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Global Dynamics of Immigrant Entrepreneurship: Changing Trends, Ethnonational Variations, and Reconceptualizations

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Abstract

Purpose: The purpose of this paper is to review the existing literature on immigrant entrepreneurship since the mid-2000s to examine the changing trends, variations, and theoretical advances in immigrant entrepreneurship in Western societies.
Design/methodology/approach: Using the SocIndex and Proquest Business Premium databases, we conducted a literature review of about 100 peer-reviewed articles published since the mid-2000s. We critically assess the main research findings, identify key concepts and models that have been developed over the past decade, and offer new theoretical insight into the ever-changing global dynamics of immigrant entrepreneurship. Although our focus is on the United States, we also include some seminal research based in other Western countries of immigrant reception.
Findings: Based on a critical review of existing research that has been published between 2004 and the present, we highlight main trends and variations of the entrepreneurial endeavors among diasporic migrants, address the emerging forces shaping immigrant entrepreneurship, highlight theoretical advances in the field of entrepreneurship studies, and suggest new directions for future research. A careful analysis of the findings suggests that the scope of immigrant entrepreneurship has changed from local, labor-intensive, and service-oriented enterprises to global, knowledge-intensive, and diverse professional services and that the patterns of entrepreneurial development vary by ethnicity and/or national origin within that same national context of immigrant reception. We note that the changing trends and ethnonational variations are caused not only by unequal access to human capital, social capital, financial capital, and cross-border venture capital on the part of individual entrepreneurs, but also by differences in broader structural circumstances in the home country and/or host country and interaction between national/local and transnational/global forces. We discuss new theoretical advances, identify gaps, and raise questions for future research.
Originality/value: The review offers important insight into the ever-changing local and global dynamics of immigrant entrepreneurship and broadens the established conceptual and theoretical models in the sociology of immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurship.
Keywords: Immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurship, transnational entrepreneurship, ethnic economies, mixed embeddedness, simultaneous embeddedness; welfare state replacements
Paper type: Critical review

Introduction

For nearly a half-century, concepts and theories on immigrant or ethnic entrepreneurship, including middleman minority, ethnic enclave, ethnic economy, and ethnic niching, have shaped how we understand economic activities in immigrant and ethnic minority communities (Zhou 2004). As is well known, immigrants are more likely than natives to participate in self-employment of different types. Recently, in the United States, immigrants owned more than a quarter of the newly established businesses, despite accounting for less than 15 percent of the total population (Bluestein 2015). In recent years, we have witnessed remarkable shifts in immigrant entrepreneurship, from local, labor-intensive, service-oriented enterprises to global, knowledge-intensive, and professional services. For example, some of the largest U.S. venture-capital backed public high technology companies were started by immigrants, such as Intel, Solectron, Sanmina-SCI, Sun Microsystems, eBay, Yahoo!, and Google (Anderson and Platzer 2006). We have also observed the emergence of new immigrant entrepreneurs among national origin groups that historically had low rates of self-employment, such as Mexicans and Filipinos, and among the newest of the more recent immigrant groups, such as Vietnamese, Cambodians, Bolivians, Ethiopians, and Eritreans (Curtis 2013; Eckstein and Nguyen 2011; Hernan and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009; Idris 2015; Nazareno 2018; Price 2012; Rangaswamy 2007; Valdez 2010; Vallejo, 2016; Verdaguer 2009). Immigrant-owned businesses have made tremendous contributions to the U.S. economy, paying approximately $126 billion in wages and employing 1 in 10 Americans in the private sector in 2015 (Bluestein 2015).

Previously, scholarly research on ethnic entrepreneurship examined the effects of structural opportunities and/or constraints on immigrant' socioeconomic mobility within a national context in the receiving country. However, transnationalism has now become a key feature of international migration, involving individual migrants, diasporic communities, and national governments in the transnational social fields. These transnational fields are multiple interlocking networks of social relationships that are created by immigrants and their institutions (Levitt and Glick-Schiller 2004; Portes et al 2002; Portes and Fernandez-Kelly 2015). Because of variations in the contexts of emigration and immigration, some individual-institutional relations constitute the unequal exchange and transformation of ideas, resources, practices that connect immigrants to their respective host societies and homelands. Conditions in both the host and home countries may enable or constrain potential entrepreneurs to mobilize resources effectively for their entrepreneurial endeavor. This phenomenon is viewed as occurring within fluid social spaces that are constantly reworked through migrants' simultaneous embeddedness in more than one society (Saxenian and Sabel 2008; You and Zhou forthcoming). For example, advancements in transportation and communication and their lowered costs have enabled individuals to not just migrate abroad for education, professional training, or work, but to network and collaborate with their home country counterparts far more extensively than was possible in previous eras of international migration. From this perspective, immigrant entrepreneurship is affected not only by unequal access to human capital, social capital, financial capital, and cross-border venture capital on the part of the individual, but also by differences in broader structural circumstances in the host country and/or home country and transnational forces. Thus, a broader lens offers a more

comprehensive perspective on ethnic entrepreneurship and allows scholars to explore the dynamisms of self-employment in transnational social fields (Zhou and Liu 2015).

This review departs from two major review articles published in *International Migration Review* (Rath and Kloosterman 2000; Zhou 2004) and pays special attention to the transnational perspective. We also pay attention to the role of the state and institutionalized welfare state framework. First, we examine the changing dynamics in immigrant entrepreneurship, focusing on the trends and variations of entrepreneurial development that vary by national origin. Second, we identify new concepts and models that have been developed over the past decade to explain these changing trends and variations. Thirdly, we discuss the interaction between national/local and transnational/global forces and new theoretical advances. We conclude by identifying gaps and raising questions for future research.

