci, którzy są częścią takiej sieci odnoszą większy sukces w biznesie. Ankieta jest całkowicie anonimowa.

Sieć biznesowa składa się z wielu kontaktów z różnymi ludźmi. Relacje biznesowe przyczyniają się do utrzymania i wzrostu biznesu. Przykłady: dostawcy/ pracownicy/ inwestorzy/ samozatrudnieni/ przyjaciele/ rodzina którzy wspierają radą.

### **Umfragen Netzwerk von selbstständigen, polnischen Unternehmer**

Vielen dank für Ihre teilnahmen in dieses Umfrage. Für die Forschung ist einen Fragebogen entwickelt, der sich mit der Frage beschäftigt, welchen Einfluss ein Netzwerk auf den Erfolg (persönlich sowie unternehmerisch) von selbstständigen, polnischen Unternehmer hat und ob Sie Probleme haben mit einen vielfältiges Netzwerk aufbauen. Teilnahme ist total anonym, so Privacy ist garantiert.

Für die Klarheit, ein Unternehmensnetzwerk enthält viele Verbindungen zu verschiedenen Personen. Stakeholder sind alle Verbindungen, die zur Aufrechterhaltung und zum Wachstum des Unternehmers beitragen. Zum Beispiel: Zulieferer, Mitarbeiter, Investoren, Mitunternehmer/ Freunde/Familie, die Sie bei der Beratung/Finanzierung unterstützen.

1) Wie alt sind Sie? // **Ile ma Pan/ Pan lat?** ..... Jahre // **Lata**

2) Was ist Ihr Geschlecht? // **Jaka jest Pana/ Pani płeć?**  
Weiblich / Mannlich // **Kobieta / Mężczyzna**

3) Wie lange wohnen Sie schon in Deutschland? // **Jak długo żyje Pan/ Pani w Niemczech?**  
.....Jahre // **Lat**

4) Was ist Ihre höchste abgeschlossene Ausbildung? // **Jaki jest Pan/ Pani stopień wykształcenia?**

- Keine // **Brak**
- Grundschule // **Szkoła Podstawowa**
- Oberstufe // **Gimnazjum**
- Berufsschule // **Wykształcenie zawodowe**
- Hochschule; Universität // **Wykształcenie wyższe ( akademickie)**
- Training/Abendkurse // **Kursy/ Studia podyplomowe**
- Andere // **Inne**

In welchem Land haben Sie die Ausbildung abgeschlossen? // **W jakim kraju odbył Pan/ Pani swoją edukację?**

- Polen **Polska**
- Deutschland **Niemcy**
- Anders **Inny kraj**

- 5) Sprechen Sie Deutsch? // **Na jakim poziomie mówi Pan/ Pani w języku niemieckim?**  
 Wenig Kenntnisse // **Prawie w ogóle** Sehr gut // **Bardzo dobrze**  
 1            2            3            4            5            6            7

- 6) Sprechen Sie Englisch? // **Na jakim poziomie mówi Pan/ Pani w języku angielsku?**  
 Wenig Kenntnisse // **Prawie w ogóle** Sehr gut // **Bardzo dobrze**  
 1            2            3            4            5            6            7

- 7) Fühlen Sie sich mit der polnischen Gemeinde in Berlin verbunden? // **Czy czuje się Pan/ Pani częścią polskiej społeczności w Berlinie?**  
 Gar nicht // **Nie** Sehr verbunden // **Tak**  
 1            2            3            4            5            6            7

- 8) Wie viele Ihrer Kunden sind // **Ilu z Pan/ Pani klientów to: Polacy / Niemcy/ Inne**  
 [Zusammen gleich 100%]

Polnisch // <b>Polakami:</b>	Deutsch // <b>Niemcami:</b>	Andere // <b>Innymi:</b>
<input type="checkbox"/> 0/10%	<input type="checkbox"/> 0/10%	<input type="checkbox"/> 0/10%
<input type="checkbox"/> 11/20%	<input type="checkbox"/> 11/20%	<input type="checkbox"/> 11/20%
<input type="checkbox"/> 21/30%	<input type="checkbox"/> 21/30%	<input type="checkbox"/> 21/30%
<input type="checkbox"/> 31/40%	<input type="checkbox"/> 31/40%	<input type="checkbox"/> 31/40%
<input type="checkbox"/> 41/50%	<input type="checkbox"/> 41/50%	<input type="checkbox"/> 41/50%
<input type="checkbox"/> 51/60%	<input type="checkbox"/> 51/60%	<input type="checkbox"/> 51/60%
<input type="checkbox"/> 61/70%	<input type="checkbox"/> 61/70%	<input type="checkbox"/> 61/70%
<input type="checkbox"/> 71/80%	<input type="checkbox"/> 71/80%	<input type="checkbox"/> 71/80%
<input type="checkbox"/> 81/90%	<input type="checkbox"/> 81/90%	<input type="checkbox"/> 81/90%
<input type="checkbox"/> 91/100%	<input type="checkbox"/> 91/100%	<input type="checkbox"/> 91/100%

