

Are They Really Different?
The Entrepreneurial Processes from the Perspective of Different
Generations of Immigrant Entrepreneurs

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Abstract

Immigrant entrepreneurship is defined as business establishment and ownership among immigrants who arrive to a new host country. Immigrant entrepreneurship has become an important theme due to the increasing rates of immigration to developed countries, and its impact on their economic development. However it is also discredited and qualified as low value-added, rarely innovative, restricted to the ethnic communities and with stagnating growth potential. Following this debate, a new research stream affirms that immigrants should not be treated as one entity. Thus attention is shifting towards groups of immigrant entrepreneurs that were previously neglected in the literature. One such group consists of the second generation children of immigrants. Work to date provides ample investigation about immigrant entrepreneurs and their entrepreneurial process; however there is less research on similarities and differences in the entrepreneurial process experienced by first and second generation immigrant entrepreneurs. Despite some recent research on second generation immigrant entrepreneurs, this topic remains understudied. The objective of this study is to understand, from a multi-level perspective, how different generations of immigrant entrepreneurs experience the entrepreneurial process. Using a grounded theory approach and qualitative in-depth interviews, the findings indicate that first and second generation immigrant entrepreneurs experience the entrepreneurial process differently by facing different micro and macro level enablers and obstacles. They also recognize, evaluate and exploit opportunities differently. The extent to which they are embedded in specific environments affects their entrepreneurial experiences.

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1. Introduction

Immigrant entrepreneurship has become an important theme due to the increasing rates of immigration to developed countries and its impact on their economic development. Immigrant entrepreneurship is defined as business establishment and ownership among immigrants who arrive to a new host country (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990; Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward, 1990; Teixeira, 2001; Zhou, 2004; Volery, 2007; Valdez, 2008). Immigrant entrepreneurship has long been established as a critical element in the restructuring of Western economies (Waldinger et al., 1990; Teixeira, 2001; Kloosterman 2010). Immigrant entrepreneurs not only establish large companies, but also small and medium sized companies that are a main source of economic revitalization and social renewal (Ndofor and Priem, 2011).

It is important to note that immigrant entrepreneurship is also discredited and qualified as adding low value, rarely innovative, restricted to the ethnic communities and with stagnating growth potential (Kloosterman, 2010; Beckers & Blumberg, 2013). Immigrants are sometimes qualified as low skilled individuals who are pushed into self-employment in sectors with low barriers rather than as being guided by opportunities (Waldinger et al., 1990; Valdez, 2008). Kloosterman (2010) opposes this claim by highlighting the fact that immigrants are not only restricted to low-skilled individuals. There is a large number of highly-skilled professionals from non-Organization for Economic Cooperation Development (OECD) countries and individuals with graduate degrees who implement their skills in the host countries. Both low-skilled and high-skilled immigrants could benefit from opportunities for small businesses and operate a

successful business in different sectors. Using proactive marketing, ethnic entrepreneurs can broaden their operations and expand to general mainstream markets (Rusinovic, 2008a). The benefits of immigrant entrepreneurship could be seen from a twofold perspective: benefitting both the host country and benefitting ethnic and enclave economies.

Immigrant entrepreneurship is different from entrepreneurship in general because “native-born individuals typically do not have to overcome the challenges of migration, which often involve loss of human and social capital gained abroad, such as foreign-earned credentials and an individual network of contacts and other business associates” (Shinnar and Young, 2008, p.243). The enablers and obstacles that immigrant entrepreneurs face, and their opportunity recognition, evaluation and exploitation experiences differ from those of native-born entrepreneurs.

However, a recent research stream affirms that immigrants should not be viewed as a single entity. One group that is getting increased attention consists of the second generation children of immigrants (Rusinovic 2006; Rusinovic, 2008a; Beckers & Blumberg, 2013). Second generation immigrants are different from native-born individuals; although both were born in the host country, their identities and sense of linkages to an ethnic community are likely to differ. Further, second generation immigrants interact and may be influenced by first generation immigrants. Yet, first generation immigrants and second generation immigrants are also different. Researchers distinguish between first generation immigrants and second generation immigrants based on the definition of each group. According to Rusinovic (2006) second generation immigrants are individuals “with at least one immigrant parent or who arrived to the receiving country before the age of twelve” (Rusinovic, 2006, p.38), which is the start of the

adolescence phase. In other words, they arrive before attending secondary school; hence they will have a substantial upbringing in Canada (Rusinovic, 2006). Being raised in the host society, second generation immigrant entrepreneurs' profile are different from first generation entrepreneurs' profile in terms of language proficiency, education, human and social capital. In addition they are likely to be more tied and embedded in the mainstream environment, given that they are raised in the host country. Questions concerning the influence of their embeddedness on the entrepreneurial process could be raised.

Beyond the distinction in the definition of first and second generation immigrants, the similarities and differences between both groups are still blurry and understudied. Work to date provides ample investigation about immigrant entrepreneurs (Waldinger et al., 1990; Valdez, 2008; Shinnar and Young, 2008; Kloosterman, 2010); however there is less research on similarities and differences in the entrepreneurial process experienced by first and second generation immigrants. As Rusinovic affirmed, "with some recent exceptions...most of the international literature on immigrant entrepreneurship remains focused on the first generation" (Rusinovic, 2008a, p.441). Despite some recent research on second generation immigrant entrepreneurs (Rusinovic, 2006; Rusinovic, 2008a; Rusinovic, 2008b; Ndofor and Priem, 2011; Baycan, Sahin and Nijkamp, 2012), this topic remains understudied. Entrepreneurship literature has not given much attention to these generational differences and to the extended entrepreneurial process (starting and operating a business) experienced by these different generations.

The purpose of this thesis is to explore, from a multi-level perspective, how different generations of immigrant entrepreneurs experience the entrepreneurial process. The study compares the entrepreneurial experiences of first and second generation immigrant entrepreneurs. Thus, the central question in my study is: How do different generations of immigrant entrepreneurs experience the entrepreneurial process? The main sub-questions are: (a) What are the multi-level enablers and obstacles that different generations of immigrant entrepreneurs face during the process of establishing and operating their businesses? (b) How do different generations of immigrant entrepreneurs recognize, evaluate and exploit opportunities?

Exploring how different generations of immigrant entrepreneurs recognize, evaluate and exploit opportunities adds to theoretical formulations on entrepreneurship. The study also has practical implications for different generations of immigrants wishing to establish and run a venture. It would create strong understanding about the processes that may be followed, challenges faced, and enablers that could be pursued. Finally, the study will have policy implications by uncovering the experiences and processes of different generations of immigrant entrepreneurs, thus allowing for the enactment of enabling policies.

The remainder of this thesis is organized as follows. In the Conceptual overview, I review the literature on immigrant entrepreneurship. The Methods section outlines the methodology, data sources and steps taken to ensure validity and trustworthiness. The Findings section details the analysis and results and provides extensive data to support the analysis. This section also presents the conceptual models that emerged from the data. In the discussion, I compare my findings to the existing literature. And finally I conclude by providing a summary of the

contributions of this research, the practical implications of the findings, the limitations of the study and potential for future research.

2. Literature review

In this section I will review the literature on immigrant entrepreneurship. This review was not intended to be exhaustive but focused on identifying important elements that would enable understanding of my research area. Given that my research seeks to understand the differences between two groups of entrepreneurs, I review the literature that explains the variations among immigrant entrepreneurs. This literature focuses on factors that hinder or enable the entrepreneurial process. In addition, exploring the salient literature on embeddedness will be useful to understand the overall experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs.

2.1 Immigrant entrepreneurship

The field of immigrant entrepreneurship has seen many theory developments, challenges and revisions over the past thirty years to capture the essence of the phenomenon (Zhou, 2004). Valdez (2008) defines immigrant entrepreneurship as “business ownership among immigrants, ethnic group members, or both” (Valdez, 2008, p. 956). Teixeira (2001) advanced that the main issue inquired by researchers when studying this topic revolves around the variations of business involvement and success of different immigrant groups. They speculate and theorize “Why do they concentrate in entrepreneurship? What factors facilitate this phenomenon? And, why do some groups do better in business than others?” (Teixeira, 2001, p.2056). The next section highlights these explanations.

2.1.1 Explanations of variations of immigrant entrepreneurship

According to Teixeira (2001), differences in entrepreneurial behaviors, processes, motivations, enablers, obstacles and outcomes were recorded among different groups of immigrant entrepreneurs. Traditionally two theories were advanced to explain the different levels of business involvement and success among ethnic groups (Teixeira, 2001): structural factors with the theory of blocked mobility, and cultural factors with the cultural theory. A more recent approach tries to explain these differences while taking into account the shortcomings of the first two theories (Teixeira, 2001). It is the interactive model of ethnic business development. Although there has been an evolution of the theories of entrepreneurship, these theories have dominated ethnic entrepreneurship for over thirty years and are still used nowadays or combined together to form new theories. I detail each theory and present its main concepts and shortcomings.

Theory of the blocked mobility or the disadvantage theory

“The theory of the blocked mobility or the disadvantage theory” reveals racial discrimination and obstacles related to ethnicity and culture that hinder the immigrant’s integration in the economic market (Waldinger et al., 1990; Zhou, 2004). Authors who subscribe to this theory believe that structural factors or macro-level factors that are external to the entrepreneurs influence them to engage in entrepreneurship, and the degree of influence varies according to group and market characteristics. Volery (2007) advanced that this theory continues to be credible: “an early and very prominent theory suggested that ethnic businesses are an obvious

reaction to blocked opportunities in the labor market, which in many instances still holds true today” (Volery, 2007, p.31). Entrepreneurship in this case is an alternative to unemployment and to low wages for disadvantaged groups. In addition, immigrants face discrimination and racial exclusion that keeps them from getting the same chances as natives in the mainstream economy. As a consequence, immigrants take jobs that natives are not attracted to, or try to find unmet needs and new opportunities (Zhou, 2004). As Teixeira (2001) affirmed, according to this theory “entrepreneurship is not seen as a sign of success, but rather—as an alternative to underemployment/low wages—it becomes a sign of a group’s disadvantaged economic and social position in society” (Teixeira, 2001, p. 2057).

Nonetheless this theory fails to capture the essence of the variations of immigrant entrepreneurship because it shows shortcomings in explaining why some groups engage in entrepreneurship more than others; an example would be Blacks who are disadvantaged but tend not to be self-employed (Teixeira, 2001). In his study of Portuguese and Black immigrant entrepreneurs in Toronto based on a survey questionnaire, Teixeira (2001) found that the two groups are significantly different given that Black entrepreneurs face more barriers in starting and operating their businesses especially when they seek loans and financial resources. However Portuguese immigrant entrepreneurs relied more extensively on their community and ethnic resources, they even chose the location of their businesses because of its proximity to the community (Teixeira, 2001). He proceeds by explaining that “the limited number of Canadian studies and the lack of theoretical and empirical work prevent a full understanding of why certain immigrant groups concentrate in entrepreneurship, what factors facilitate (or prevent) this phenomenon and why some groups do better in business than others” (Teixeira, 2001, p.2058).

Linking his findings back to my study, it is important to understand the differences among the two generations of immigrant entrepreneurs and to explore the factors that facilitate (enablers) or prevent (obstacles) the entrepreneurial process.

The cultural thesis

Given that the theory of blocked mobility fails to explain why certain groups engage in entrepreneurial activities more than others, researchers proposed the concept of “the cultural thesis”. It suggests that some social and cultural characteristics possessed by immigrants trigger them to start their ventures and affect their entrepreneurial processes “such as dedication to hard work, membership of a strong ethnic community, economical living, acceptance of risk, compliance with social value patterns, solidarity and loyalty, and orientation towards self-employment” (Volery, 2007, p.33).

Moreover, Zhou (2004) cited group-specific cultural characteristics that play a significant role in the business: “cultural values, behavioral patterns, social structures, collective resources and coping strategies” (Zhou, 2004, p.1048). An example of cultural characteristics is the fact that immigrants prefer to hire co-ethnic immigrants and to partner with them because of their ethnic background based on trust and reputation: they share bounded solidarity and enforceable trust (Zhou, 2004). These cultural characteristics were used by many scholars to contrast the entrepreneurial processes of different clusters of immigrant entrepreneurs. However Kloosterman (2010) argued that analysis based on cultural traits proved to be insufficient for grasping entrepreneurship. Volery (2007) argued that this theory is particularly common when

researchers try to explain the tendency of Asian entrepreneurs to choose entrepreneurship as a profession; however it is insufficient because it does not take into account the complex phenomenon involving immigration policies, market conditions or employment alternatives (Volery, 2007).

The interactive model of ethnic business development

Due to the complexity of the phenomenon, entrepreneurship literature turned attention to “the interactive model of ethnic business development” that combines the previous theories into a unified model (Waldinger et al. 1990; Teixeira, 2001). This model is presented as an interaction between the opportunity structures, group characteristics and ethnic strategies that are interrelated (Teixeira, 2001). It suggests that opportunity structures are formed by “market conditions, access to ownership, job market condition and legal frameworks...no matter how big the niche market is, the opportunities it offers are limited. Access to open markets, which are typically occupied by local entrepreneurs, is often blocked through high entry barriers, either on a financial or on a knowledge basis” (Volery, 2007, p.34). The second dimension of this model is ethnic resources: ethnic entrepreneurs draw on ethnic resources available to them (Waldinger et al. 1990; Teixeira, 2001; Volery, 2007). This aspect is part of the group characteristics and cultural traditions that immigrants adhere to. And finally ethnic strategies are the results of the interaction between opportunity structures and group characteristics and resources (Volery, 2007). They are also the solution to the challenges that entrepreneurs encounter.

2.2 Obstacles, enablers and the Entrepreneurial Process

Reflecting upon these three theoretical pillars of immigrant entrepreneurship literature, it seems clear that they variously place emphases on obstacles (blocked mobility thesis), enablers (cultural thesis) and the interaction of obstacles and enablers in the entrepreneurial process (the interactive model). For instance, in addition to obstacles to participation in the mainstream labor market, the blocked mobility thesis is concerned with continuing obstacles that shape entrepreneurial activity. These include limited access to standard providers of business finance and a reliance on co-ethnic consumers. In contrast, the cultural thesis tends to focus on enablers of entrepreneurship. The benefits of community financing are emphasized over exclusion from the mainstream financial markets; the attraction of inexpensive (co-ethnic) labor is emphasized over an inability to recruit from the indigenous population. Drawing these together, the interactive model is largely concerned with how obstacles and enablers, both internal and external to the immigrant group, interact to shape the entrepreneurial process. The implication of the interactive model is that the forms of entrepreneurship that immigrants engage in should not be viewed as wholly negative (blocked mobility) or wholly positive (cultural thesis) but may take a number of forms and be viewed from mixed and multiple perspectives. Table 1 provides a brief summary of the ideas and concepts presented in the literature.