Methodology

This review builds on two *International Migration Review* essays — "Outsiders' Business: A Critical Review of Research on Immigrant Entrepreneurship" (Rath and Kloosterman 2000) and "Revisiting Ethnic Entrepreneurship: Convergences, Controversies and Conceptual Advancements" (Zhou 2004). Our goal is to critically examine findings from existing research that has been published since the mid-2000s to address the divergent patterns and emerging forces shaping immigrant entrepreneurship. We limit the published works for this review to peer-reviewed academic journals in social science and business fields. In so doing, we conducted a search in SocIndex and Proquest Business Premium Collection. Within both databases, we applied Boolean search terms including the following syntaxes: "ethnic* OR "immigrant OR transnational" AND "global*" AND "entrepreneur* OR international business enterprises" AND "computer OR tech*" AND "united states NOT histor*" to identify all publications, published since 2004, that contained ethnic, immigrant, transnational, entrepreneur, international business enterprises, computer, tech and related terms such as ethnicity, globalization, globalized, entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial, technology in the publication's title, keywords, or abstracts. We specifically focused on articles on contemporary immigrant entrepreneurship that had a United States connection. However, we also included relevant publications that examined emerging transnational entrepreneurs in other Western countries of immigrant reception. We imported each set of results into the reference manager software Zotero, deleted duplicates and our initial search yielded 263 articles. Afterward, we read through abstracts, and in some cases the full article, to decide what to include or exclude in our review. We excluded articles that discussed international business enterprises but had no direct relationship to immigrant or ethnic entrepreneurs. Our final dataset comprised of about 100 publications in peer-reviewed academic journals. We coded our final dataset and examined themes emerging from the publications. We then classified them by the following: 1) changing trends and varied patterns, 2) causes of change and variations, and 3) new theoretical advances.

Findings

Changing Trends in Immigrant Entrepreneurship

The early literature on ethnic entrepreneurship primarily focused on two major types of ethnic economies: middleman-minority entrepreneurship and ethnic-enclave entrepreneurship. Middleman-minority entrepreneurs acted as intermediaries between dominant-group producers/retailers and minority-group consumers. They were usually concentrated in retail and services at the low end, serving immediate consumer needs in underserviced and disinvested neighborhoods in urban areas plagued with poverty, crime, and social disorganization (Bonacich 1973; Zhou 2004). Middleman-minority entrepreneurs shared little cultural affinity with their clientele who are non-coethnic group members. They were not connected to the social structures of the communities where their businesses were located. Thus, they were susceptible to interethnic tension and conflict (Min 1996). In contrast, ethnic-enclave entrepreneurs mainly operated businesses in their own ethnic enclave. Although some businesses were similar to those run by middleman entrepreneurs, the economic activities of enclave entrepreneurs were broader and more diverse, including not only retail and services but also production, and serving not only co-ethnic members but also non-coethnic members of diverse social class statuses living in and out of the enclave. More importantly, they were tied to the social structures of their ethnic community, bounded by ethnic solidarity and enforceable trust (Portes and Zhou 1992). Regardless of the type of entrepreneurship, the conventional view is that ethnic entrepreneurs were small business owners who relied on unpaid family labor and cheap immigrant labor to run ethnic food restaurants, low-end groceries and retail shops, liquor stores, and sweatshops (Loewen 1971; Kim 1981; Light 1972; Min 1996; Waldinger 1986; Zhou 1992).

In recent decades, however, drastic changes that occurred in the late 1990s and have become increasingly visible since millennium's turn have shifted immigrant entrepreneurship into a more multifaceted, complex, diverse, and global phenomenon. Several trends are remarkable. First, the historically less entrepreneurial ethnonational groups have become more entrepreneurial. Past studies showed ethnonational groups that were well known for their entrepreneurial endeavors included Jewish, Cubans, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Middle Easterners (Bozorgmehr et al. 1996; Light 1972, 1979; Light and Gold 2000; Loewen 1971; Min 1990; Portes and Bach 1985; Waldinger 1986; Zhou 1992). Few considered Mexicans, Filipinos, and Blacks to be so. But now those groups that were less known for entrepreneurship have followed suit. For example, Hernan and Hondagneu-Sotelo examined the Mexican American-controlled gardening industry in Los Angeles (2009). Nazareno (2018) showed how Filipinos developed businesses along the lines of their professional employment in the healthcare sector.

Second, retail and service industries, which were characteristic of immigrant or ethnic businesses, have now become more diversified in type and size. Take the ethnic restaurant business as an example. Ethnic restaurants, used to be small and serve quick and inexpensive meals, have now grown to include a wider array of choices from inexpensive take-outs and buffet-style restaurants, exotic eating places, to extravagant fine-dining restaurants (Hsu 2008; Liu and Lin 2009). Other personal or professional services also tend to be diversified, ranging from basic to comprehensive with different price ranges.

Third, immigrant or ethnic businesses have now become incorporated into the local economy. Many manage to "break out" of the ethnic or class boundaries and spread out to middle-class urban and suburban communities beyond ethnic enclaves (Engelen 2001). For example, Xi'an Famous Foods, a popular New York City-based Chinese fast food restaurant, began from a small fast-food takeout in Flushing, New York's second Chinatown, and was later expanded into other Chinese enclaves, including Manhattan's old Chinatown, and then into ten other poor and

affluent communities across the city (Shao 2013). Panda Express, started as a Los Angeles-based family business, has now grown into a $2 billion restaurant chain with more than 250,000 employees working in over 2,000 restaurants across the United States and in Canada, Mexico, South Korea, and the United Arab Emirates. Some ethnic restaurants joined the mainstream economy from the very beginning. Café China, the only Michelin-starred Chinese-owned restaurant in New York City, served an exclusive clientele in one of the more expensive neighborhoods in the City (Wells 2012).