- 9) Wie viele Ihrer Stakeholder (ohne Kunden) sind // **Jak wiele z Pan/ Pani kontaktów biznesowych to kontakty z** [Zusammen gleich 100%]

Polnisch // <b>Polakami:</b>	Deutsch // <b>Niemcami:</b>	Andere // <b>Innymi:</b>
<input type="checkbox"/> 0/10%	<input type="checkbox"/> 0/10%	<input type="checkbox"/> 0/10%
<input type="checkbox"/> 11/20%	<input type="checkbox"/> 11/20%	<input type="checkbox"/> 11/20%
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<input type="checkbox"/> 41/50%	<input type="checkbox"/> 41/50%	<input type="checkbox"/> 41/50%
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<input type="checkbox"/> 61/70%	<input type="checkbox"/> 61/70%	<input type="checkbox"/> 61/70%
<input type="checkbox"/> 71/80%	<input type="checkbox"/> 71/80%	<input type="checkbox"/> 71/80%
<input type="checkbox"/> 81/90%	<input type="checkbox"/> 81/90%	<input type="checkbox"/> 81/90%
<input type="checkbox"/> 91/100%	<input type="checkbox"/> 91/100%	<input type="checkbox"/> 91/100%

10) Wie sind Ihre Stakeholder Kontakte entstanden? **Skąd bierze się większość Pan/ Pani kontaktów biznesowych?**

- Wir leben in derselben Gegend // **Żyjemy w tym samym sąsiedztwie**
- Von (Sport) Vereinen/ gleiche Interessen // **Z klubów (sportowych), innych hobby**
- Netzwerkanlässe /Mitgliedschaften // **Kontakty biznesowe / wydarzenia z branży**
- Durch Geschäftskontakte // **Z codziennych relacji**
- Familienbeziehungen // **Połączenia rodzinne**
- Freunde die ich schon in Polen kannte // **Przyjaciele, których poznałem w Polsce**
- Andere // **Inne**

11) Wo befinden sich Ihre Stakeholder? // **Gdzie mieszkają ludzie z którymi ma Pan/ Pani kontakty biznesowe:**

In Berlin	Anderswo in Deutschland // Inne miasto w Niemczech	Poland // Polska
<input type="checkbox"/> 0/10%	<input type="checkbox"/> 0/10%	<input type="checkbox"/> 0/10%
<input type="checkbox"/> 11/20%	<input type="checkbox"/> 11/20%	<input type="checkbox"/> 11/20%
<input type="checkbox"/> 21/30%	<input type="checkbox"/> 21/30%	<input type="checkbox"/> 21/30%
<input type="checkbox"/> 31/40%	<input type="checkbox"/> 31/40%	<input type="checkbox"/> 31/40%
<input type="checkbox"/> 41/50%	<input type="checkbox"/> 41/50%	<input type="checkbox"/> 41/50%
<input type="checkbox"/> 51/60%	<input type="checkbox"/> 51/60%	<input type="checkbox"/> 51/60%
<input type="checkbox"/> 61/70%	<input type="checkbox"/> 61/70%	<input type="checkbox"/> 61/70%
<input type="checkbox"/> 71/80%	<input type="checkbox"/> 71/80%	<input type="checkbox"/> 71/80%
<input type="checkbox"/> 81/90%	<input type="checkbox"/> 81/90%	<input type="checkbox"/> 81/90%
<input type="checkbox"/> 91/100%	<input type="checkbox"/> 91/100%	<input type="checkbox"/> 91/100%

12) In welchem Sektor operieren Sie? // **W jakim sektorze działa Pan/ Pani firma?**

- Kiosk/Supermarkt // **Sklep**
- Restaurant // **Gastronomia / jedzenie**
- Informationstechnologie // **Prace techniczne**
- Kunst/Kultur/Musik // **sztuka / kultura / muzyka**
- Andere // **Inne**
- Beauty & Make-up // **Usługi kosmetyczne**
- Übersetzer // **Tłumaczenia**
- Beratungswesen // **Konsultacje**
- Reinigung & Instandhaltung // **Sprzątanie i utrzymanie**

13) Was war der Hauptgrund für Sie um sich Selbständig zu machen? // **Jaki był główny Pan/ Pani powód aby założyć własną firmę?**

- Ich konnte keine zufriedenstellende Arbeit finden // **Nie mogłem znaleźć (wystarczająco dobrej) pracy**
- Ich sah eine Geschäftsmöglichkeit // **Miałem okazję do założenia biznesu i ją wykorzystałem**
- Ich mag die Flexibilität /Unabhängigkeit/etc. // **Lubię elastyczność i niezależność w byciu samozatrudnionym.**
- Andere // **Inne**

14) Hatten Sie bereits Kontakt mit Selbständigkeit vor Ihrer Tätigkeit? // **Czy miał Pan/ Pani wcześniej doświadczenie w byciu samozatrudnionym?**