Table1. Theories/concepts that draw attention to obstacles, enablers and entrepreneurial process

Theory	Concepts presented	Sources
1-Theory of the blocked mobility or the disadvantage theory	<p>OBSTACLES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -This theory reveals racial discrimination and obstacles related to ethnicity that hinder the immigrant’s integration in the economic market -Immigrants face obstacles that hinder their entrepreneurial process such as limited markets, high entry barriers, financial challenges and lack of knowledge -Immigrants face discrimination and racial exclusion that keeps them from getting the same chances as natives in the mainstream economy 	(Waldinger et al., 1990) (Teixeira, 2001) (Zhou, 2004) (Volery, 2007)
2-The cultural thesis	<p>ENABLERS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Social and cultural characteristics possessed by immigrants trigger them to engage in entrepreneurial activities and enable their business success -Immigrant can draw upon ethnic resources that facilitate their entrepreneurial processes -Examples include: dedication to hard work, membership of a strong ethnic community, economical living, acceptance of risk, compliance with social value patterns, solidarity and loyalty, and orientation towards self-employment 	(Teixeira, 2001) (Zhou, 2004) (Kloosterman, 2010) (Volery, 2007)
3-The interactive model of ethnic business development	<p>OBSTACLES AND ENABLERS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -This model is presented as an interaction between the opportunity structures, group characteristics and ethnic strategies -It presents both the obstacles to and the enablers of immigrant entrepreneurship processes 	(Waldinger et al., 1990) (Teixeira, 2001) (Volery, 2007)

These three theoretical frames continue to influence more recent conceptual and empirical work on immigrant entrepreneurship (Volery, 2007). For instance, a recent paper by Kloosterman (2010) emphasizes obstacles and argues that immigrants are pushed to self-employment because they face many barriers that include discrimination, incompatible resources, low wages, or high rates of unemployment (Kloosterman, 2010). As a result, they establish their own business and procure alternative employment through entrepreneurship.

In contrast, Zhou (2004) takes a more positive view. Entrepreneurship is both enabled by the immigrant context and enables greater social mobility on the part of the immigrant entrepreneur. Immigrant entrepreneurial activity facilitates the social mobility among ethnic individuals and groups by creating employment opportunities for entrepreneurs and their ethnic coworkers. Additionally, immigrant entrepreneurship facilitates the level of economic integration of immigrants who enter the general economy through their co-ethnic employment network (Zhou, 2004). Immigrants prefer to employ first their family members and then members of their co-ethnic community.

The notion of interplay between obstacles and enablers that is present in the interactive model allows for a more neutral perspective on immigrant entrepreneurship. This view is consistent with the concept of the enclave economy (Zhou, 2004). Zhou (2004, p. 1045) sheds light on the enclave economy and explains that “the central idea of the enclave economy concept is that the enclave is more than just a shelter for the disadvantaged who are forced to take on either self-employment or marginal wage work in small businesses. Rather the ethnic enclave possesses the potential to develop a distinct structure of economic opportunities as an effective alternative path

to social mobility” (Zhou, 2004, p.1045). Thus it is both underpinned by disadvantage (obstacles), but also facilitates social mobility and helps in improving the social and economic status of the immigrant entrepreneur (enablers).

In addition, this recognition of both obstacles and enablers seems to allow for more variety in entrepreneurship. For instance, Zhou (2004) distinguished between two main types of entrepreneurs: middleman minorities and enclave entrepreneurs. The former consist of entrepreneurs who show few intrinsic ties to the local community in which they run their business, such as a Chinese immigrant who runs a fast-food restaurant in a Latino neighborhood. The latter is an entrepreneur confined by co-ethnicity, co-ethnic social structures and location, who runs a business where his/her ethnic group members are established such as a Chinese entrepreneur in Chinatown (Zhou, 2004). These two types of entrepreneurs highlight the benefits that immigrants can bring not only to their own ethnic community but also to other ethnic communities or even by serving the mainstream general population. What matters most is that self-employment among immigrants is an option that prevents unemployment and creates job opportunities for the owners, their families and their co-ethnic workers. In addition it offers the economic independence and opportunities for social mobility (Zhou, 2004).

Moreover, Shane and Venkataraman (2000) advanced that in order for entrepreneurship to exist, entrepreneurial opportunities must exist. They defined entrepreneurial opportunities as “those situations in which new goods, services, raw materials, and organizing methods can be introduced and sold at greater than their cost of production” (Shane and Venkataraman, 2000,

p.220). In addition, Kirzner (1997) advanced that these entrepreneurial opportunities exist because individuals have different assessment of the value of existing resources and their potential to be transformed into new states. Due to the differences in their assessment, opportunity recognition is considered as a subjective process, unlike entrepreneurial opportunities that are considered as an objective phenomenon and “are not known to all parties at all times” (Shane and Venkataraman, 2000, p.220). In addition, Drucker (1985) considered that opportunities exist through three different forms and detailed each form accordingly. He explained that the first form occurs when new information is created such as when new technologies are invented. The second form is making use of information asymmetry in markets, where these differences could be spotted over time or when the location changes. The third form is related to the reaction to changes in the costs and benefits of alternative uses of resources. This form is seen especially when political, regulatory or demographic changes take place.

Furthermore, Shane and Venkataraman (2000) elaborated on the entrepreneurial process by describing the existence, discovery, evaluation and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities. First on the discovery of opportunities, all the opportunities are not noticeable by all individuals at a given moment (Kirzner, 1973; Shane and Venkataraman, 2000). To explain this fact, some might suggest that it is pure luck and serendipity, however researchers have identified two main explanations: the first one is information corridors and the second one is cognitive properties. Information corridors are the set of information and knowledge possessed by individuals and that offer them a frame for identifying new opportunities : “human beings all possess different stocks of information, and these stocks of information influence their ability to recognize particular opportunities. Stocks of information create mental schemas, which provide a

framework for recognizing new information” (Shane and Venkataraman, 2000, p.222). When discussing cognitive properties, the authors explained that “people must be able to identify new means-ends relationships that are generated by a given change in order to discover entrepreneurial opportunities” (Shane and Venkataraman, 2000, p.222). Identifying these relationships is difficult and depends on each individual’s cognitive properties. Second, after the discovery of opportunities, an entrepreneur must evaluate and decide whether to exploit the opportunity or not. The difference between how individuals evaluate opportunities depends on the nature of the opportunity and the nature of the individual (Venkataraman, 1997; Shane and Venkataraman, 2000). The distinctive nature of individuals leads to differences in perceptions, and differences in their willingness to accept risk which eventually affects their decisions to exploit entrepreneurial opportunities. Optimism also plays a role in opportunity evaluation (Shane and Venkataraman, 2000). Thirdly, after presenting the first two stages of opportunity discovery and opportunity evaluation, the authors addressed opportunity exploitation. They explained that opportunity exploitation occurs through either the establishment of new start-ups or “the sale of opportunities to existing firms” (Shane and Venkataraman, 2000, p.224). Hence, these three stages offer a concise entrepreneurship framework through which entrepreneurs experience the entrepreneurial process. However it is still unclear how different generations of immigrant entrepreneurs recognize, evaluate and exploit opportunities.

Finally, I addressed the importance of obstacles and enablers that continue to emerge in theories that attempt to explain the differences amongst immigrants. I also highlighted the three stages of the entrepreneurial process that present a framework that guides entrepreneurial activities. These elements need to be explored in the light of this study. In particular the analysis of the data will

address the following questions: What are the enablers and obstacles that first and second generation immigrant entrepreneurs face? Are they similar or different? How do different generations of immigrant entrepreneurs recognize, evaluate and exploit opportunities?

2.3 Immigrant entrepreneurship and embeddedness

If the notion of interplay between obstacles and enablers that is present in the interactive model allows for a more neutral perspective on immigrant entrepreneurship, then the concept of mixed embeddedness is a further development of this model (Volery, 2007). It is considered as the most recent framework that guides understanding of the field of immigrant entrepreneurship.

Before this framework was proposed, the traditional sociological approach focused on the “supply side”: characteristics of the ethnic group and the effects of these characteristics on entrepreneurship (Waldinger et al., 1990). More recently entrepreneurship research has been emphasizing the “demand side”: the opportunity structure of the host country that cannot be separated from the whole phenomenon (Valdez, 2008; Kloosterman, 2010). We notice the interchange of micro elements that are related to the entrepreneur and the ethnic community and the macro elements that are related to the structure of the local environment (Jack and Anderson, 2000).

This shift in focus to the demand side and to the opportunity structure was mainly introduced by Granovetter (1985) who contributed enormously in advancing the field by suggesting that entrepreneurial activity does not take place in an isolated environment; instead it is grounded in the social networks of entrepreneurs particularly in resources and support mechanisms: a

phenomenon which he called “embeddedness”. Moreover, Granovetter (1985) insists on the importance of trust that needs to be present in business interactions between the different parties. He disagrees with the neo-classical approach where the rational individual only seeks to maximize his/her utility. The focus here is on resources and social networks, an emphasis that I have incorporated strongly in the interview protocol and the research questions. Moreover, he introduced two kinds of embeddedness: relational embeddedness and structural embeddedness. The first one consists of personal relations with the economic actors that interact with the entrepreneur, such as clients and suppliers, whereas the second is about the larger and the broader network that goes beyond the personal relations.

Building on this, Kloosterman, Van Leun and Rath (1999) presented the notion of “mixed embeddedness” where the enterprise is embedded in both the ethnic network and the external political and institutional context of the country of settlement. Kloosterman (2010) argued that Granovetter made a distinction between “social relations” and “institutional arrangements” but he does not address the notion of opportunity structure and the external environment (Kloosterman, 2010). In fact Jones and Ram (2007) qualified this external structure as “a dimension insufficiently recognized and very much under-theorized by the interactionists” (Jones and Ram, 2007, p.440).

To expand this theoretical framework, Kloosterman and Rath (2001) advanced that in order to exceed specific situations of case studies and achieve a more general understanding of ethnic entrepreneurship and the variations among different groups, the opportunity structure has to be explored on a three level approach. This is important because mixed embeddedness has to be understood while taking into consideration the socio-economic and politico-institutional environment or the macro-level (Jack and Anderson, 2000; Kloosterman and Rath, 2001). First

on the national level, national institutions regulate markets and play a role in determining the threshold of the market and the regulations for starting a business, “for instance, it may be very hard for an immigrant to get a permit to start a business. If a specific educational qualification that can only be acquired in the country of settlement (and, more important even, in the language of this country) is needed to become self-employed, then again immigrants will be in a disadvantaged position as aspiring entrepreneurs” (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001, p.195). According to the authors, on the regional level, cities and regions have different economic fates which make the opportunity structure in each region different. They further stress that the regional dimension of opportunity structures “has to be taken seriously when looking at processes of insertion of immigrant entrepreneurs. On this sub-national level, significant city/regional forces help to shape markets and, therefore, affect both accessibility and growth potential for aspiring immigrant entrepreneurs” (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001, p.196). And finally on the neighborhood level, spatial patterns of the distribution of the population affect the structure of consumer markets, because a concentration of ethnic groups will make a captive ethnic market for example. Neighborhoods are also a locus of social network which cultivates and develops a very important element in ethnic entrepreneurship: the social capital (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001). The key issue raised by Kloosterman and Rath (2001) is that ethnic entrepreneurship should be explored in the context of markets and opportunity structures at different levels, an element that I emphasize in the analysis of my study.

2.4 Generational differences

In this section I report on the limited research available on generational differences. When searching for generational differences in immigrant entrepreneurship, most articles found were in the context of family businesses. For example, Sonfield and Lussier (2004) investigated the generational differences among family businesses and suggested that the existing literature investigating family businesses focused on larger and broader family firm issues and that the generational differences have been neglected or relegated to a peripheral focus. They stated that: “the existing literature suggests a variety of possible differences between first generation and subsequent generation family firms, but most studies’ examinations of generational issues were only a small or tangential part of a larger focus on other or broader family firm issues” (Sonfield and Lussier, 2004, p.190). Adopting a quantitative hypotheses testing method, they examined if the first, second and third generation firms are different and found that the three generations share the same characteristics and behavior patterns. Their findings did not support the previous conclusions in the literature that postulated generational differences among family businesses such as the finding of Filbeck and Lee (2000). In fact, by exploring the financial management techniques in family businesses, Filbeck and Lee (2000) found that: “that change is difficult in the older family firms and that many of the older techniques are maintained” (Filbeck and Lee, 2000, p.203). According to them first generation firms are resistant to change compared to the second generation firms. Given the contradictory findings in the literature, there is a need for research that sheds light on context elements that help explain similarities and differences between generations.

2.4.1 Immigrant generational differences

Research on different generations of immigrant entrepreneurs is limited, but there has been increasing attention to this topic. McPherson (2010) investigated differences and similarities among second generation immigrant entrepreneurs. He differentiated between those who manage and run their own business and those who are part of a family-owned firm. Both considered entrepreneurship as a career that they enjoy rather than as a way of surviving or a way out of poverty. However, entrepreneurs from family businesses were more likely to implement decisions made by their parents rather than their own (McPherson, 2010). Further, second generation family businesses (FBs) were found to be located in traditional sectors that were established by their parents (low order catering and retailing such as clothes, specials outlets, computer sales, electrical goods/services) On the other hand, second generation immigrant entrepreneurs from non-family businesses (NFBs) established businesses related to their prior employment and utilized their technical skills, knowledge/expertise, managerial competencies, autonomy, independence and entrepreneurial creativity (McPherson, 2010). These entrepreneurs were found to establish their business not only in low order catering and retailing sector, but also in professional services (employment agencies, business and management consultancies) and IT/high technical services (McPherson, 2010).

Rusinovic (2008a) examined the different markets where the first and second generation immigrant entrepreneurs were active. Based on 252 in-depth interviews with first and second generation immigrant entrepreneurs in The Netherlands, she found that second generation immigrants were more active in mainstream markets targeted towards the general society instead of the ethnic society. Ethnic markets tend to have limited potential for growth and are restricted

with low profits and high competition (Waldinger et al., 1990; Jones et al. 2000; Kloosterman, 2010). Thus, immigrants are encouraged to “break out” to the general population and offer goods and services beyond ethnic communities (Jones et al., 2000; Rusinovic, 2008a). Rusinovic found that the second generation immigrant entrepreneurs manage to break out of their ethnic community niche markets and offer “a non-ethnic product to a mainstream clientele” (Rusinovic, 2008a, p.447). In their study, Baycan et al. (2012) suggested that second generation Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands are seen in new and non-traditional sectors like the ICT and the FIRE (Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate) sector, which they called “an external orientation with a combination of personal characteristics skills and experience” (Baycan et al., 2012, p.985). This is in line with Sepulveda, Syrett, and Lyon (2011), who found that second-generation entrepreneurs, having studied in the United Kingdom had a better grasp of the English language and of how things work and engaged in more diverse business practices.