Fourth, new immigrant or ethnic businesses, which were historically beyond the imagination and reach of immigrant entrepreneurs, have sprung up in primary market sectors of the mainstream economy, which is rapidly globalized. The capital- and knowledge-intensive industries are prime examples. The Silicon Valley in California, Route 128 technological corridor in Boston, and the Triangle—R&D in technology, telecommunications, and pharmaceuticals—in North Carolina are all well-known (Saxenian 1994; Porter 2001). Another example is the health care industry. The U.S. healthcare has arguably become the largest employer, surpassing manufacturing and retail, in recent years due to the combination of increased medical spending, the recent passage of the federal Affordable Care Act, and demographic changes related to the aging of the U.S. population (Thompson 2018; Morrissey 2011; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2017). Also, because individuals predominantly continue to receive services provided locally by humans, health care jobs remain somewhat resistant to automation and offshoring, which creates tremendous demand for individualized healthcare services and opportunities for new entrepreneurial endeavors. Nazareno (2018) found that immigrant Filipino women nurses and allied health professionals in California have emerged as owners and operators of home health agencies, residential care/assisted living facilities, adult day care centers and home care agencies, catering primarily to the underserved, vulnerable populations.

Fifth, businesses owned by immigrant or ethnic group members today are more transnational than ever before. The phenomenon of the "argonauts" or "transmigrants" is a case in point. Saxenian and Sabel (2008) show that, in the knowledge-intensive industries, highly-skilled immigrants are proactively engaged with their counterparts in their home counties to pursue entrepreneurial opportunities. These argonauts build transnational networks not for direct transfer of technology or knowledge to their home countries, but to participate in entrepreneurial development. Zhou and Hsu (2011) point out that the entrepreneurial transmigrants—those who develop and maintain multiple relations across national borders—become agents of globalization. For example, after the dot.com boom in the U.S. in the 1990s, a few Chinese entrepreneurs returned home to capitalize on China's rapid economic growth and subsequently became highly successful. Since then, a growing number of American-trained, immigrant Chinese professionals and entrepreneurs have engaged in transnational entrepreneurship, contributing to China's development of the information and communication technology (ICT) industries while carving out new and better mobility opportunities for themselves (Zhou and Hsu 2011). The returnee entrepreneurs have become key players in bridging their homeland's domestic capital with technological expertise gained from abroad and establishing linkages with the global market (Saxenian and Sabel 2008). Since the year 2000, there has been a steady increase of approximately 500 returnee-founded enterprises each year in China (Zhou 2008). High-tech industries aside, the literature has also observed that even locally rooted service-oriented immigrant enterprises are transnational. For example, You and Zhou (forthcoming) found, from a case study of Chinese

owned nail salons in New York City, that both labor and product supplies of the industry were sourced from China. Nazareno (2018) showed that Filipino women enterprises in the localized healthcare sector emerged in part by the transnational process that intersects global economic development, previous colonial relations and the public-private framework of the U.S welfare state.

Variations on New Entrepreneurial Endeavors

The changing trends described above suggest that the line between ethnic economics and the mainstream economy and the distinction between middleman-minority entrepreneurship and ethnic-enclave entrepreneurship are blurred. These trends are further complicated by ethnonational variations.

Different ethnonational groups tend to concentrate and specialize in different industrial sectors in their entrepreneurial pursuit. Ethnic niching — a concept initially developed by Waldinger (1996) to refer to occupations populated by coethnic workers regardless of the ethnicity of owners — seems to be just as noticeable among immigrant entrepreneurs as immigrant workers. Existing research show that the overrepresentation of immigrant entrepreneurs in particular industries has been more visible than in the past because of the wider geographic span of the ethnic enterprises, such as Vietnamese and nails salons, Indians and motels or gas stations, Mexicans and gardening businesses, Filipinos and healthcare services, Indians and Chinese and high-tech firms (Dhingra 2012; Eckstein and Nguyen 2011; Hernan and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009; Kerr and Mandorf 2015; Nazareno 2018; You and Zhou, forthcoming).

Ethnonational variations go beyond niching. Ethnic niching varies by location and clientele. Take the nail salon business as an example, nearly 50 percent of licensed nail salon workers were Vietnamese across the country, and more than 80 percent nail salons were operated by Korean or Chinese immigrants. The nail salons service not only low-income racial minority customers but also middle and upper-middle classes customers of diverse racial backgrounds (Eckstein and Nguyen 2011; Kang 2003; You and Zhou forthcoming). In the U.S. motel industry, Indians owned nearly 60% of the motel properties nationwide as of the first decade of the millennium, and some of these motels are franchised from American hotel chains, such as Best Western, Holiday Inn, Ramada Inn, and Comfort Inn (Dhingra 2012).

But similar lines of businesses owned by other ethnonational groups seem to be affected by class and race in different ways. For example, African American women in the beauty industry do business primarily in African American neighborhoods. Hair salon owners capitalize on the demand for hair stylists who knew how to style and treat textured hair and specialize in providing services for other black women (Harvey 2005). But Chinese, Korean and Vietnamese run their nail salons in both ethnic enclaves and non-coethnic neighborhoods in low-income and middle-class areas. Valdez (2011) looked into the restaurant industry in Houston and uses her mixed market theory to compare entrepreneurial performance of restaurants of Mexican Americans, African Americans and whites at different social locations. Munoz (2016) explored the agentic constraints of Latino/a street vendors in Los Angeles who are constantly navigating uneven code regulations and negotiating with street gang members in order to claim public spaces of their own.