- Ja, ich hatte viel Erfahrung // **Tak, miałem dużo doświadczenia**
- Ja, ich hatte geringe Erfahrung // **Tak, miałem trochę doświadczenia**

- Ja, ich hatte Erfahrung durch die Mithilfe bei selbständigen Familienmitgliedern/Freunde // **Tak, miałem doświadczenie poprzez pomoc przyjaciela/ rodziny, który był osobą samozatrudnioną.**
- Nein // **Nie**

Wenn ja, wo haben Sie die Erfahrung gesammelt? // **Jeżeli tak, gdzie zdobył Pan/ Pani doświadczenie**

- In Polen // **W Polsce**
- In Berlin **W Berlinie**
- Anderswo in Deutschland // **W Niemczech, w innym mieście niż Berlin**
- Andere // **Gdzie indziej**

- 15) Inwieweit widerspiegelt sich Ihre selbständige Tätigkeit zu Ihrer vorherigen Berufung? // **W jakim stopniu praca jaką teraz Pan/ Pani wykonuje jako osoba samozatrudniona odnosi się do doświadczenia które zdobył Pan/ Pani wcześniej?**

Wenig Ähnlichkeit // **W bardzo małym stopniu**

Grosse Ähnlichkeit // **W bardzo dużym stopniu**

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

- 16) Wie lange sind Sie schon in Ihrer heutigen Selbständigkeit tätig? // **Jak długo jest już Pan/ Pani osobą samozatrudnioną?**      Jahre // **Lata.....**

- 17) Was ist Ihre Zielgruppe? // **Jaka jest group docelowa klientów Pani/ Pana firmy?**

- polnische Gemeinschaft // **Polacy**
- Deutsche // **Niemcy**
- Andere // **Inni**
- Keine spezifische Zielgruppe // **Nie mam określonej grupy docelowej.**

- 18) Haben Sie Angestellte? // **Czy zatrudnia Pan/ Pani pracowników?**

- Ja // **Tak**
- Nein // **Nie**
- Manchmal hilfe mein Familien oder Freunde // **Czasami pomagają mi znajomi i Rodzina**

Als ja, was ist der ethnische Hintergrund Ihre Angeschtellte? // **Jeżeli tak, jakiej narodowości są Pani/ Pana pracownicy?**

- polnisch // **Polacy**
- deutsch // **Niemcy**
- anders // **Inni**

- 19) Erhalten Sie Ratschläge zu Ihrer Unternehmung oder finanzielle Zuschüsse? // **Czy uzyskał Pan/ Pani jakąś pomoc finansową (lub innego rodzaju) dla Pan/ Pani firmy?**

- Ja, enge Bekannte (Familie, Freunde) // **Tak, od ludzi z którymi jestem blisko związany ( przyjaciele i rodzina)**
- Ja, von Kollegen (Personen mit denen keine enge Beziehung besteht) // **Tak, od znajomych, z którymi nie mam bliższych stosunków**
- Ja, von formalen Stellen [Banken, Buchhalter, etc.] // **Tak, z formalnych źródeł**
- Ja, von anderen Stellen // **Tak, z innych źródeł**
- Nein // **Nie**

Sind diese Bezugspersonen Deutsche oder Polnisch? // **Czy te źródła pochodzą z Niemiec/ Polski?**

- Hauptsächlich Deutsch // **W większości z Niemiec**
- Beides Deutsch und Polnisch // **Z Niemiec i z Polski**
- Hauptsächlich Polnisch // **W większości z Polski**
- Andere // **Inne**

20) Erhalten Sie Unterstützung von Leuten aus Polen [lebend in Polen]? // **Czy otrzymuje Pan/ Pani wsparcie od ludzi mieszkających w Polsce?**

- Ja, finanzielle Unterstützung // **Tak, wsparcie finansowe**
- Ja, mentale Unterstützung // **Tak, wsparcie mentale**
- Ja, beratend // **Tak, porady**
- Ja, andere // **Tak, inny rodzaj wsparcia**
- Nein // **Nie**

21) Sind Sie zufrieden mit der Größe Ihres Unternehmens die Sie haben? // **Czy jest Pan/ Pani zadowolony z rozmiaru Pana/ Pani firmy/ ilości przy której Pan/ Pani ma?**  
zu klein // **Nie** zu gross // **Tak**

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

22) Sind Sie mit den erzielten Erträgen zufrieden? // **Czy zarabia Pan/ Pani wystarczająco?**  
Unzufrieden // **Za mało** Übertroffen // **Więcej niż potrzebuje**

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

23) Sind Sie zufrieden als selbständiger Unternehmer? // **Czy ogólnie jest Pan/ Pani zadowolony z podjęcia samozatrudnienia?**  
Unzufrieden // **Nie** Ja, voll und ganz // **Bardzo**

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

Vielen dank für Ihre teilnahme an den Fragenbogen! // **Dziękujemy bardzo za udział w ankiecie!**



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Astrid Wentzel  
September 2019

AL SEGUNDO DESCUBRIDOR DE CUBA  
LA UNIVERSIDAD DE LA HABANA 1939