Moreover, Rusinovic (2008b) examined the transnational activities and particularly the transnational networks among the first and second generation immigrants in the Netherlands. Her findings suggest that the second generation still attaches some importance to the linkages with the country of origin, though it does so to a lower extent than the first generation. Based on 115 second- and 137 first-generation immigrant interviews, she argued that embeddedness in transnational networks continues to be important for the second generation: “more than one third of the second generation has contacts in the home country that are of importance for their business. These contacts are often family members or acquaintances who assist the entrepreneurs in doing business with the home country” (Rusinovic, 2008b, p.447). She

concluded that the involvement of most of the second generation is “limited”, compared to the “heavy” involvement of the majority of the first generation.

Furthermore, (Beckers & Blumberg, 2013) stated that the conventionally “bleak image of migrant entrepreneurship has to be re-examined because [of] a new group of immigrant entrepreneurs – the second-generation children of migrants” (Beckers & Blumberg, 2013, p.655). They advanced that the second generation are seen to establish businesses in more promising sectors compared to the first generation. They investigate the claim that second-generation immigrant entrepreneurs hold substantially better economic positions with promising future prospects compared to first generation immigrant entrepreneurs in the Netherlands. Their analysis was based on administrative data for a 6-year period 1999–2004 collected by Statistics Netherlands. The intergenerational trends of the firm-based performance indicators were seen to be different across the three origin clusters studied by the authors. In the Turkish/Moroccan cluster, the second generation achieved lower profits and slower growth than its parents’ generation. For the Surinamese/Dutch Antillean cluster, there was no difference between the two generations. Finally, only the second-generation Chinese entrepreneurs surpassed their parents in terms of profit, but not in terms of growth and business survival. They concluded that “the Chinese is the only [group] in which intergenerational advances in the socio-economic position tentatively seem to have translated into a stronger business performance among the second generation” (Beckers & Blumberg, 2013, p.668). These findings support the fact that immigrant entrepreneurship of the two generations are different, and that the entrepreneurial processes should be studied while taking into consideration the context. Further research is needed to explore the inter-generational variations and the contexts in which immigrant entrepreneurial

activities take place. Hence, I explore the different experiences and entrepreneurial processes of first and second generation immigrant entrepreneurs.

Researchers expressed clearly the presence of a gap in the literature on second-generation and on generational differences. In fact, Rusinovic (2008 a) points out that the literature to date has focused on the first-generation immigrant entrepreneurs. A very recent evaluation of this topic (2012) also affirmed that “a rise in second-generation migrant entrepreneurs and an increasing focus on modern economic sectors have become new trends in migrant entrepreneurship in recent years” (Baycan et al. 2012, p.971). And Beckers and Blumberg (2013) stressed the importance of studying a previously ignored group of immigrant entrepreneurs: the second generation.

The entrepreneurial process from the perspective of different generations is then a novel topic that has been understudied. Given these gaps, I conducted a study that explores several aspects of the self-employment experience, while comparing and contrasting first and second generation immigrant entrepreneurs. I focus on the obstacles and enablers that the two generations of immigrant entrepreneurs face, their resources and networks and the business establishment and operation processes in terms of opportunity recognition, evaluation and exploitation.

The research questions that I ask are: How do different generations of immigrant entrepreneurs experience the entrepreneurial process? The main sub-questions are: (a) What are the multi-level enablers and obstacles that different generations of immigrant entrepreneurs face during the process of establishing and operating their businesses? (b) How do different generations of immigrant entrepreneurs recognize, evaluate and exploit opportunities?

3. Methodology

In this section, I address the methodological rationale, data resources, data collection, coding and data analysis, and establishing trustworthiness.

3.1 Methodological rationale

Qualitative research was adopted in this study because “it offers an emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured in terms of quantity, amount, intensity and frequency” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p.8). In addition I explored the entrepreneurial process of immigrant entrepreneurs while looking at entrepreneurs in their natural settings. According to Miles and Huberman (1994) there is a strong possibility, through the use of qualitative data, to understand the “latent, underlying or nonobvious issues” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.10). Further, I am looking for rich holistic information which is another feature of qualitative data that hold a strong potential for uncovering complexity and providing “vivid thick descriptions nested in a real context [having] a ring of truth that has strong impact on the reader” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.10).

Since the topic of generational differences among immigrant entrepreneurs remains understudied and partially tackled by existing theory, qualitative research is used to extend the existing theories. Particularly, I used grounded theory to move beyond description and to generate a unified theoretical explanation for a process (Corbin and Strauss, 2007; Creswell, 2013). The theory development does not come “off the shelf” but rather is generated and grounded in data

from participants who have experienced the process (Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Creswell, 2013). The flexibility of qualitative methods allows for pursuing emerging themes during all the research stages (Charmaz, 2006). For example, this flexibility allowed me to modify my interview protocol or probe extensively during the interviews in light of new and potentially important areas of inquiry that emerged from discussions with interviewees.

3.2 Data sources

My main data source consists of qualitative semi-structured interviews with immigrant entrepreneurs. Canada is chosen as the context of this study, considering that it accepts around 250,000 immigrants each year (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011). The sample consisted of the Lebanese community.

In 2001, Statistics Canada published an analytical paper describing the profile of the Lebanese community. The main highlights of this paper are presented in Table2, along with the implications on my data collection.

Table2. The main highlights of the Lebanese community and their implications on this research

Highlights of the Lebanese Community in Canada	Implications on data collection of this research
The Lebanese population in Canada grew by 9% between 1996 and 2001, more than double the growth rate for the overall population.	A growing community worth researching.
About half of the Lebanese population living in Canada was born outside the country.	This explains the rationale for selecting half of the interviewees as a first generation and half of them as a second generation.

<p>In 2001, 75% of people who identified themselves as Lebanese lived in either Quebec or Ontario.</p>	<p>This explains the selection of the two provinces of Ontario and Quebec.</p>
<p>The largest Lebanese community in Canada is in the Montreal census metropolitan area. In 2001, almost 44,000 people of Lebanese origin made Montreal their home. Indeed, Montreal was home to 30% of all Canadians of Lebanese origin that year. At the same time, there were just fewer than 20,000 Lebanese people, 14% of the total, living in Toronto, while there were a similar number of Lebanese people residing in Ottawa.</p>	<p>This explains the selection of Montreal as the first city.</p> <p>Toronto and Ottawa have equal chances to be selected as the second city in this study.</p>
<p>Lebanese people account for a larger share of the population of Ottawa than that of any other census metropolitan area across the country. In 2001, people of Lebanese origin made up 2% of the total population of the national capital region. At the same time, people of Lebanese origin also made up more than 1% of the total populations of both Montreal and Halifax.</p> <p>In Toronto, for example, people of Lebanese origin made up less than a half per cent of the total population that year.</p>	<p>Ottawa was favored over Toronto considering that Lebanese community made up 2% of the total population of the national capital compared to less than 0.5% of the total population of Toronto.</p> <p>Therefore the two cities selected for this study are Ottawa and Montreal.</p>

Source: Statistics Canada (2001)

Considering the main highlights of the Lebanese community and the distribution of the Lebanese population, Lebanese entrepreneurs in the two cities of Ottawa and Montreal were chosen as participants. These highlights guided the theoretical components for my sample. Morse (1991) indicates that “when obtaining a theoretical sample, the selective and theoretical sampling researcher selects a participant according to the needs of the study” (Morse, 1991, p. 129). I attempted to seek Lebanese immigrant entrepreneurs belonging to the first or second generation and who have established and operated their businesses in Canada in different

cities/provinces to help identify experiences and influences that vary according to city/province. The twenty interviews are divided equally among regions and generations according to Table3.

Table3. The distribution of participants according to generations and regions

	Ottawa- Ontario	Montreal-Quebec
First generation	5	5
Second generation	5	5

Being a Lebanese immigrant myself, was another reason for choosing the Lebanese community as my sample. I was able to contact participants easily and had access to rich sources of data. This second reason introduces the convenience considerations in my sample. Participants were identified through the help of the Lebanese community, “from people who know people who know what cases are information rich” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.28). This approach involves asking key informants about other Lebanese entrepreneurs who have undergone the process of establishing their business and who might be interested in participating in my study.

Attempts were made to select participants in a variety of industries to achieve a broad understanding of the entrepreneurial experiences. It turned out that most participants operated in the services industries – likely reflecting the general profile of the Lebanese immigrant entrepreneur in Canada. Types of businesses in this sample included: information and technology, wind turbine production and maintenance, real estate, finance, management and

consultancy, events management, food services and restaurants, taxi, legal services, car dealership and shipping and import/export services.

3.3 Data Collection

Data collection was conducted over a six-month period. The interviews varied in duration from one to three hours, with the longer interviews typically conducted with first generation immigrants who expounded on their immigration experiences or with participants who encountered discrimination or other experiences and incidents that shaped their entrepreneurial processes. To explore the differences between first and second generation immigrant entrepreneurs, I needed a complex detailed understanding of this issue, and “this detail can only be established by talking directly with people, going to their places of work and allowing them to tell the stories unencumbered by what we expect to find or what we have read in the literature” (Creswell, 2013, p.48). Typically, 20 to 30 interviews should be conducted when grounded theory is used (Creswell, 2013). I conducted 20 interviews. The interviews were semi-structured, open-ended, in-depth interviews and allowed for flexibility in terms of pursuing new emergent themes (Creswell, 2013; Patton, 2002). “The intensive interviewing permits an in-depth exploration of a particular topic or experience and, thus, is a useful method for interpretive inquiry” (Charmaz, 2006, p.25). Using Patton’s (2002) discussion of qualitative interviewing as a reference, I generated the interview protocol. Interview topics included immigration motivations, integration experiences, business establishment, opportunity recognition and exploitation, obstacles, enablers, resources, markets, location and the entrepreneurial processes

experienced by different generations. (The interview protocol is included in Appendix A). All interviews were digitally recorded. Five interviews were partially conducted in Arabic, especially when first generation interviewees experienced difficulties expressing themselves in either of the two Canadian official languages. One interview was fully conducted in French. Dr. Chreim and I translated interviews (or interview portions) conducted in French and Arabic to English. All interviews were transcribed.

3.4 Coding and data analysis

Given limited prior research on the role of generational differences in the entrepreneurial venture creation and operation processes, grounded theory method was used (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). As Charmaz defines it: “grounded theory methods consist of systematic yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories “grounded” in the data themselves” (2006, p.2). Therefore in grounded theory methods data collection and data analysis are conducted simultaneously and data collection could be refined, shaped and reshaped (Charmaz, 2006). As Creswell (2013) suggested, I was “constantly comparing data gleaned from participants. The process consists of going back and forth between the participants gathering new interviews and then returning to the evolving theory to fill in the gaps and to elaborate on how it works”(Creswell, 2013, p.85). The analysis of the data followed the constant comparative method and analytic induction.

Coding is the analytical frame from which the analysis is built (Charmaz, 2006). Charmaz (2006) defines coding as a “pivotal link between collecting data and developing an emergent

theory to explain these data” (Charmaz, 2006, p.46). Coding in grounded theory is moving from big chunks of data towards the establishment of a grounded theory. This process consists of synthesizing and categorizing segments of data with a short name in order to sum up the major ideas and find common emerging themes (Charmaz, 2006). It helps in making sense of the data collected and in understanding the specific contextual explanations of each participant’s experience within its natural setting and finally in guiding further data collection (Charmaz, 2006). Coding is divided in two phases, the first one is represented by *initial coding* where segments of data are assigned with a name that summarizes the main ideas presented while paying attention to details and remaining open to all theoretical directions and emergent themes. The second stage is *focused coding* that consists of selecting the most significant themes and grouping similar initial codes that denote the same theme to classify the data (Charmaz, 2006). Initial coding is more descriptive, while focused coding tends to be more patterned, abstract and conceptual (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The qualitative analysis software Atlas was used to facilitate the coding procedure to allow for easier analysis and comparison of data.

In the initial coding phase I came up with a list of 80 codes through a close reading of the data. Moving to the second stage, I had a total of 28 codes. Grouping similar initial codes helped in making the transition from phase 1 to phase 2. For example, I grouped such codes as *Internal drive, Individual characteristics and Support of networks and contacts* into one focused coding: *Micro-level enablers*. When analyzing enablers and obstacles, the distinction between micro and macro-levels was deduced from the data through the distinction between obstacles/enablers that were directly related to the entrepreneurs and obstacles/enablers that were related to the structure of the Canadian environment. For example, *Integration obstacles* and *Lack of knowledge of the Canadian system* were classified as micro-level obstacles because they were faced by

entrepreneurs on the individual level. Unlike, *Lack of credit history* and *Lack of recognition of previous qualifications* that were classified as macro-level obstacles because they were imposed by the politico-institutional structure. These codes were then used as the analysis themes and titles.

When analyzing participants' experiences, the entrepreneurial process was divided in three steps and phases, *Opportunity recognition*, *Opportunity evaluation* and *Opportunity exploitation*. These codes elaborate on how participants discovered and recognized the opportunities and made the choice of engaging in entrepreneurship. Participants also detailed how the processes involved evaluating whether to engage in entrepreneurship while taking into consideration the risks that they faced. And finally they talked about the strategies that they used to exploit these opportunities.

In Vivo codes taken directly from the participants' own words were used. These codes help in convey the meanings and views expressed by participants. For example when a participant said "we had no other choice" (G1-P10) the code assigned used the same words: *No other choice*. I used the constant comparative method throughout the coding process which is a very important phase in constructing grounded theory. It consists of making comparisons at each level of analytical work, starting with comparing data with data to find the similarities and differences within the same interview or between different interviews (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). For example when one participant mentioned facing discrimination, I searched for this theme in the same interview and the remaining interviews. In addition, if this participant was a first generation immigrant entrepreneur, I compared his/her experiences to the rest of the first generation participants in order to see if similar or different theme could be found. I also

reviewed this theme in interviews of second generation participants in order to achieve a comparison between both generations.

In fact, “the constant comparative method in the grounded theory approach not only involves comparing data to other categories but also integrating categories and their properties” (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.150). The logic of grounded theory coding is inductive and codes are grounded in the data and assigned from the participants’ own views, away from preconceived categories. It is an interactive process of visiting and revisiting the data again and again while discovering unexpected areas and themes and pursuing these discoveries to construct an analysis. It is about defining and refining codes and constructing analytical interpretations (Charmaz, 2006). For instance, the enabler *Personal belief in God’s guidance* was unforeseen and unexpected, yet it emerged and was grounded in the data. Participants were not asked about their personal beliefs; nevertheless many of them highlighted their faith as an entrepreneurial enabler as it will be discussed in later. This theme was then pursued and analyzed based on participants’ own interpretations.