Recent literature on immigrant or ethnic entrepreneurship has extended to include the understudied ethnic minority groups or emerging entrepreneurial groups in the United States and other Western societies. More recent civil wars in other countries led to displaced peoples to seek

refuge in the United States. Some of the latest studies showed that entrepreneurial endeavors are remarkable among these new refugee groups, but their businesses are clustering in low-income immigrant neighborhoods rather than spreading across class in the urban or suburban terrains (Verdaguer 2009; Mussa 2015; Price 2012). For example, the Salvadoran Civil War pushed a large number of Salvadorian refugees out of the country by the 1980s, who then arrived in the Washington D.C. area in search of asylum. As they became resettled, the Salvadorans established small businesses along the Washington metropolitan areas as a response to the market needs of large concentration of co-ethnics and offered a variety of services and products including apparel, retail, international couriers and notaries (Verdaguer 2009).

Also starting in the 1980s, the Horn of Africa, which consisted of multiple countries including Ethiopia and Eritrea, became the largest refugee-producing area in the world (Bariagaber 1995). Mussa (2015) found that Ethiopian and Eritrean entrepreneurs began to establish food and culture-centered businesses including flatbread (Injera) and the coffee ceremony (Bun/a). Despite inadequate business training, limited financial capital, and backgrounds in agricultural economic systems; these new entrepreneurs developed an ethnic niche economy comprised of restaurants, cafes and grocery stores in a specific geographic area in Washington D.C. as a way of recreating their ethnic identities as well as creating a transnational space for their migrant community and host society. Some of these Ethiopian restaurants are beginning to attract a white middle-class clientele.

Bolivians also began to settle in large numbers in metropolitan Washington D.C. between the 1980s and 1990s. Migration was partly driven by Bolivian's dismal economy faced with hyperinflation that led many professionals to find economic opportunities elsewhere (Price 2012). Unlike Ethiopian and Eritrean entrepreneurs, however, Bolivian businesses revolved around child care, construction, and cleaning services for patrons outside of their ethnic community. Bolivians have distinguished themselves among other Hispanics due to their higher levels of education, income and self-employment. Moreover, Bolivians have developed linkages with their home country by starting transnational business ventures (Price 2012). For example, Data Ventures is a U.S.-based company owned by a Bolivian immigrant that develops software for financing and telecommunications. Data Ventures has formed transnational relations with Bolivia and other South American countries including Argentina and Chile. Another immigrant Bolivian entrepreneur owns Condor Tech, a U.S. based electronic security and technology firm. This entrepreneur has utilized his resources and networks for philanthropic ventures back in Bolivia.

Overall, we show that growth patterns vary by ethnicity or national origin. However, inter-group variations in business type ownership is not only caused by unequal access to human capital, social capital, financial capital, and cross-border venture capital on the part of individual entrepreneurs, but also by differences in broader structural circumstances in the home country and/or host country and transnational forces.

Causes of Change and Variations

Previously, scholars have argued that resource constraints including labor market exclusion, language barriers, inability to transfer educational and occupational credentials, and employer discriminatory practices prompted marginalized immigrant groups toward self-employed (Aldrich and Waldinger 1990; Light 1972; Light 1979; Min 1990; Morawska 2005). Also, differential access and accumulation of various resources account for why certain ethnic

groups may be more likely to engage in entrepreneurial activities in the United States (Light and Gold 2000). Portes and Rumbaut (1996) pointed out that enterprise success is contingent upon a combination of contextual factors including the host government's current policy toward the immigrant group, public opinion and attitudes toward the immigrant group, and a sizable professionalized ethnic community already in place in the host country to provide strong community support. Much of this literature has traditionally focused on the resources and capital of ethnic enclaves, ethnic niches and ethnic enterprises comprised mostly of familial and co-ethnic labor forces and earned meager profit margins (Aldrich and Waldinger 1990; Bonacich 1973; Dhingra 2012; Kang 2001; Kim 1981; Light 1972; Loewen 1971; Min 1996; Portes and Zhou 1992). Overall, researchers have heavily weighed the national context when examining the socioeconomic mobility and structural opportunities and constraints for self-employment.

Scholars have increasingly pointed out that a broader transnational context, regardless if these businesses are lodged in the host country's local economy or back in one's home country, provide us with the granularity to better understand the causality of immigrant entrepreneurship (Zhou 2004; Portes et al 2002). From a micro-level perspective, Hunt (2011) asserts that immigrant self-selection and the discernment of U.S. based agents in selecting immigrants applying for particular visas play a fundamental role in the success of immigrants. Immigrants who first entered the U.S. on a student/trainee visa or a temporary work visa have a greater advantage over natives in patenting, commercializing or licensing patents and earning larger wages. Whereas, immigrants who arrived as legal permanent residents via family unification schemes tend to perform similarly to natives, while those who arrived as dependents of temporary visa holders or on other temporary visas perform worse than natives (Hunt 2011). Another prime example is the role of immigrant educational selectivity (Zhou and Lee 2015). Zhou and Lee discovered that most of first-generation Chinese Americans have much higher educational attainment than their non-immigrant peers in China and outperform people of all races in the United States. Also, first-generation Mexican Americans are at the opposite end of educational attainment spectrum with a much fewer percentage attaining bachelor degrees compared to both U.S. and Mexico populations (2015). The huge gap in educational attainment between these two ethnic groups intersected with the discretionary screening of the U.S. immigration system, may also explain the historical self-employment rate differentials between these two ethnicities. Yet, it is important to note that more recent scholarship has emerged around Mexican and Latino entrepreneurship. For instance, Vallejo and Canizales (2016) place Latino/a entrepreneurs within the broad social context shaped by race, class, and gender and discuss how their entrepreneurial incorporation is intersectionally affected by those social forces. Other researchers have also cast their eyes on the U.S.-Mexico border and conduct comparative studies on the earnings effect of working in the U.S. versus Mexico (Mora and Davila 2006).

In terms of education, Indian and Chinese immigrants with STEM degrees, as opposed to their co-ethnics with humanities, social science, or a business backgrounds, are much more likely to find jobs and secure temporary employment visas in order to stay in the United States (Weiner 2014). Thus, the increase in Indian and Chinese STEM migrants eventually leads to the rise of high-tech startups, a particular economic sector "hyper-selected" by the existing immigration regulatory regime (Lee and Zhou 2015). Nazareno (2018) found that Filipino women nurse

entrepreneurs who migrated back in the 1960s and 1970s as foreign-educated nurses were more easily able to attain student/trainee or temporary work visas. They were petitioned by U.S. urban and rural hospitals and nursing homes to fill the nursing shortages occurring at the time.

In addition to having desirable educational backgrounds that meet the labor shortages of various U.S. markets, these individuals often already possessed transnational class-based resources (e.g., intergenerational transmittance of skills, bourgeois attitudes private property and wealth) that serve as important elements for the survival and success of immigrant enterprises (Light and Gold 2000). Bourgeoning research has focused on immigrants in the high tech economy and the different forms of capital and resources they possess in becoming entrepreneurial (Barakat and Kamal 2013; Zhou 2004; Zhou and Hsu 2011; Varma 2011; Fairlie et al 2013; Saxenian 2006). As opposed to disadvantage theory that highlights the resource constraints of initial forms of entrepreneurship, Barakat and Kamal (2013) argue that some of the newer immigrant entrepreneurs have a unique advantage in relation to their advanced degrees in the STEM fields of science, technology, mathematics and engineering. While not immune from discrimination, their narrative is one more so of autonomy and opportunity as opposed to exclusion and necessity. However, other scholars contend that despite having more forms of capital, advanced degrees and harnessing their professional careers in the U.S.; immigrants still encountered racial discrimination and cultural barriers and a disproportionate few have transitioned into high-profile executive positions with executive decision-making power in some leading high-tech companies (Zhou and Hsu, 2011; Wong 2006; Varma 2011). The overall situation has somewhat improved as many immigrants are now CEOs of leading high-tech firms such as Microsoft and Google, but the "silicon ceiling," though weakened, remains above many Chinese and Indian immigrants (Singh 2015). These constraints have led some mid-career professionals to strategically utilize their transnational social networks strengthened by working in places like Silicon Valley to become entrepreneurs and venture capitalists in their home countries (citations). For example, Sabeer Bhatia, co-founder of the e-mail service Hotmail, has been funding the development of a "Nano City," (also known as India's Silicon Valley), which plans to serve as a central hub for technology, bioscience, and other knowledge industries (Varma 2011; Iwata 2006).

Examining changes in ethnic entrepreneurship from a meso-level perspective, transnational social fields broaden our perspective on ethnic entrepreneurship (Zhou and Liu 2015). Researchers found that immigrant entrepreneurs in the tech industry have become valuable conduits of information and skills in order to play key roles in the technological "catch-up" of their home countries (Zhou and Hsu 2011; Varma 2009; Iwata 2006). Seen as a special kind of middleman minorities, transnationals play the role of connecting center-host and peripheral-home countries by taking advantage of their international social capital unavailable to native-born competitors (Sequeira et al. 2009; Light 2010; Jones et al. 2010; Patel and Terjesen 2011). Some researchers claim that "glocalized networks—with both intensive local embeddedness and far-flung global connections" make the effect of distance "dead" (Chen and Wellman 2009:528; Ong and Nonini 1997). However, Chen and Wellman find that glocalized networks cannot be maintained with online communication alone and frequent business travels abroad and in-person meetings remain very important, especially for high-value connections (Chen and Wellman 2009). Case studies on first generation Taiwanese and Indian immigrant professionals from U.S. technology industries

demonstrate how they have particularly become instrumental in connecting and developing their home country's infrastructure for entrepreneurial technology development and venture capital institutions (Varma 2011; Saxenian and Sabel 2008). Described as the new "Argonauts," these technically skilled immigrant entrepreneurs are navigating two countries simultaneously, while launching their own enterprises, and have become a strong economic force for development (Saxenian 2006). These returnees have also broadened their social networks to include their home country's public officials. For example, through these social relations, researchers found that immigrant Taiwanese returnees were able to influence and redirect investment from certain outdated industries toward technology start-ups in order to strengthen their tech economy (Saxenian and Sabel 2008).