3.5 Establishing trustworthiness

Ethics approval was obtained from the Research ethics board of the University of Ottawa, who approved the interview protocol and letter of participation. Multiple processes were used to establish the trustworthiness of the findings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Miles and Huberman, 1994):

- 1) Supervisor reviews provided check of the research process (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). My supervisor checked the codes derived from the data and the analysis and acted as a reviewer to keep the research reliable and to ask hard questions about methods, meanings and interpretations. (Creswell, 2013; Miles and Huberman, 1994)
- 2) I paid attention to “negative case analysis” which involves “refining working hypothesis as the inquiry advances in the light of negative or disconfirming evidence (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Patton, 1980)” (Creswell, 2013, p.251). I was constantly and actively looking in the data for disconfirming evidence for my results and conclusions and trying to explain them.
- 3) Most importantly Lincoln and Guba consider member checking to be a “critical technique for establishing credibility” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985 p.314) which is “taking data analyses and interpretations and conclusions back to the participants so they can judge the accuracy and credibility of the account” (Creswell, 2013, p.251). Hence, some interviewees from both generations were asked to confirm the interpretations and the conclusions made from the analysis.
- 4) Finally, I provided extensive quotes from the data in order to offer a rich description to allow readers to make decisions regarding the analysis I report, as well as transferability of the findings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). “[T]he writer describes in detail the participants and other settings to determine whether the findings can be transferred because of “shared characteristics” (Creswell, 2013, p.251).

In this section, I detailed the methods for data collection and analysis, as well as how I achieved trustworthiness. In the next section, I will present the findings of this study. The findings include two conceptual models grounded in the data.

4. Findings

The notion of different generations is often associated with family businesses or business succession from the first generation to the second generation of entrepreneurs, which is the dominant research on generational differences. In contrast, this study focuses on another aspect of generational differences in the context of entrepreneurship. This research addresses the notion of first generation immigrants and second generation immigrants rather than first generation entrepreneurs and second generation entrepreneurs. Therefore the abbreviation of G1 used throughout this document denotes first generation immigrant and G2 denotes second generation immigrant. This section highlights the findings in relation to the two research questions: the first addresses enablers and obstacles, and the second looks into the entrepreneurial process. Before I provide the analysis related to the first question, I provide background information on the immigration experiences of entrepreneurs since this is important contextual information allowing understanding of the entrepreneurial process. Table4 provides information on the entrepreneurs who participated in this study.

Table4. The entrepreneurs in their social context

	Age at time of immigration	Years in Canada	Type of Business	Location	Background and experience prior to start-up
G1-P1	22 years old	4 years	Web design and solutions	Ontario	Full time employee Software engineer
G1-P2	27 years old	4 years	Web design and solutions	Quebec	Full time employee Software engineer
G1-P3	28 years old	5 years	Events management and wedding planning	Quebec	Government employee in Lebanon Worked in restaurants and corner stores
G1-P4	16 years old	34 years	Law firm	Ontario	Manager of optical clinics
G1-P5	24 years old	28 years	Taxi	Ontario	Employee in the Canadian Embassy in Lebanon
G1-P6	19 years old	24 years	IT business intelligence	Quebec	Full time employee It consultant
G1-P7	25 years old	33 years	Restaurant Import/Export Company Real estate broker	Quebec	Financial sector Banker in Lebanon
G1-P8	25 years old	28 years	Restaurant	Ontario	Taxi driver
G1-P9	20 years old	21 years	Car dealership and repair	Quebec	Taxi driver
G1-P10	28 years old	20 years	Restaurant	Ontario	Stay at home mom
G2-P1	Born in Canada	All his life (31 years)	Business consultancy	Ontario	Full time employee in It companies
G2-P2	9 years old	23 years	Business consultancy	Quebec	Full time employee in It companies
G2-P3	10 years old	23 years	Shipping business	Quebec	Full time employee in the government
G2-P4	4 years old	22 years	Web design and business development Founder of an online magazine	Quebec	Full time employee in electronic shops
G2-P5	Born in Canada	All her life (22 years)	Fashion stylist and vendor	Ontario	Retail business employee
G2-P6	Born in Canada	All his life (26 years)	Green energy and wind turbines manufacturer	Ontario	Started the business directly after graduating from engineering
G2-P7	Born in Canada	All her life	Food Super market	Ontario	Started the business directly after graduating
G2-P8	10 years old	22 years	High tech company	Ontario	Full time employee in high tech companies
G2-P9	Born in Canada	All his life (42 years)	Financial advisor	Quebec	Employee in the financial sector
G2-P10	5 years old	24 years	Real estate broker	Quebec	Car dealership

4.1 The immigration and integration experiences

The process of entrepreneurship does not operate in a vacuum; it is related to the overall immigration and integration processes. I will therefore present briefly elements of the immigration and integration experiences that are relevant to an understanding of entrepreneurship by Lebanese immigrants.

G1 participants had similar immigration experiences. The common starting point for all of them was the instability of their home country and the limited opportunities. They highlighted that this starting point was then transformed into an internal drive that they qualified as an entrepreneurial enabler which drove them to give their best and fully exploit opportunities.

We immigrated because it was not safe anymore... I used to say that I would be the last one to leave Lebanon. I changed my mind when I had my daughter, but when you become a father things change completely. I said it is time to provide my daughter with a safer environment (G1-P5).

Coming to Canada was very hard, the whole immigration and integration...but I am glad it happened, because every time things go wrong in my life or in my business, I remember all the difficulties that I had to go through, I look at how much I suffered to come this far, and it keeps me going (G1-P7).

When asked about their integration experience after the immigration, answers of G1 participants varied but there was one common issue: it was hard to integrate and adapt to the new environment. Some of them took any available job and started “from the bottom” as G1-P8 called it, others said that integration happens by default with no other choice.

For me integration was by default, and it means being able to grow up with the day-to-day challenges... others feel that they are more integrated if they mingle

more in English society or French society, if they speak fluently French or English, they eat hamburger instead of Tabbouli and enjoy beer more than Arak (traditional Lebanese alcohol drink)...Integration for me was not easy but by default you get to adapt (G1-P4).

I had to integrate, I had to start a new life here, it was hard, I did not care what kind of job, I grabbed anything: I washed dishes, cleaned washrooms, did vacuums and busboy and delivery before starting to work as a taxi driver...I wasn't ashamed of working (G1-P5).

Integration was very hard...I used to cry while washing the dishes, you're changing your life 180 degree in 24 hours, and you come to a different country, different culture, different everything, I started from the bottom. It wasn't easy at all and the hardest part was the -40 degrees (G1-P8).

G2 entrepreneurs in contrast considered themselves naturally integrated and felt part of the local environment. G2-P1 expressed that he is naturally integrated but the only thing he had to face while growing up was racism (which will be discussed in a later section):

As a second generation, you're kind of already integrated because you've been in the same school system, you've been playing the same sports, the only thing that you face is racism that's the only integration aspect that you have to overcome: when you're the only dark skin or tan skinned person in a small town, you end up different from the rest so you face racism; some jokes and some taunting and some labeling. But besides that, there was no real integration (G2-P1).

I feel very well integrated. I'm born here and I've been here all my life. It was never difficult for me to be integrated in the society. I felt welcomed all the time. I don't have to go through anything...this is my home, this is how I felt all the time, it wasn't hard at all, it was natural (G2-P5).

In addition, when asked about the factors that facilitated their integration, G1 entrepreneurs mentioned seeking support through social organizations related to the ethnic community such as religious establishments, volunteer organizations, social clubs, and community associations. Joining ethnic groups helped them feel integrated and provided them with contacts. When establishing their businesses, G1 entrepreneurs focused mainly on these contacts that they met

through social gatherings. These relationships are built on the basis of common background and experiences and they supported the entrepreneurs when they started their businesses.

I went to Lebanese restaurants and parties, Lebanese social gatherings and even to the church. That's how I built my contacts, it is easy to connect with them, I met people in a social context but then they helped me in the business context... and they introduced me to clients that were looking for my services (G1-P2).

I found all my contacts through church. First started with church then the close relatives of my wife's relatives... Parties, Christmas, Easter, I visit them and this helps our bonds go deeper and through time they give me greater support, they exchange my number so whenever someone needs a cab they will call me directly instead of calling a random guy at Blue line (G1-P5).

G2 entrepreneurs do not seek support in order to feel integrated in their social context, they focus on business and professional contacts rather than on friends and community networks.

I had a well established local network. I think the inputs for me to create the business idea, to create the vision, to establish vendor relationships, supplier relationship, to access funds, the knowledge of dealing with banks and institutions and accountants and lawyers was due to my network and connections. They definitely shaped the inputs and sometimes the output of the process itself (G2-P2).

G1 entrepreneurs who were located around Lebanese congregations integrated easier than G1 entrepreneurs who were far from these ethnic concentrations. The former built their networks around the ethnic community, and these networks facilitated their integration. For instance G1-P2 mentioned that his integration was smooth because he was located in Montreal. He compares his integration experience to his friend who found difficulties because he was located far from Lebanese congregations:

I'm eating Lebanese food that I never ate in Lebanon; there are many Lebanese here in Montreal. I feel that I'm living in Beirut and I don't feel that I am in a different country— but it depends on where you are, your location... if you were far from Montreal downtown which is the case of my friend, he had a hard time integrating, there were less Lebanese people, but here I am easily integrated in Canada because Lebanese are everywhere around me (G1-P2).

Social norms and interests of the Canadian society were also part of the social experiences faced by participants. G1 entrepreneurs did not grow these interests organically; they had to get accustomed to them, unlike G2 entrepreneurs. Although G1 entrepreneurs understood and tried to adopt Canadian practices, these were not their real interests. For example G1-P1, a recent immigrant, mentioned that the interests of the Canadian society are different than his, and they affect the business context as well. He explained that playing hockey was never something that he grew up doing, and Canadian clients would love to socialize while watching a hockey game for example.

They love to play hockey, I never played hockey, I understand the game, but it doesn't really interest me. Probably if I was born here, I would have loved whatever their interest is. If you go back to my origins, I like to play basketball. And here, they don't really care about basketball...it's good that you can integrate, but that doesn't mean that it's something you like...These things affect the business as well, they socialize with the clients while taking them to hockey games and even the conversation that you can have outside of the business context has to be related to their interests (G1-P1).

The reason we got a lot of our sales was because of our background with the companies we were with before. We have a lot of Canadian connections, because we grew up here... Credibility, Canadian experience, and cultural aspects... like for example, here clients like to go for beer and chicken wings, it's not something you'd do in Lebanon, but they like to do it here (G2-P1).

The issue of identity was brought up by participants, and presented a strong contrast between G1 entrepreneurs and G2 entrepreneurs. G1 entrepreneurs greatly appreciated being in Canada, but said that their hearts belong to their home country and that their identity will always remain Lebanese. In contrast, G2 participants either indicated that they are Canadian or that their identity is hybrid.

I feel home is back in Lebanon, I was raised over there, I have all my relatives and school friends over there, my heart is over there, like I love Canada but it's not my home (G1-P6).

It's the example if you got adopted... So I love Canada like my adoptive country so it's hard to differentiate between the two. I'm definitely Lebanese and I'm definitely Canadian (G2-P6).

This section presented the social experiences of immigration and integration of G1 entrepreneurs and showed differences in the integration of the two generations of entrepreneurs. These experiences form a backdrop against which the entrepreneurial endeavour should be understood. The following sections delve into the entrepreneurial process. Table 5 summarizes the entrepreneurial processes in terms of opportunity recognition, obstacles, enablers and networks and markets for each participant.

Table5. The entrepreneurs and their entrepreneurial processes

	Entrepreneurial motivation and opportunity recognition	Enablers	Obstacles	Networks and markets
G1-P1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Entrepreneurial spirit and the desire to have his own company -The factor of money to increase the income because as an employee he only gets part of his contributions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Education and skills -Stability of the host country -Resource acquisition facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Lack of knowledge of the Canadian environment -Limited contacts -Double risk: very risky to put all the eggs in one basket 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Basically around the Lebanese community but open to other nationalities when possible -Limited local network -Expansion through word of mouth
G1-P2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Approached by a friend and saw the potential for growth -Financial reasons and to make more money 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Legal system in Canada -Simplicity of the transactions -Free financial advice -Tax credits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Loss of previous qualifications: e.g. driver's license -Lack of knowledge of the Canadian system -Hard weather -Lack of credit history 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Mostly Lebanese -Found them through ethnic social events and developed a rapport with them which became helpful in business transactions
G1-P3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Spotted the opportunity and potential for growth because he thought he could do better than the businesses already successfully running -To be able to financially support his family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Simplicity of the legal transactions -Resource acquisition facilities -Support of the ethnic network -God's guidance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Loss of previous qualifications -Double risk factor -Lack of credit history -Integration obstacles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Mostly Lebanese -Mainly homogeneous, no strong interactions with Canadians -Facilitated the access to resources -Expands through friends and snowball approach
G1-P4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Entrepreneurial spirit always wanted to be his own boss -Had a bad manager and thought that he could be better 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Skills and expertise -Initiative -Stability of the host country 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Limited support to business owners who have to pay a lot of expenses that keep increasing over time 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Focused on the Lebanese contacts while staying open to the mainstream market - Increased and expanded through time
G1-P5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Entrepreneurial spirit -Encouraged by other taxi driver in the family and saw the potential for growth -To be able to financially support his family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Support of the ethnic community -God's guidance and help 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Integration obstacles -Language obstacles -Lack of credit history -Lack of knowledge of the Canadian system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Interacts with both Canadians and Lebanese because of his work nature -Receives and provides special support for his ethnic counterparts
G1-P6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Saw the potential for growth and better profitability - Entrepreneurial spirit and need for autonomy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Diplomas and skills -Resource acquisition facilities -God's guidance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Financial obstacles -Business development: acquiring and maintaining the first clients -Building legitimacy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Networks were an enabler to give support to the business -Put extra effort to build his networks -Started initially small but expanded and developed through time
G1-P7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Had no other choice, he couldn't start a new career, and his previous qualifications were not acknowledged 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Stability of the host country -Support of networks -God's guidance -Equal application of the legal system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Lack of credit history -Integration obstacles -Double risk factor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Focused on the Lebanese and Arabic community -No Canadian clients -Expands through his good reputation because the reputation of the business is affected by his own success and reputation
G1-P8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Started as a taxi driver but then took incremental risk because he saw the potential for growth and development -Better financial realisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Stable country -Support of networks -Free financial advice -God's guidance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Language obstacles -Double risk factor -Lack of Credit history And knowledge of the local system -Loss of previous qualifications 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Strong support received from the ethnic community -Facilitated the access to resources