Micro-level and meso-level analyses discussed above must be considered in relation to the macro-level sociopolitical and economic backdrop of both sending and receiving countries. For instance, the mass arrival of Chinese immigrants into the U.S. labor market was only possible once the Chinese government lifted their immigration ban in the late 1970s and integrated itself into the world economy (Hatton and Williamson 1998). Also, a country's visa regulations and classifications are set by their respective governments and determine who can enter, under what conditions, for which jobs and for how long (Xiang, 2017). Numerous studies found that many structural factors, such as shifts of labor from rural to urban areas, increasing incomes, and loosened financial restrictions of sending countries, especially ones with medium levels of development, have stimulated migration (Faini and Venturini 1994; Hatton and Williamson 1998; Massey and Zenteno 2000; Vogler and Rotte 2000; de Haas 2010). India, China, and South Korea all fit within this migration transition model which argues that mobility increases during the societal transition caused by population growth, rural employment decline, fast economic growth and technological breakthrough (Zelinsky 1971; Skeldon 1990, 1997).

Yet, these respective countries' own economies are also growing, particularly in the high-tech industries and have attracted many Chinese, Taiwanese and Indian immigrants to return home (Saxenian 2007; Zhou 2008; Zhou and Hsu 2011; Saxenian and Sabel 2008). Their return is stimulated by the implementation of a series of economic liberalization policies and lowering trade barriers in order to facilitate foreign investments as well as the vast technology advances in communication and transportation (Lever-Tracy, Ip and Noel 1996; Saxenian 2002; Varma and Kapur 2010; Zhou and Hsu 2011; Varma 2011). Moreover, while European and North American countries were still recovering from a recent economic recession, Zhou and Hsu (2011) found that the amalgamation of a booming high-tech industry, strong stock market, and a ready supply of skilled engineers has established an emerging entrepreneurial milieu further enticing growing numbers of overseas talent to migrate back. In 2004, the Indian government established the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA) to promote, nurture and sustain an institutional framework to benefit from Indian diasporic and transnational networks (Varma and Kapur 2010). The impact of the development of the sending country on the receiving country's immigrant entrepreneurship is not limited to the high-end industries but also low-end ones, particularly in relation to labor supply (You and Zhou forthcoming, Nazareno 2018).

Like other studies, ethnic entrepreneurship studies has its own temporal or historical

dimension, which is usually invisible but cannot go ignored. When Light (1972) conducted the comparative research on entrepreneurs of various ethnic groups for his seminal work in 1970s, Chinese entrepreneurs very likely had no connection with their home country as it shut the door to the outside world while Korean immigrants, many of whom were beneficiaries of the early economic booms of a relative poor country at the moment, flocked to the United States and downwardly assimilated to the mainstream society through entrepreneurship. These entrepreneurs would not have been able to predict the impending changes brought forth by worldwide economic restructuring and globalization policies. When the field of ethnic entrepreneurship thrived in 1980s and 1990s, we should also bear in mind that the politico-economic pendulum of the time was favorable to small businesses and the appealing rags-to-riches narrative celebrated by the Reagan-Thatcher neoliberalism, which saw entrepreneurship as the market-based alternative to the welfare state government programs. This perspective helped to shape the ideology behind many studies adopting sociocultural perspectives as a main theoretical framework (Ram et al., 2017). More specifically, guided by Reagan-Thatcher neoliberalism, local and state governments of the United States proactively promoted microenterprise development programs which offered training and loans to individuals to pursue their entrepreneurial ambitions (Jurik 2005). In the wake of the Great Recession, following Canada and Australia, the U.S. federal government also paid more attention to a particular permanent residency program, EB-5 visa, or investor visa, which attracts affluent foreigners to either open up their own businesses (Jahangiri 2016). The most recent tax cut introduced by President Trump's administration and passed by Congress also favors business owners over wage earners (Ohlemacher et al. 2017). Therefore, the causes of change and variation in ethnic entrepreneurship are also time-dependent upon larger dynamics that have occurred or currently occurring in the world over the last nearly half century.

Discussion: Reconceptualizing Immigrant Entrepreneurship

The changing patterns and ethnonational variations in immigrant entrepreneurship suggest that some of the key concepts, models, and theories — e.g., middleman minority, ethnic enclave, ethnic economy, ethnic niching — in the existing literature have their limitations as they are constrained by boundaries of nation-states and ethnonational groups within the contexts of immigrant reception. Recent research has produced ample evidence to suggest that there are new structural forces shaping immigrant entrepreneurship, which calls for further empirical research and reconceptualizations. Recent research has made significant theoretical advances through the transnational lens and frameworks that transcend the ethnonational confines. Out of the many theoretical breakthroughs, we discuss four: transnationalism, mixed embeddedness, simultaneous embeddedness and welfare state replacements — models that take into account local and global forces shaping immigrant entrepreneurship.

Transnationalism

In her 2004 review essay, Zhou foresaw that the transformative impacts of transnationalism observed as a new trend in early 2000s, "are likely to give rise to new structure and forces that determine ethnic entrepreneurship" (p. 1054). In its earlier development, the transnational entrepreneurship literature disproportionately focused on transmigrants and their transnational ties. These ties are viewed as an enlarged range of social capital which enables transmigrants to

leverage otherwise unavailable resources (Sequeira et al. 2009; Jones et al. 2010; Patel and Terjesen 2011). Some scholars turn their attentions to home country conditions which may significantly affect the opportunity structures unique to national-origin groups and determine who is engaged in what type of transnational activities. Zhou (2004: 1055) reiterates the view that "[an] understanding of levels of scale and formality of these various types of transnational economic activities requires a new perspective that goes beyond the one centering on the host country" (Levitt and Glick-Schiller 2004).

Scholars agree that it is important to considering factors influencing transnationalism from the perspective of the sending country. Government policies and levels of economic development often interact with immigrant entrepreneurs' enduring moral ties to ethnicity and home countries. The specific socioeconomic politico-institutional contexts of sending countries should be analyzed precisely because networks are created, sustained, and used within these contexts (Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004; Brzozoski et al. 2014; Sequeira et al. 2009). Renewed efforts have been made to reposition the transnational entrepreneurship studies within the transnational social field. In their comparative analysis of Chinese immigrant entrepreneurship in the United States and Singapore, Zhou and Liu (2015) find that different migration histories, structural circumstances in both sending and receiving societies, and locations in the transnational social field give rise to divergent patterns of economic transnationalism, and that the rise of China has opened up new avenues for transnational entrepreneurship, which has not only benefited hometown development in China but also created economic opportunities for Chinese immigrants, leading to desirable mobility outcomes. Moreover, transnational entrepreneurship promotes deeper localization rather than deterritorialization and contributes to strengthening the economic base of the existing ethnic enclave, which in turn offers an effective alternative path for migrants' integration in their host societies (Zhou and Liu 2015).

Mixed Embeddedness

Celebrated as "perhaps the greatest single theoretical leap forward in this field" (Ram et al. 2017), mixed embeddedness is a conceptual framework, originally formulated and subsequently refined by Kloosterman and his associates for examining immigrant entrepreneurship (Kloosterman et al. 1999; Kloosterman 2010; Rath and Kloosterman 2000). Kloosterman and his associates argue that ethnic social capital alone insufficient to fully mitigate major deficiencies associated with immigrant businesses. These scholars zoom in on two central but inadequately appreciated factors — the intrinsically hostile market environment and state regulatory regime. These two structural factors are more influential than social capital to determine entrepreneurial outcomes of immigrant-owned small businesses (Kloosterman 2010; Ram et al. 2017).

From the conception of mixed embeddedness, immigrant entrepreneurs are centrally placed within a three-rung sphere of influence, namely, the micro-level of individual human capital and ethnic social capital, the meso-level of opportunity structure offered by the local economy, and the macro-level of larger the politico-institutional environment (Kloosterman 2010). At the micro-level, the individual entrepreneur faces a two-dimension opportunity structure consisted of the access to and growth potential of markets. At the meso-level, besides this opportunity structure, the business performance is further conditioned on his or her access to ethnic-based resources and available entrepreneurial strategies. At the macro-level, the size and shape of the meso-level opportunity structure is affected by broader politico-institutional framework in the host country (Kloosterman 2010). However, focusing on only multi-level factors of the host country, the mixed

embeddedness conceptual overlooks the structural conditions in the home country, which may also enable or constrain potential entrepreneurs' business outcomes (Zhou 2004).

Simultaneous Embeddedness

Many scholars suggest that ethnic entrepreneurship studies should go beyond the borders of host countries (Levitt and Glick-Schiller 2004; Zhou 2004). It is hence necessary to formulate a new perspective which takes into account a host of home-country conditions, such as state policies, the levels of economic development, transnational economic activities, and direct economic and noneconomic benefits derived from social networks in sending countries (Chin and Smith 2015; Délano 2011; Portes and Fernandez-Kelly 2015; Zhou 2004).

Building on the ideas of transnationalism and mixed embeddedness, You and Zhou (forthcoming) propose a new analytic framework, which they term "simultaneous embeddedness." This framework extends the three-rung sphere of influence from the host country to the sending country and emphasizes the linkage between home and host countries. From this perspective, the transnational entrepreneur is constantly interacting with his or her networks and the state in the transnational social field while being centrally located within the socioeconomic and politico-institutional contexts of both home and host countries. Structurally, this analytic framework is consisted of two sets of three-layer factors, one in the home country and the other in the host country, connected by transnational linkages (You and Zhou forthcoming). Using the same logic of mixed embeddedness, You and Zhou pay special attention how the three-layer factors in the home country interact with those in the host country. At the micro-level, transnational entrepreneurs' premigration statuses may affect their business performance in the host country and the effectiveness of exploiting transnational interpersonal networks. At the meso-level, socioeconomic conditions in the home country, such as the elevation of educational level, the expansion of middle-class families, the labor shortage and skilled mismatch, and the favorable government policies, may affect the local labor market in the host country. At the macro-level, politico-institutional factors in the home country may enable or constrain transnationals entrepreneurial ambition in the host country.

You and Zhou (forthcoming) applied this analytic framework in their case study of New York City's Chinese owned nail salons. They found that (1) Chinese nail salon owners' interpersonal networks were built in the home country and strengthened through the process of adaptation to the host country; (2) the labor supply for the nail salon business was influenced by the elevation of educational attainment in the younger generation, the job mismatch in the local labor market, and rising economic opportunities in China; and (3) the Chinese government's entrepreneurship promoting policy and relaxed control over studying abroad and tourism overseas, intertwined with changes in US immigration policy, exacerbated the problem of labor shortage for Chinese-owned nail salons in New York City. The study suggests that global forces profoundly influence immigrant enterprises, even those that are largely low-end and highly localized in the informal economy.

The analytic framework of simultaneous embeddedness links the local with the global to foreground the significance of multi-layer factors interacting within socioeconomic and politico-institutional environments of both host and home countries. This framework broadens the lens through which scholars perceive individuals, networks, and institutions as actors interacting in the transnational social field. The framework is beneficial for policymakers in that it enables them to

build capacity for identifying transnational factors in the legislative process and tailor policy responses to balance local concerns and global impacts.