G1-P9	-Entrepreneurial spirit and need for autonomy - Started as a taxi driver but then took incremental risk because he saw the potential for growth and development	-Initiative and hard work -God's guidance -Stability of Canada and its peaceful state -Legal system	-Lack of Credit history -Double risk factor -Lack of Credit history And knowledge of the local system -Lack of customers at first	-Strong support received from the ethnic community -Facilitated the access to resources
G1-10	-No other choice -Couldn't find any job because of the lack of Canadian experience	-God's guidance -Simplicity of the legal transactions -Stability of the host country -Resource acquisition facilities	-Integration obstacles -Language obstacles -Lack of knowledge of the Canadian system -Lack of credit history	-Networks were an enabler to give support -Put extra effort to build networks -Very local market
G2-P1	-Financial motivations: as an employee you only get a small part of your contribution -Self fulfillment and recognition	-Relationships with suppliers and consultants -Partnerships with the government	-Competition -Business development: trusting partners -Barriers of new entrants	-Heterogeneous -Includes some Lebanese but mostly Canadian -Built throughout his life
G2-P2	-Entrepreneurial spirit -Having the privilege to take higher risks and expect higher profits -Self-fulfillment	-Support from family and friends -Skills and experience -Having good connections in the field	-Financial obstacles -Being legitimate and getting the first two references -Achieving work life balance	-Strong local network that was helpful in giving support and advice -Government agencies
G2-P3	-More rewarding to work independently than in a defined structure -Financial reasons -Self-fulfillment and recognition because being a successful entrepreneur tells a lot about a person's character	-Skills -Market's demand The fact that he is very well integrated and understands the locals and the environment -Government entrepreneurial programs	-Clients that did not pay on time -Project that did not finish on time -Competition -Work life balance and sacrificing social and personal life	-Heterogeneous mainly focused on local connections -Speaks with locals with a Quebecois accent which makes it easier to build a rapport with them
G2-P4	-Entrepreneurial spirit -Realise his own dream instead of realising other people's dreams -Potential for growth and development	- Mother as a role model being a successful entrepreneur -Support from family and friends	-Lack of experience -Previous failures -Strong competition -Trusting partners -Constantly changing online trends and the need to stay up-to-date	-Mainly found through school, university and work -Targets small and medium businesses
G2-P5	-Grabbed the opportunity that was suggested to her -Loves fashion	-Autonomy and flexibility -Support of the network	- Strong competition -Not making profits yet, but operating on time for print: we'll help you if you help us and no one gets paid	-Initially restrained but planning to invest more time and effort to make it grow
G2-P6	-Started working on the turbine green energy project since last year of university	-Flexibility and independence -Having a well experiences and well-connected senior partner	-Financial obstacles : restricted budget -Limited expertise	-No ethnic clients. Target big companies and government -Professional network is all Canadian mainly found through school and university -Is part of the Lebanese church community because of parents
G2-P7	-Parents started the business but she expanded it and took higher risks and targeted new segments, the super market provided only ethnic food, she expanded the products to be international and more varied -Self-fulfillment	-Good reputation of the supermarket -Good connection with suppliers -Trusted from clients	-Lack of money -Being a Lebanese Woman entrepreneur in a man's business world	-The network is mainly Canadian -Was targeting the Lebanese community when the parents were running the business but now the market is expanded to reach many nationalities and the mainstream market
G2-P8	-Privilege to take risks -Entrepreneurial spirit and autonomy -Potential for growth beyond a full-time employee position	-Strong board of advisors -C100 mentorship support - Connections in the Silicon valley, USA -Government grants for high-tech companies	-Build legitimacy of a newly established business -Build the legitimacy as a young entrepreneur	-Strong professional network -Leveraged his contacts from previous start-ups in order to establish his current company -Received advice and guidance from the board of advisors and mentors in the industry

				-Targeting large companies -No relations with the ethnic market
G2-P9	-Was approached by a friend -Appreciated the flexibility	-Hard work and initiative -Resource acquisition facilities	-Work-life balance -Business development: expanding the client base	-Heterogeneous: involving both: Canadian and Lebanese
G2-P10	-Was approached by a friend -Appreciated the flexibility -Privilege to take risks	-Support of networks and connections -Stability of Canada	-Dealing with other brokers	-Strong local network that was helpful in giving support and advice -Has expanded beyond the local area and is constantly growing

4.2 Enablers

This section addresses the findings that answer the following question: What are the multi-level enablers and obstacles that different generations of immigrant entrepreneurs face during the process of establishing and operating their businesses? I elaborate first on enablers and then move to the obstacles. I differentiate between two types of enablers: 1) on the micro-level, the data revealed individual enablers that are related to the entrepreneur and his immediate environment and 2) on the macro-level, enablers were related to the wider external environment. I will address how these enablers influenced the entrepreneurial process for each of the two generations.

4.2.1 Micro-level enablers

Micro-level enablers are factors associated with the entrepreneur and the immediate environment that facilitate the entrepreneurial process. They include the internal drive, individual characteristics, networks and contacts and personal beliefs in God's guidance.

1) Internal drive

Immigrant entrepreneurs indicated that they have an internal drive to succeed and make the best of their entrepreneurial ventures. They have an “entrepreneurial spirit” or the drive to open a business and the urge to be self employed. Moreover they have “a cause to struggle for” that enables their hard work and perseverance especially when it is associated with their “concern for families”. These internal factors are key drivers motivating entrepreneurs to be their own bosses and facilitating their venture creation.

Entrepreneurial spirit

When interviewees mention the entrepreneurial spirit they also mention earlier life stages, and an urge they have had for a long time. Entrepreneurs from both generations affirmed that the entrepreneurial spirit was an enabler to engage in entrepreneurship:

It's the entrepreneurship spirit...I had this spirit since I was in school and back when I was a child. It is something within you from the start, that makes you say, "Okay, I need to have my own company," You don't want to always be an employee (G1-P1).

I definitely wanted to be my own boss. That's something I always dreamed of. I really wanted to have my own business. That was really important for me. And I've had this mindset since I was fifteen years old. So that never changed (G2-P4).

Cause to struggle for

In addition, G1 entrepreneurs face a lot of struggles and challenges to come to Canada and their immigration process was not easy which gives them extra drive and motivation to make the best

of their situations and take advantage of promising opportunities. They have a cause to struggle for which manifests in their entrepreneurial activities through hard work and perseverance. As G1-P6 clearly stated, he had to earn his coming to Canada after a lot of struggles, which gives him a push to constantly give his best and achieve his fullest potential:

I lived through lots of difficulties in Lebanon, I never had the resources that I now have in Canada, or the opportunities to grow and achieve my potential and this gives me a push to do my best because now I can. I wanted before but I couldn't, now I have this opportunity how can I ignore it and stay still?...this gives me a drive to work harder and use every opportunity out there (G1-P6).

Concern for family

This particular cause is associated with the continuous concern of G1 entrepreneurs to provide for their families and improve their situations. The notion of family permeates their accounts not only the family in Canada but also the extended family in Lebanon to whom they continue to send money, especially for G1 entrepreneurs, none of G2 participants mentioned sending money to their families in their home country.

It's never just this family in Canada, all our lives we always had to send money back to Lebanon so we've always had an extended family we need to think about (G1-P3).

We had a problem because our parents were still there and Lebanon was at war and we have to support them. We have to send money back to my father and my mother, this reason was a big motivation factor (G1-P5).

2) Individual characteristics

Participants from both generations clearly mentioned initiative and personal characteristics as enablers. They spoke about the additional effort and energy exerted in order to create their venture without which they would not have succeeded. This enabler is not related to the

participant's generation but to the participant's individual characteristics that include: personal effort, knowledge, education, skills, technical background, patience, building trust and confidentiality.

What helped facilitate the business was my past experience, my knowledge and diplomas. My technical and my business background helped a lot. And the effort and the initiative that I had to put in order to sustain and develop my business were extremely important as enablers (G1-P6).

So I promised from day one confidentiality, and people appreciated it, and this helped a lot to develop my business. Because a lot of Armenia, Greeks, Italians and Lebanese, when there was a divorce case, they felt much more comfortable dealing with me... That's just an example, so my honesty and confidentiality was a big enabler and it helped me retain and develop my client base (G2-P10).

3) Support of networks and contacts

It is well known that the more developed the entrepreneur's network and contacts, the better the opportunities for the entrepreneurial venture. However, the contacts and networks that first and second generation have tend to be different. First generation immigrant entrepreneurs mentioned that their contacts are part of their ethnic community compared to the second generation immigrant entrepreneurs whose contacts were mainly with the mainstream Canadian society. In fact G1-P5, who works as a taxi driver pointed out that he would support another Lebanese entrepreneur because they share the same immigration experience and the community offers a sense of reciprocal support among its members:

I tell you my son and my daughter will not do this. I told them go change the tire at the Lebanese mechanic's, I already paid the guy. They did not go there. It hurt me a lot... This guy is here in Canada, like me, we left because of the war in Lebanon. We came to Canada with no money in our pockets. I have to support him. Only a first generation would understand the need to support our community. Our kids don't care... And because I have this mentality, and I helped my community before, these contacts supported me when they knew I started my business (G1-P5).

Similar to this participant, all G1 participants mentioned that their contacts helped them establish their firms and supported them. Specifically the Lebanese community offered help and support when the entrepreneurs were starting their businesses, due to the common background and immigration experience that creates bonds among community members. G2 entrepreneurs also mentioned contacts and networks but in a more general way. They do not mention their ethnic community, but give reference to contacts in the mainstream Canadian society.

So I grew up Canadian of course, lived in Canada but even the neighbourhood, the schools, university, work and everything I was always part of the Canadian community even though we had very strong ties to the Lebanese community but I feel part of the Canadian society. When I think of my clients, they are Canadian as well, my business interactions and relationships are Canadian, and these are the contacts that enabled a successful business start-up (G2-P6).

4) Personal belief in God's guidance

A third micro-level enabler that only G1 entrepreneurs mentioned was God's guidance. Spiritual engagement and beliefs played a big role in their positive thinking and perseverance in the start-up stages. They reported that God's support and presence was a big enabler in their entrepreneurial process, their faith gave them the ability to overcome challenges and carry on. Some entrepreneurs explicitly mentioned it as an important enabler, but all of them implicitly used terms to denote its importance for example, "thank God the results were very good".

Call it luck, call it God, but knock on wood, every time I'm about to get into trouble ok, before any – I sleep, I wake up, and somebody calls me, and somehow boom it's fixed. I don't believe in luck. I believe in God, so it's got to be that, as far as I'm concerned; I am a big believer. My wife is a very big believer too. You know, we're very religious. It doesn't make sense, because all of a sudden when I am having a big issue with the client, the next day, it is resolved! It's God's hand (G1-P7).

I have strong faith in God and I believe that this has a big positive influence in my life. When I face challenges and problems, my faith keeps me going and it's

been the way since my childhood, I still remember my mom's words: "God always makes a way, don't be afraid" and it's true, when I was starting this business I faced many challenges but I kept my faith that God makes a way and thank God He never disappointed me, I strongly believe that everything that all the good things that happened with me in this restaurant and in my life were because of God's help (G1-P8).

None of the G2 entrepreneurs in this study mentioned God's guidance as an enabler that facilitated their entrepreneurial process. In fact they indicated that their parents had a greater faith and their religious beliefs guided even the business aspect of their lives. This is linked to the fact that G1 entrepreneurs grew up in Lebanon, a country where religion plays a big role and influence on people's lives. In fact G2-P7, a second generation entrepreneur who is running the business after her parents, highlights that they considered God's guidance to be involved in their business as an enabler, something that she does not share:

I look at myself and look at my mother; she's much more religious than I am. I believe in God and I thank God every day but not to an extent to be thinking that He's involved in the business...It's a complicated one I think maybe because they grew up in Lebanon and religion in Lebanon is a very big thing compared to Canada for example. They went to school with nuns and priests and yes I think it makes a big difference (G2-P7).

4.2.2 Macro-level enablers

Macro-level enablers are factors associated with the environment. These factors are external to the entrepreneur and facilitate the entrepreneurial process. Participants mentioned the following enablers: the host country's stability, resource acquisition opportunities and the Canadian legal system.

1) Stability of the host country

Participants mentioned that Canada is a stable and peaceful country that offers an attractive environment to establish and grow businesses. Its political situation does not pose dangers to entrepreneurs or threaten their business development. In contrast, Lebanon's environment is fraught with risks and danger. Having experienced the unstable environment, G1 entrepreneurs strongly appreciated Canada's stability and fertile environment that allows businesses to grow and flourish, thus they mentioned it as one of the most important enablers. It is not surprising that G2 entrepreneurs did not mention this enabler because they were used to a stable country that they consider as a norm or a standard. They have not seen worse.

Because Lebanon is an unstable country, and because of the lack of opportunities back there, I felt I needed to go somewhere else...then I decided that Canada is best for me and for the business, it is a very stable country (G1-P1).

I remember when I had my car dealership in Lebanon, the political situation had an effect on our sales and revenues, when people are afraid of getting killed by a bomb on the street or think that a new war is at the door they stop buying, the economy shuts down. And that was a big obstacle for me. Here in Canada, my business doesn't face these problems, the country is peaceful and this removes a burden from my shoulder, I have other stuff to worry about (G1-P9).

2) Legal system

G1 entrepreneurs were also the sole participants to report the legal system in Canada as an enabler. They first appreciated the presence of a well structured legal system that covers all business aspects and that applies to all businesses. They felt that their rights were protected and that regulations were enablers. There were no references to the legal system by G2 participants.

If you have a problem with the client, the law is above both, you are protected, and the legal system protects you and your business in case of conflicts (G1-P7).

Elsewhere you need a local sponsor to open a business, meaning they would be the boss and you would only be working for them. Here in Canada the law lets you open a business even if you are not Canadian so we decided to act on our desire of having a business. Our dream came true in Canada because of the laws that facilitate creating the business and protect all the business aspects (G1-P10).

Another element G1 entrepreneurs saw as an enabler was the simplicity of legal transactions. For example, one participant reported creating the business in three days and finishing all the legal transactions online without any complications. G2 entrepreneurs did not mention this enabler because they are accustomed to this system, it is the normal standard for them. In two to three days, both G1-P2 and G1-P9 created their companies successfully without any complications related to the legal transactions:

A big advantage is the simplicity of the process of creating my company; I did that sitting on a chair in my bedroom. I didn't have to go wait in line... Sunday night, I applied, created the taxes and after a few days I got everything, all my tax numbers, TPS, TVQ and legal certifications without any complication, I created my company and it became legal in three days. It's not like you have to bribe an officer, an administrator and a manager with money, so that the transaction will be faster. I did it online, the process was very simple (G1-P2).

I found establishing my business easy. I didn't have any obstacles when I dealt with the legal system. I did all the procedures in two days with the lawyer. The legal system encourages the creation of small businesses here; they don't complicate things (G1-P9).

3) Resource acquisition opportunities

Both G1 and G2 entrepreneurs mentioned that Canada's environment provided them with opportunities related to resource acquisition. They indicated that resources needed for the entrepreneurial process were accessible and within reach. Government support and funding was on the top of their list, especially grants, loans, R&D incentives and tax credits. Participants

mentioned that government support was available to them and was a big enabler not only to establish their businesses but also to expand. G1-P1 a web development entrepreneur emphasized the Canadian resource acquisition facilities that he could use if he wanted to expand with his business partner.

Canada has been nominated by the Forbes magazine as one of the best places to do business. Canada gives a lot of Tax credits and R&D incentives...Plus the stability of the country, the grants and funding that the government can give to support start-ups are very important enablers. And there is the NAFTA agreement between Canada and the US, even if you are located in Canada, you have all the US markets open to you, this would be a great incentive for us to stay here and grow (G1-P1).

Right now I'm benefiting from SAJE, Support Au Jeunes Entrepreneurs. So it's a government program that gives you a bit of financial assistance. I just finished 6 weeks of business planning training. They give you other types of training and mentorship as well, so this is the first program I've benefited from (G2-P3).

There are these great organizations in Canada that fund start-ups. Canada is a great country from that viewpoint by the way... especially when it comes to technology start-ups. We have two areas of significant funding. We have R&D incentives and tax credits so basically if you have R&D expenses through the year, when you file your taxes, you will get refunded a portion of what you paid as employee salaries (G2-P8).

However the difference between both generations is the degree of awareness about these support services that facilitate resource acquisition. In terms of frequencies only two out of ten G1 entrepreneurs mentioned their awareness of these services and considered them as enablers compared to nine out of ten G2 entrepreneurs. The limited use of these services by G1 entrepreneurs is due to the lack of knowledge and awareness of the local environment which leaves them disadvantaged.

If I was first generation Lebanese, it wouldn't be as easy as it is because when you're first generation you don't know as much. Just growing up in Ontario had a huge impact. So when I started I was 21 so that means I had 21 years to learn

about the services Canada offers, how society works here, what people do, where people go, and it was an enabler for me. We have a lot less barriers. I can't imagine doing what I did without these advantages, a network and just knowing how things work around here...First generation Lebanese would know much less (G2-P6).

There might be some sort of a support program, but if I've been here for so long and I don't know about it, the odds are the guy that just landed off the plane is not gonna know about it either. I can imagine for first generations, it must be extremely hard to manage everything, they don't know this country or what it offers (G2-P10).

Micro enablers consisted of internal drive, individual characteristics, support of networks and contacts, and belief in God's guidance. The first three were common between both generations and the last was exclusive to G1 entrepreneurs given that they grew up in Lebanon where religion and faith are very important society components. Macro-level enablers included the stability of the host country, the legal system and resource acquisition opportunities. The first two macro enablers were exclusive to G1 entrepreneurs who appreciated the host country macro-structure but G2 did not mention these elements because they were considered the norm. Resource acquisition opportunities were considered enablers for both generations; however G1 entrepreneurs were less aware of these opportunities. The entrepreneurial obstacles will be addressed next.

4.3 Obstacles

Two types of obstacles to the entrepreneurial process were identified by participants. The first type is immigration obstacles and the second is entrepreneurial obstacles. Immigration obstacles are exclusively faced by first generation immigrants. In contrast, entrepreneurial obstacles were

faced by any entrepreneur who establishes her business and thus apply to both generations. In what follows, I distinguish between micro and macro-level obstacles.

4.3.1 Micro-level obstacles: Divided attention

G1 entrepreneurs face immigration challenges that make the entrepreneurial process more difficult than it would be for G2 entrepreneurs whose focus does not include adaptation to a new country. The first generation entrepreneur's effort, focus and energy are distributed among different endeavors that are related to both the immigration and the entrepreneurship processes. Unlike the G1 entrepreneurs, none of the G2 entrepreneurs mentioned these obstacles. Eight obstacles were identified.

1) Integration obstacles and the lack of knowledge of the Canadian environment

Integration obstacles were a source that divided G1 entrepreneurs' attention. Arriving to a new country, they had first to adapt to the Canadian culture and society. Integrating in the new environment is a crucial step that slowed their entrepreneurial process and prevented them from focusing on business aspects. Lack of a sense of belonging and adaptation to the new environment negatively affected both their social life and their business endeavors.

The second generation has definitely no cultural barrier. His mother tongue is English or French. He has less challenge in understanding society, girlfriends and boyfriends are from both cultures. He has gone out with English or French Canadians and he has had no problem understanding their jokes and they had no problems understanding him too. All these facilities were not available to us, the

first generation... We did not have the opportunity to mingle with the Canadian society as much as our children who went to Canadian schools (G1-P4).

We're coming from a Middle Eastern society to a completely different society. I didn't understand how the society works how and the norms and this affected me. When I understood them after some years, I started understanding my clients much better than before (G1-P5).

So, the trends that are online are North American trends. By living in North America, you can relate a lot more to those trends because when you understand the trends online, it's easier to reach your market. It's easier to attract a new audience, and it's easier to please them. And if you don't understand them, it becomes really hard to be successful: "those are the shows that people watch, that's where they get that joke, oh I understand that song" and then you get to connect with those people who are your clients. It can be really hard for first generation immigrants to adapt to those trends (G2-P4).

2) Language barriers

Most Lebanese people have at least some language skills in French, English or both. Yet according to participants, having language basics did not prevent them from experiencing language barriers when attempting to communicate in the context of business activities. Having language difficulties, G1 entrepreneurs experienced setbacks when communicating with customers, negotiating with suppliers or administrating business transactions. Even G2 entrepreneurs identified this obstacle that was faced by their parents.

We don't always express ourselves well, we think in the Lebanese way... Plus sometimes we try to translate Arabic to English and people don't understand what we mean, it's difficult to interact with the customers sometimes (G1-P8).

That's when the father needs his kids because he doesn't speak the language and he doesn't understand it. So an official from the bank would call me and say your father was just in, do you know what he wanted? He couldn't express himself clearly in English (G2-P7).

When my dad was running his business, he was having a very hard time because he did not speak French or English. So he constantly had major issues with

suppliers... It was holding him back from actually advancing, opening more stores... because he could not communicate with people. It was very hard for him. Especially at the beginning.....When the guy came in from the beer company, we sat down and negotiated and my dad could have done ten times better than me had he known the language (G2-P10).

It must be noted, however, that participants who centered their businesses among the ethnic community encountered this obstacle much less than others.

3) Limited contacts

G1 entrepreneurs, having lived most of their lives in Lebanon, developed their professional network and contacts in their home country. These entrepreneurs had limited contacts when they first immigrated to Canada; however contacts became an enabler after spending many years in the host country. The duration of their stay in Canada played an important role in determining whether contacts were an enabler or an obstacle to the entrepreneurial process.

Right now, we have a lot of contacts which are mainly Lebanese, some Canadian, but if I was born here or if I was raised here, I would have more Canadian friends, and people usually buy from people [they know]... So as a start-up, it would be easier if you are a second-generation (G1-P1).

When I started the business, it was really hard. I didn't know anyone... So there were many ups and downs. I lost all my contacts by moving to Canada. In Lebanon I knew so many people, they knew me they trusted me so they made business with me. Those obstacles take a lot of time, they slow your business development ... But we start from the beginning, we build our contacts, it takes time and effort but things get better with time (G1-P9).

Even though some G1 entrepreneurs have some family members and friends, they have to deploy great efforts in building contacts that could be useful for their venture creation. G2 entrepreneurs certainly have more connections that build organically and naturally throughout their lives.

Growing up here would provide you a better integration and better connections with people. And then you would probably have a bigger circle of people that can either work for you or people who you can ask to expand your network or get you more business. As a first generation, I do not have this “plus”, if I had it, starting my business would be much easier (G1-P1).

A lot of contacts in the professional field are mainly when you're at school and university or when you're actually working. This is where you will get to meet people on the professional level. And if a first generation individual did not pursue school and education in Canada, has not worked in Canada, their circle and their network is realistically speaking much more restrained than a second generation individual (G2-P2).

4) Double risk factor

As previously discussed, G1 entrepreneurs face more challenges compared to G2 entrepreneurs, and these challenges stem from the immigration process. They experience the double risk factor: the risks of immigrating and integrating into a new environment and the risks related to the process of starting and operating a business. The double risk was only experienced by G1 entrepreneurs.

We don't have a huge capital to allow us to just rely on this company right now, we need to work and keep our [other] jobs to be able to survive...So as a first generation, we're not experts in the Canadian market and it's very risky and hard, we're still integrating (G1-P1).

I didn't know anything, how the system works, how to pay the taxes, how to move in the metro, like you have to start adapting from zero. Step by step I learned that, but it takes time and it's stressful to move to a new country, so I have this risk and then when I started my business I had another risk, how to make my business succeed in order to make a living and allow my family live decently (G1-P3).

If you have 100% energy and thinking capacity instead of putting 100% on the business you put 60% to adapt to the new place and face the difficulties, and 40% for your business (G1-P9).

This double risk burden may be a reason underlying G1 entrepreneurs' low risk venturing into businesses requiring limited capital such as corner stores, restaurants, website development, in comparison to G2 entrepreneurs willing to take higher risks and set up high-tech or innovative firms.

5) Traditional business development obstacles

Most start-ups face difficulties at the early stage and take time in order to produce profits. When asked about the obstacles that they face, both G1 and G2 entrepreneurs reported having financial obstacles which are common to any entrepreneur and not only to immigrant entrepreneurs. Other common obstacles included: marketing, sales and business development, dealing with customers and employees, new entrance barriers, time management, building business references, and competition.

It's the long hours in this business seven days opening early, closing late. Dealing with customers, some of the customers want to take advantage of you, they want something for free. And the staff, it's hard to find good staff that cares about the customers. So I went through few problems with those things (G1-P8).

No customers at the beginning. I came into a business knowing there would be unsuccessful times to then take off (G1-P9).

The third obstacle is getting your first and second clients, right. So obviously as soon as you get your first and second client then technically you roll because I think the obstacle in this is building your own reputation, not necessarily contacts. Contacts is one thing but building your own reputation is another thing and when you do have your references your first and second one, it's not the money they bring, it's the reputation you build, the references you get, and the exposure you have (G2-P2).

Obstacles? There were clients that didn't pay on time or didn't pay at all. Where I'd invested months of work and I didn't know to charge them ahead of time. I didn't know how to write up a proper contract; opportunities lost. Periods where I had no revenue because I had no clients, periods where I'm overworked because I under evaluated a project (G2-P3).

Dealing with competition is a classical obstacle that was faced by both first and second generation immigrants. An interesting finding is the difference in the level of competition that ethnic businesses face nowadays compared to the level twenty years ago. Participants reported that it was much easier to do businesses twenty years ago because there was less competition and the market was still novel and less saturated. Opening an ethnic business such as a restaurant in earlier years was considered an innovation, but this same activity has lost its innovative aspect given that ethnic businesses are almost everywhere nowadays. This is similar to the concept of waves of destruction proposed by Schumpeter. For instance, G1-P10 a shawarma restaurant owner, compared the levels of competition nowadays and in the past, and stated that competition is becoming more severe and markets more saturated:

There are many restaurants in our area competing with us. If we were the only shawarma restaurant in this area, we would for sure be more successful and have more clients...back then there was not this much competition, now there are many restaurants just in this area and the level of business of each restaurant has gone down (G1-P10).

4.3.2 Macro-level obstacles

In this section, I report the findings on the macro-level obstacles to the entrepreneurial process. These obstacles include environmental factors over which the entrepreneurs have little or no control.

1) Lack of credit history

Credit history was only mentioned by G1 entrepreneurs as an obstacle. Individuals require a credit history in order to rent a house, get a phone contract, acquire resources, and apply for personal or business loans; immigrants need to submit to credit checks. Credit history presents a record of an individual's ability to manage debt and repay it. G1 entrepreneurs stated that they overcame by relying on contacts in their network and finding somebody willing to co-sign contracts.

The credit history will go over everything... Even if you have to go to the bank and get a credit card, they don't allow you. If you don't have a credit card, you cannot buy anything, you can't rent your office, you can't buy furniture, you can't get a phone number. As a newcomer immigrant to Canada, I faced that obstacle (G1-P3).

And the credit, when you are a newcomer you don't have a credit history and if you don't have capital at first, you don't have any money, you can't do very much in this country... The credit history in Canada is very important, for your personal life and it affects your business (G1-P9).

2) Lack of recognition of previous qualifications

When moving to Canada, the local system and institutions impose on G1 entrepreneurs difficult requirements before acknowledging their previous qualifications, an element that slows down business establishment and entrepreneurial activities. Driving license, educational certification, and professional licenses all come under this obstacle. It divides G1 entrepreneurs' attention and distracts them since they seek new credentials or foreign credential reassessment.

The driver's license, which is a small example, was an obstacle... So when I came here, I was like, "Okay, I need a car to go meet my clients" because you cannot rely on public transportation. Sometimes the metro is down; sometimes the bus is late... I had in mind that I could exchange my Lebanese license for a Canadian one but it was not the case I had to do the process from the beginning (G1-P2).

A very important obstacle for me, as a first generation coming freshly from Lebanon, I had to forget about my previous diploma. Why? Because they don't acknowledge it here in Canada, there are some exceptions but in general as I have seen for all the first generation immigrants, they don't acknowledge your diploma so how are you going to work in your field? (G1-P3).

3) Discrimination

When asked about obstacles, both G1 and G2 entrepreneurs mentioned that they faced discrimination. For G1 entrepreneurs this might be perhaps predictable, but it was surprising for G2 entrepreneurs: the same people who felt very well integrated in their local environment and built local contacts, did at some point go through discrimination experiences in both social and professional contexts.

However the predominant distinction was not in terms of the generations it was in terms of the locations: entrepreneurs living in Quebec reported facing discrimination from certain individuals but not from the government itself. Discrimination was the only theme where a difference between Ontario and Quebec was clear. Participants from Quebec reported on the discrimination obstacle more extensively than participants from Ontario. For example, G2-P2 mentioned that he started to feel discriminated against in 1993 when there was a referendum for Quebec separation, and it was believed that separation did not happen because of immigrants' votes:

I will not be lying to you to say that I did not encounter certain situation...where not everybody, but there are some individuals who would think about you differently...There was the case in 1993 where there was the referendum for the Quebec separation and at that time one of the reasons for Quebec to remain in Canada because there was a very large immigrant vote to stay in Canada and the vote was at that time I think it was 50.4% no and 49.6% yes. So during that time period there was a little bit more discrimination from certain select individuals but generally speaking you rarely encounter it (G2-P2).

I faced a lot of discriminating individuals; they would say “you immigrants” or start labelling and calling names, but it was not from the government itself or

from officials...My experience with the Canadians is great, the people are kind and friendly however certain individuals make the exception and with these I felt the discrimination (G1-P7).

G2-P3 faced so many scenarios of discrimination, he said “it is not an immigrant issue” they prefer to deal with people from Quebec over any people whether they are immigrants or not, his Quebecois accent helps him to feel less discriminated against but in terms of business transactions, he had to bring someone from Quebec to be the face of this company when doing negotiations in order to get business deals:

When I tried to offer my company services in Calgary I’d sit down and talk to people and the only limitation I had in Calgary was being a small business...In Quebec the whole issue with preserving the French language created an environment for discrimination...it’s not stemming from immigrants it’s stemming from the English/French problems. It’s not as apparent, you can’t publicly document that, but in business relationships and some social relationships it’s clear and present...I speak French and I speak it with a Quebecois accent. So when they hear me talk, they look at me and they’re like “okay you’re one of us”, it actually earns me points in their vision... But people that are Quebecois like to work with Quebecois people and give them the priority...I have asked few Quebecois people to represent me sometimes, to be the voice or the face of my company when we’re doing negotiations, they feel much more comfortable dealing with them instead of dealing with me, we got the contracts because of them (G2-P3).