Welfare State Replacements

Existing literature has studied immigrant entrepreneurship in the contexts of different types of welfare regimes (Van Jevsnik and Hacin 2011; Kloosterman and Rath 1999; Razin 2007). The term "welfare state" refers to a "collection of programs designed to assure economic security to all citizens by guaranteeing the fundamental necessities of life: food, shelter, medical care, protection in childhood, and support in old age" (Katz 2002:9). The U.S. regime differs significantly from Scandinavian countries and central European countries in that the U.S. has lean welfare provisions and social welfare policies mainly target only aging and disabled populations and those at the lowest income strata. Van Jevsnik and Hacin (2011) assert that the combination of market forces, fewer regulations imposed by the welfare state in the form of less taxation and social benefits for employees, and less constraints on immigration policies have attracted more immigrants to develop small businesses within various U.S. industries as opposed to parts of Europe Moreover, the U.S. welfare state is regulated more by the free market and less by the state (Katz 2001; Klein 2003). Case in point, the 1960s and 1970s passage of social policies allowed Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security Disability Insurance (SSDI) federal dollars to fund the private health and long-term care industries. Nazareno (2018) argues that the public-private framework of the U.S. welfare state and its austere policies have led to the emergence of immigrant care enterprise. Nazareno (2018) produced the first study to examine how immigrant Filipino women became *welfare state replacements* by owning health and long-term care businesses that catered to the displaced, impoverished, chronically ill, and aging populations in the U.S. These immigrant entrepreneurs, mostly women, have capitalized the skill and experience that they have built up through working in the healthcare industry and started their own private enterprises to provide crucial care to those in need by providing housing, custodial care, and medical services after massive closures and/or federal underfunding of public state hospitals, community mental health centers, and public housing settings.

Nazareno (2018) defines *welfare state replacements* as government-subsidized, small and medium sized enterprises that have stepped in to meet the needs of some of the nation's most underserved populations that have resulted from austere welfare state policies. The phenomenon of ethnic enterprises playing a role as *welfare state replacements* in the long-term care industry is rooted in and characterized by 1) the lack of a universal provision of long-term care, the outsourcing of direct care services and privatization of formal long-term care services in the U.S. that signified the advancement of a neoliberal social order and a scaled-down welfare state and 2) the increased bifurcation *within* the privatized long term care industry. Even though private enterprises were government subsidized to provide long-term care services, many of the corporate-owned businesses prefer to cater to the wealthier sectors of society and accepted more profitable private-pay individuals. 3) Immigrant entrepreneurs, particularly immigrant Filipino women have stepped in to meet the health and long-term care needs of the less profitable, government-

subsidized individuals that not only resulted from a retracted, austere welfare state, but also from corporations preferring to provide long-term care services to a higher payer mix that optimized their reimbursements.

This distinct kind of immigrant entrepreneurship is related to the transnational process characterized by the intersection of early 19th century historical colonial ties between the U.S. and the Philippines, the subsequent massive migration of nurses as a "cheaper" gendered labor force to the U.S. after WWII and the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act 1965, coupled with the enactment and shift of U.S. federal dollars into the private sector of health and long-term care. Since at least 1974, Filipino women nurses have been strategically using their technical skills, years of working in the U.S. health care system, and proficiency in English to start up their care businesses. This new form of immigrant entrepreneurship also underscores the formations of state-market partnerships and the global restructuring of market-based models to social and public policy. The U.S. government has a long tradition of providing direct care services to many of its most vulnerable citizens through market-based solutions and subsidized private entities. This phenomenon has led to the stratification of U.S. health and long-term care sectors, whereby the globalized assemblage of immigrant enterprises make up the peripheral, second-tiered part of the industry. The conception of the welfare state regime stems from the assurance to provide economic security and social welfare to its citizens and Nazareno suggests that the U.S. government has shifted and displaced some of this responsibility onto immigrant enterprise.

Conclusion

This review essay aimed to identify changing trends, variations, and theoretical advances shaping immigrant entrepreneurship in today's rapidly globalized world. Our analysis of the recent articles related to Western societies over the past decade suggests that some of the structural opportunities and/or constraints on immigrant entrepreneurship have changed. We found that new trends and ethnonational variations are not only created by uneven access to different forms of capital, cross-border venture capital, but also by differences in broader structural circumstances in the home country and/or host country and transnational forces. Some new forms of immigrant enterprises have also changed from local, labor-intensive, and service-oriented enterprises to global, knowledge-intensive, and diverse professional services. Immigrant entrepreneurs can now be found in more mainstream economies and in different industries, including the health and long term care sector. In the review, we also highlighted new immigrant entrepreneurs that until recently, have been understudied. Particularly, a surge of research has emerged around Mexican and Latino immigrant entrepreneurship scholarship. Also, we identified refugee immigrants engaging in entrepreneurial endeavors after resettling in the United States.

Throughout the review, we have placed greater emphasis on global and transnational processes in order to both provide a more thorough understanding of immigrant entrepreneurship. We have proposed theoretical advances, which expands the established concepts and models in the sociology of ethnic entrepreneurship related to ever-changing global dynamics and austere U.S. welfare state policies. Further studies are needed related to understudied immigrant entrepreneurs and the rise of immigrant businesses in new industries identified in our review. Also, given the recent policy changes related to the current White House administration's tax plan and potential

changes to immigration policies in the U.S., future research is needed to understand how this impacts current immigrant enterprises and the prospects or deterrence of new ones.

Our review is limited to changing trends and transnational relations occurring mostly occurring in the Global North. Future work on immigration and immigrant entrepreneurship in the Global South (e.g., African merchants in Guangzhou, China) as well as different migrant entrepreneurial flows beyond the United States (e.g., Chinese merchants in certain parts of Africa, Latin America and Italy; South Korean merchants in New Zealand) would raise new questions and provide further insight related to different forms of capital, transnational networks and structural forces.

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