I am born and raised in Canada, however throughout my life I probably felt stereotyped by north American culture especially in Quebec...Obstacles might be being Lebanese, I have always had, I don’t wanna say insecurity, but I never liked the negative media that was provided to people who would make comments about the middle-east, and that bothers me...That has become an obstacle for me especially when I meet someone for the first time; I try to see how they feel about my culture and background. Sometimes I joke around when someone asks what’s your background and they know that I’m middle-eastern, I would say : “no I’m Canadian”...I am Canadian but nobody gives me that, so that’s definitely an obstacle (G2-P9).

However other participants, such as G2-P4 for example did not face any discrimination. He state that he spoke with the same accent and his looks were similar to the locals, so he was not a visible minority immigrant and it was not easy to discriminate:

I guess because I'm a second-generation, that helps a lot with the fact that I don't have any accent...any person I meet feels like they're talking to someone that has been here forever, that I am a Canadian...whether you like it or not, stereotypes do exist. I guess, not having a strong accent or the way I look, helps I think (G2-P4).

This section of the analysis reported on the different obstacles and enablers that G1 and G2 entrepreneurs face. The next section reports on the entrepreneurial process in terms of opportunity recognition, evaluation and exploitation.

4.4 The entrepreneurial process

In this section I turn attention to the entrepreneurial process, or more specifically to opportunity recognition, opportunity evaluation and opportunity exploitation.

4.4.1 Opportunity recognition

G1 entrepreneurs have lived a certain period of their lives in their country of origin. After moving to the new host country, they became exposed to a new environment and to a new set of opportunity structures. They constantly contrast Lebanon and Canada and emphasize that the

opportunity structure in the host country is very different from what they were used to in their home country. The contrast between the two countries heightens their awareness of the opportunities available and the many enablers that were not present in their home country.

Canada is a great place to do business it's not like Lebanon where growing a business is extremely hard and not supported. You have all those opportunities [in Canada] that you have to take advantage of, otherwise it would be a wasted opportunity (G1-P1).

Here, you can pay your electricity bill online. In Lebanon, if you want to pay 4 bills, you have to wait in line for hours. Here you can do anything on the phone. Also, here there is no bribing; you don't need to pay to get what you want. If you're entitled to it, you'll get it, if not you won't get it (G1-P3).

However G2 entrepreneurs make no reference to these contrasts since they were only exposed to Canada's environment. They take the opportunities in Canada for granted.

I think Canada offers a lot of opportunities. When it comes to opportunities to either get funding or generate revenue or be successful Canada gives you the tools... Sometimes second generation Canadians can be blind to this, we expect it to be done this way but those coming from Lebanon find it very unusual (G2-P2).

Entrepreneurial motivation

A prominent debate in the entrepreneurship literature concerns the distinction between necessity and opportunity entrepreneurship. The former is concerned with the pursuit of entrepreneurship in the absence of other labour market opportunities and is often directed at small scale retailing; whilst the latter is concerned with the pursuit of higher potential opportunities in the presence of other labour market choices. This distinction has enjoyed considerable popularity in explaining the different levels of entrepreneurship in developing and developed countries and the association with economic development. Here, there is an obvious temptation in applying the

framework to this study of first and second generation immigrant entrepreneurs. Given the theory of ‘blocked mobility’, it may make sense to view entrepreneurship amongst first generation immigrants as ‘necessity entrepreneurship’ – undertaken because of structural discrimination and disadvantage which excludes them from mainstream labour markets. In contrast, second generation immigrant entrepreneurs may be more likely to engage in opportunity entrepreneurship. Having been integrated into the host country (either from birth or early settlement) they are less likely to face discrimination or labour market exclusion. In this way, when entrepreneurial activity is undertaken, it may be directed at higher potential opportunities, given the availability of alternatives.

However, this may be too easy a caricature. By definition, all successful entrepreneurship involves opportunities. And this is evident in the data. Both G1 and G2 entrepreneurs identified that they chose to engage in entrepreneurship because they recognized a potential for growth and development. First, opportunity recognition emanated from the “possibility to do better” which came internally from the personal experience of entrepreneurs who were working for others and who realized that they would be better off starting their own businesses rather than remaining employees. They saw personal growth opportunities in starting their entrepreneurial ventures, a value that employment could not provide. They sought growth, personal fulfillment and exposure to different areas, and more varied and integrative business experiences.

Some entrepreneurs also recognized opportunities by observing other entrepreneurs around them who were already successfully established, or they saw ways of improving the existing business ideas and then made a choice to start their own business. The process of perceiving other successful entrepreneurs gave them an incentive for growth and motivated them to start their

ventures. It also gave them assurance that their similar idea would work as well and could yield better results than their counterparts. This is believed to be an approach for mitigating risks and an alternative way of testing the new venture's success, and it was especially used by G1 entrepreneurs.

When I came here, I would go to Lebanese or Arabic restaurants and hear the music they had and the way they were playing it, and it was really bad, it's not the way to go. I had freshly arrived from Lebanon, I knew how it should be done, so I saw the opportunity of opening my business and that encouraged me to try. I saw they were successful, and people were hiring them, so if they were successful and couldn't do it the right way, I can be successful too but by doing it the right way (G1-P3).

G2-P2 and G2-P4 were full-time employees before deciding to become self-employed:

I saw some growth in my stepping outside the structure of a large organization and being dedicated to one single task. Opening up a business would open up for me the access and involvement in a variety of different aspects that as an employee within an organization I may not have had. So my involvement for instance with finance, business development, accounting; these are things that if I had maintained an employment role within an organization I wouldn't have had exposure to (G2-P2).

Since I was fifteen years old, I've never stopped working until I was twenty-five. So going through all those jobs, there's one thing that was always in common, it's the fact that I did not like working for somebody else. I just felt that the energy level that you put in whatever business, you're helping grow someone else's dream. And I had a dream, so I wanted to work on my own dream. So might as well put all that energy into my own dream versus putting it into someone else's dream. That's how I saw it and then I decided to start my own company (G2-P4).

In contrast to opportunity-based motivations, necessity was infrequently cited as a reason for becoming an entrepreneur. Unlike most G1 and G2 entrepreneurs, only two G1 entrepreneurs in this study were faced with "no other choice" than starting a business. These entrepreneurs, who had no other choice and were pushed to start their businesses, were cases of early immigrants

who came many years ago and whose previous qualifications and experiences were not acknowledged at that time. G1-P7 is currently a real estate broker who owns an import/export company and a restaurant, but he mentioned that his experience and diplomas as a banker were not acknowledged when he came to Canada over thirty years ago, so he had no other choice than to start a business.

I came here and I said to myself, "what shall I do? Study to be a doctor? It's too late. What specialization shall I do? It's too late. I must do something for a living, I have to work and adapt to my ability and my age, I am no longer 18 years old to say, OK, I'll go and learn this profession at the university. So I had to start a business to survive, I didn't have any other choice (G1-P7).

Moreover, G1-P10 who owns a shawarma restaurant with her husband indicated that they could not find any jobs in the Canadian market, but refused to be financially dependent, so they had to start a business that would guarantee financial stability:

This is a way to be independent and rely on ourselves without having to ask someone else for financial help. It would be difficult for us, after all these years of work, to stay at home and have to be helped financially by others. We had no other choice, my husband couldn't find a job neither could I, so we had to support ourselves, we had no other choice than start this business (G1-P10).

These participants considered themselves relatively old to start a new career and acquire new professional skills. This was unlike other early G1 entrepreneurs who indicated that they started again from scratch and attended schools and universities to acquire new skills and were motivated and driven by opportunity recognition. Examples include G1-P4 who came to Canada at an earlier age and went to law school in order to become a lawyer, and G1-P6 who went to university and specialized in IT business intelligence to open his business in this field. In addition, recent G1 entrepreneurs also showed a tendency to have wider choices given that they are selected based on specific immigration criteria that are stricter and more demanding than the

immigration conditions twenty years ago. For example, G1-P1, G1-P2 and G1-P3 made the choice of becoming self-employed and were motivated by opportunity recognition in order to grow, develop and achieve better financial stability.

4.4.2 Opportunity evaluation

While G1 entrepreneurs have an advantage in terms of appreciating the opportunities to engage in entrepreneurship, G2 entrepreneurs have the advantage in terms of a better understanding of the Canadian environment. They understand market needs, trends and preferences, which are important assets for establishing successful businesses.

The way the two generations evaluate entrepreneurial opportunities is different and distinct. G1 entrepreneurs may recognize opportunities based on a contrast of environment (Lebanon and Canada) and be more appreciative of the new opportunities, but they are not knowledgeable of the local environment and not aware of some sectors e.g. the innovation sector. G1-P9 had problems understanding his car dealership clients and their preferences. Even though he was serving the ethnic community, but his context was different, he was an outsider to the Canadian environment. G2 entrepreneurs are part of the local environment. They blend in the local society, hence they are more aware of local market trends, have wider possibilities and less restriction. Their opportunity evaluation is more precise than G1 entrepreneurs.

Deciding to start my company was very hard, I didn't know what the locals like to buy, how they think, what their needs are. Do they like small cars like in France or big cars like in the US...These things took time and I couldn't know because I didn't live here, I was an outsider at first (G1-P9).

So coming from outside and not necessarily being part of a society can bring in new ideas but will these ideas work in the current environment? That becomes a very big challenge because you may end up having an idea but people here are not receptive to it. Mind you, you could also be very, very successful but the knowledge of the current environment gives you a little bit more trust whether this idea is viable...This is where your experience in Canada can be of an added value, and as second generation entrepreneurs, we know how things are done in Canada (G2-P2).

The past experiences and frames of G1 entrepreneurs influence the opportunities that they see in the market, but also blind them to unfamiliar opportunities that may be evident to G2 entrepreneurs. This affects their ability to evaluate opportunities in the local environment.

Because the opportunities were different in Lebanon, the ones that they learned to spot while they were there, they end up doing similar stuff here. That's why you see a lot of first generation doing pizza stores or taxis or things that you can do on your own. You know, open a restaurant you've seen that a hundred times there and that's one of the very common things that Lebanon's economy is based on: banking and retail and tourism, it's totally different. It's not mining or anything like that so when they come here they end up doing similar [ventures], and so restaurants, almost every pizza store in Ottawa has a Lebanese owner. Taxi drivers, so many Lebanese. ... You're going to find a lot less doing innovation because that's not something that's usual over there (G2-P6).

Entrepreneurial evaluation and risk propensity

Risk propensity is the degree to which an entrepreneur is willing to take risks. Risk propensity is an important factor that comes into play when entrepreneurs evaluate opportunities. G2 entrepreneurs born and/or raised in Canada, whose parents have already established themselves and built a "safety net" for them, have the possibility and the flexibility to take higher risks. This affects their evaluation and decision to engage in opportunity exploitation. They have what they

labelled a “safety net” which could be defined by their well established network, local education and experience and easier access to resources.

The second generation has a start, they have a home; generally immigrants do not kick their kids outside at the age of 18 or force them to pay rent. I’m saying this from my own community experience. They have everything established here in Canada by their parents. They can take higher risks in entrepreneurship (G1-P4).

The second generation of immigrant entrepreneurs have the flexibility and privilege to take risks ... the reason is that our parents and siblings have already built a safety net that provides the capability and the capacity to take higher risks. I can afford to work in a team, because I am assimilated to the local culture and the education system provides me with the capability and opportunity to create a network. It’s not surprising that I, as a second generation immigrant, have met many of my business partners at university, and through social gatherings. My father didn’t have this opportunity (G2-P9).

G1 entrepreneurs were risk-averse because they already have more risks than G2 entrepreneurs.

They explained that their risk factor includes both 1) the risk of moving into a new environment and 2) the risk of starting a business.

4.4.3 Opportunity exploitation

After recognizing and evaluating opportunities, entrepreneurs make a decision about whether to exploit the opportunity or not. Here I discuss the strategies used by entrepreneurs in order to establish their businesses. Some strategies were exclusively used by G1 or G2 entrepreneurs; others were common to both generations.

Taking incremental risks: G1 and G2

Participants reported taking incremental risks, starting with less risky businesses and then increasing their risk-taking over time. Both generations made use of this strategy, however G1 entrepreneurs had a higher tendency to be risk-averse. This is explained by the fact that G1 entrepreneurs face additional obstacles and challenges and are less knowledgeable of the local environment. G2 entrepreneurs, in contrast, were advantaged with the safety net and their strong integration and assimilation in the local environment, thus they were willing to take higher risks.

It all relates to the family, the parents. If the person is born in Canada he already has everything provided by his parents... If he wants to start a business and take risk it will be easier for him, but for me, no one gave me anything I had to establish myself in this country so I couldn't take a big risk, I started small. But my son for example he can start his company and have less trouble because he lived here all his life (G1-P3).

Entrepreneurial reproduction is one specific case of taking incremental risks. Entrepreneurial reproduction consists of acquiring the needed skills while being employed and then reproducing the same entrepreneurial venture and exploiting the opportunity when the time is right. Both generations mentioned acquiring the right capabilities before starting their own businesses. This strategy provided confidence and was seen as a way to mitigate the risks associated with the entrepreneurial process.

I started as an independent consultant. So I was getting paid by the hour through an agency. I did this for many years, full-time. And then I figured, why should I wait for the agency to introduce me to their client? I could do the same. Why not create my own company? So this is what I'm doing right now, as I take full ownership from A to Z of the process. I find the client, I prequalify, and I close

the deal, then we start the work. And now I staff people. I have consultants that work for me (G1-P6).

So my brother and I started talking one day and he was doing the exact same thing as an employee for another company. So then I said why aren't we doing this on our own? We were both employees in the same field. We sat back and thought about what it would take to do business with the government. You have to be on something called vendor lists. And it takes a long time to get on them so we had to build our portfolios to figure out what we've done in the past to qualify and prove that we can get on (G2-P1).

Serving the ethnic community: mainly G1

This strategy was mastered by G1 entrepreneurs since their networks were centered on the ethnic community and they had the necessary knowledge to identify and serve the needs of their ethnic counterparts. For instance, G1-P1 and G1-P2 had web development companies and indicated that they target the ethnic community and most of their clients are Lebanese. G1-P3 owned an event planning company based in Montreal and was specialized in organizing ethnic events because he was able to understand the needs and serve them. The serial entrepreneur G1-P7 never had a Canadian client before.

I work with Lebanese clubs or restaurants. We organize festivals and everything related to weddings, lighting, animation, sound systems and belly dancers. We have costumers in Montreal, but we also go to Ottawa, we go to Toronto, Halifax, sometimes they call us from the United States, Lebanese people are everywhere in Canada, they are my clients (G1-P3).

My clients are Lebanese or Arabic, I communicate with them in the same language, I can understand their needs, I know what they like or what they don't like, it's rare that I have a Quebecois client; I never did actually (G1-P7).

It is important to note that some G1 entrepreneurs could break from the traditional ethnic market and be open to serving both the ethnic and mainstream Canadian markets after spending a significant period of time in Canada. They provide services to the general market but still serve and receive extensive support from their ethnic community. G1-P6 and G1-P8 fall into this category, G1-P6 had an IT business intelligence company and G1-P8 was running a restaurant and they were serving both the ethnic and mainstream markets after being respectively twenty four and twenty eight years in Canada. G2-P7 for example is a second generation entrepreneur who owned a corner store established by her father. In earlier years, the corner store used to provide exclusively ethnic products but she expanded the store and the client base by offering international and local products.

When we were younger there was a joke because there used to be a lot of grocery stores, corner stores, there's a few now like Mac's Milk but they'd be independents and every neighborhood would have their own. A lot of them were owned by Lebanese. A lot of pizza places were owned by Lebanese. Anyways so there used to be a joke: Why don't Lebanese people play hockey? Because once you put us in a corner we'll open a store! It's just the way they [first generation] are (G2-P7).

G1 entrepreneurs have a network that is mostly embedded in their ethnic community, they start businesses that take their assets into consideration. The opportunity structure defines the types of sectors where immigrants tend to be concentrated. The findings from this study indicate that most G1 entrepreneurs established B2C types of businesses: businesses that offer services to individuals and consumers, and not services to organizations. G1 entrepreneurs established their ventures in industries that were familiar to them or where they had previous experiences. Typically, the majority focused on the service sector, for example, by opening retail stores or restaurants, or by driving taxis. G2 entrepreneurs were not limited to these sectors.

My father, for example, used his involvement in the community to get business deals so the community was able to support him in his business because he was targeting them. So as any first generation immigrant who had pizza stores, taxi drivers, people who had restaurants. These are not really my client base, I can't use them as a support for my business (engineering sector), and our business targets big organizations... So the [Lebanese] community would be more useful for a first generation compared to a second generation entrepreneur (G2-P6).

Serving the Canadian mainstream market: mainly G2

While serving the ethnic community was mastered by G1 entrepreneurs, serving the Canadian mainstream market was mastered by G2 entrepreneurs. G2 entrepreneurs had acquired an understanding of their local environment and the trends and needs of the Canadian clientele. They know the special characteristics that affect the business success and they utilize their knowledge in order to successfully target the mainstream Canadian market. G2-P6 a mechanical engineer that operates a Green energy and wind turbines firm and G2-P8 a high tech founder and CEO emphasized that the Lebanese community is not part of their clientele:

The community is definitely not part of my clientele; we target big companies in Canada. The cost of one turbine installed is \$500,000, so it's going to be an industry or a big company that buys it or it's going to be subsidized by the government (G2-P6).

If we look at it from a business viewpoint 99% of my clients have nothing to do with my background or being a Lebanese, they are all Canadian, north American or international, whereas for a first generation entrepreneur, I think they will set up a lot of their businesses around that (G2-P8).

G2 entrepreneurs focus on B2B businesses and they do not rely mainly on immigrant networks. They could choose a sector with immigrant concentration, but are not limited to such choices. In fact G2-P2, a business consultant affirmed:

If I'm targeting for instance food, automotive, housing, every single person you know becomes a possible candidate and a customer and then you can utilize your network within your ethnic group and outside. But because mine is more of an organizational-based clientele it's more difficult for me to target the Lebanese community, it's more selective. But I do sometime meet with individuals from Lebanese descent within these organizations. This gives you a door or accessibility that you may not necessarily have by not knowing anybody. So there are indirect ways of leveraging your network but again they are individuals within certain organizations and not every single person fits this category (G2-P2).

In addition to their well-developed Canadian network, G2 could also be involved in the ethnic community because of their first generation immigrant parents. Second generation immigrants have the possibility of leveraging the immigrants' networks but they also have the possibility of reaching beyond this network. Thus their network is heterogeneous, and they have more choices regarding business contacts and opportunity exploitation. G2-P1 a business consultant stressed that most of his clients are Canadian but Lebanese clients could be "an easy way in":

Lebanese customers are an easy way in, in the sense that they'll open the door for you. So not that you're guaranteed to get the business but it'll open the door because I'm Lebanese and they're Lebanese and it'll be that easy conversation piece just like in our business whenever an Irish guy goes to see another Irish guy, it's easier for them to open the door. You can relate to each other from a cultural perspective and from an upbringing perspective. And the community in Ottawa is small so often you have friends in common. So Linked In is a good tool and you see a lot of those cross relationships with those people who vouch for your credibility ... but most of my clients are Canadian (G2-P1).

Opportunity exploitation and networks

The two generations experienced different influences and resources originating from the set of networks they built. Their set of networks provided them with role model examples, access to resources, legitimacy and trust that were vital assets in exploiting opportunities. However these dimensions varied extensively between G1 and G2 entrepreneurs.

Role models

Entrepreneurs whose parents or members of the family were also entrepreneurs talked about the advantages of having a role model. Participants who grew up watching and interacting with entrepreneurs had strong ties that provided them with support in an indirect way. They had observed the entrepreneurial process and thus felt more encouraged to exploit opportunities. They believed that they would experience success if they persevered. This source of emotional support was mentioned by G2 entrepreneurs who highlighted the support of their hardworking parents.

Practically speaking, as a second generation entrepreneur, you will have a bigger pool of individuals you can seek advice from. And it's not only you, it's also the fact that your family is already established. Especially if they are entrepreneurs, they can contribute in terms of bringing in professional expertise and advice from a bigger pool of individuals, whereas as a first generation you start from the beginning (G2-P2).

It's a lot easier, because my mom has a hair salon and she meets a lot of people. And she knows a lot of people as well, so just from word-of-mouth, talking to all those people at some point, there's someone that will need your services. And just one client after another is enough to get your company rolling. So she helped me by introducing new clients. Also just seeing her succeed and how she went through the process encouraged me to do like her and be as successful as she is (G2-P4).

First generation immigrant entrepreneurs on the other hand did not mention other inspiring entrepreneurs among their strong ties. However they found their emotional support and inspiration in their community. By observing other first generation immigrant entrepreneurs who started successful businesses, they felt inspired. The knowledge that others started and operated successful businesses provided assurance that the entrepreneurial venture could be

successful. In a way, this helped reduce ambiguity for the entrepreneurs and allowed them to believe that the risks were manageable.

I had two brothers-in-laws that were working as taxi drivers and were successful. So I said okay I'm going to try and get my taxi licence like them, I took the one week course (at that time) and I passed (G1-P5).

I worked as a taxi driver, I saw that all the Lebanese work as taxi drivers when they come to Canada, and they were making good money and you can see them moving from the bottom of the pyramid to higher levels because of taxi (G1-P9).

Access to resources

Networks were seen as facilitating access to both tangible and intangible resources. Tangible resources included financial capital and material resources and intangible resources were emotional encouragement, ideas, information and advice. Both generations mentioned that their contacts had granted them easier access to resources not only during the start-up phase but also when running the business. Networks were considered a significant asset in the entrepreneurial process, because through them opportunity exploitation was facilitated.

We know people in Lebanon that work in this field (IT industry), so sometimes, if we're stuck at something, we're stuck at a certain technical point. We ask them, we take their advice, because they are working in the same field. And it's basically the same thing, whether you're doing it in Canada or in Lebanon or in any country (G1-P1).

At the initial process we started by leveraging the previous relationships, so with respect to space we got it from *Accelerate*, with respect to lawyer fees and legal things to set up a company correctly, we had previous relationships from my previous company that we leveraged and they set-up the new company for us for basically few hundred dollars...With respect to banking relations, we knew several people and ... those were relationships based on my previous work and other employees' relationships, and that's how we started (G2-P8).

Legitimacy and trust

G2 entrepreneurs indicated facing challenges in terms of being considered legitimate; therefore they sought help from their networks and contacts in order to build legitimacy in their fields.

You have to be legitimate to work with big companies. We did a lot of free trials to get to work with them, and to get things going and now because of our client base and because of the things that our clients are saying about us, we can give [potential clients] the number of our current clients if they want to call or ask them about us. We're very legitimate from that view point (G2-P8).

The notion of legitimacy was brought up by second generation immigrants. G1 entrepreneurs did not mention this term and tend to refer instead to the notion of trust. This finding could be linked to the fact that business relationships in Lebanon are built and developed in less formalized ways, where oral communication is a prevalent way of transacting, and thus trust plays an important role in business development and operation. Another explanation could also be the type of business. Entrepreneurs do not need much legitimacy to open and run a corner store, but they need it in order to operate a security-based business for example.

I advertised my business in a Lebanese magazine – I targeted the Lebanese community first, because... it's a trust issue. If they trust you, they will accept you as part of the group, right? Placing that ad in the newspaper in English and Arabic, I got a lot of clients from the Lebanese community – in Montréal, the Lebanese community is huge. So when you're doing a good job, and they trust you, and they're like, "He's Lebanese, so he's one of us, do business with him"... You have common ground with your network and this enhances the trust when you want to do business with them (G1-P2).

The most important aspect in building your business connections is trust when I work with the Lebanese community. Back in Lebanon, we do not have official contracts, you call me to send you the stock, I say yes and I send it. It's very informal, that's why trust is extremely important. If a person isn't honest then they're out of business (G1-P7).

The legitimacy of your business is affected by what you're doing and who you've partnered with. For example our angel investor has a very successful company, in Ottawa. But the fact that he is successful; his experience and reputation really give us legitimacy: without knowing anything about us, clients will consider us legitimate (G2-P6).

Table6 presents the network's influence on opportunity recognition.

Table6. Network's influence on opportunity exploitation

	G1 entrepreneurs	G2 entrepreneurs
Role model	-Were encouraged to exploit opportunities by the successful entrepreneurs in their community	-Witnessed experiences and entrepreneurial processes from an insider point of view by seeing G1 entrepreneurs exploiting opportunities
Access to resources	-Had access to tangible and intangible resources through their networks, mainly the ethnic community	-Had access to tangible and intangible resources through their networks, ethnic and mainstream
Legitimacy and trust	-Did not mention legitimacy; rather concentrated on the notion of trust which is built informally	-Mentioned that their networks and contacts provided them with legitimacy and references

This section presented the opportunity exploitation strategies employed by G1 and G2 entrepreneurs. Both generations were seen to take incremental risks, however G1 entrepreneurs focused mainly on serving the ethnic community and G2 the mainstream Canadian market. Yet some G1 entrepreneurs were able to expand to the general market and sometimes G2 entrepreneurs were leveraging their Lebanese contacts. In all cases, networks were of great value and facilitated opportunity exploitation for both G1 and G2 entrepreneurs. Through their

contacts, they were able to find role models, emotional support, easier access to resources, and ensured that their businesses were legitimate and trusted.

4.4.4 Conceptual Models

In this section, through the grounded theory approach, I present the conceptual models that were derived from the analysis of the data.

Figure 1 summarizes the findings on enablers and obstacles: on the micro-level, enablers include internal drive, individual characteristics and support of networks and contacts which were common between both generations. However personal belief in God's guidance was exclusive to G1 entrepreneurs. Micro-level obstacles comprise integration obstacles and lack of knowledge of the Canadian system, language barriers, limited contacts and the double risk factor which limited the entrepreneurial activity of G1 entrepreneurs only. General business obstacles were experienced by participants from both generations. On the macro-level, some enablers were only mentioned by G1 entrepreneurs such as the stability of the host country and the Canadian legal system because their home country environment lacked these factors. This was unlike G2 entrepreneurs who take these elements for granted. The lack of recognition of previous qualifications and credit history were macro-level obstacles faced by G1 entrepreneurs. In addition both generations confronted discrimination, which affected their entrepreneurial activities.

Figure1. Model of Micro and Macro-level enablers and obstacles

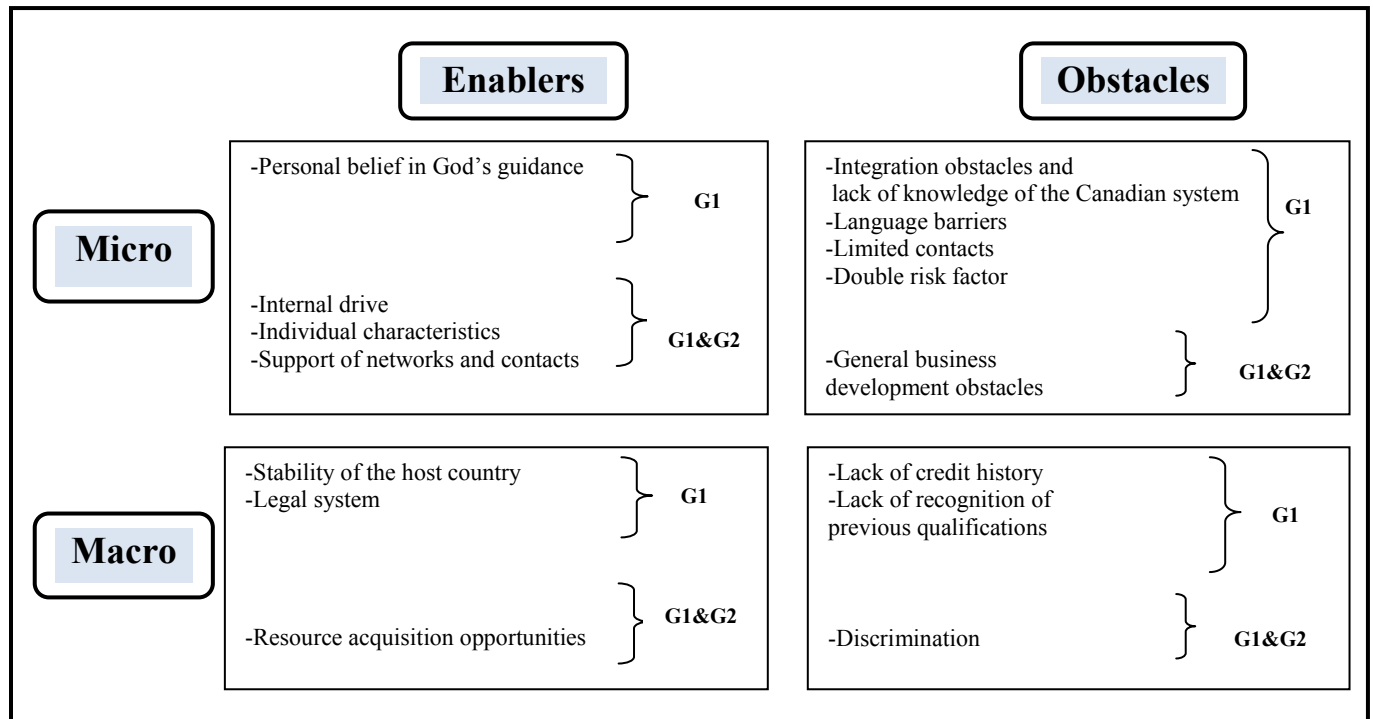
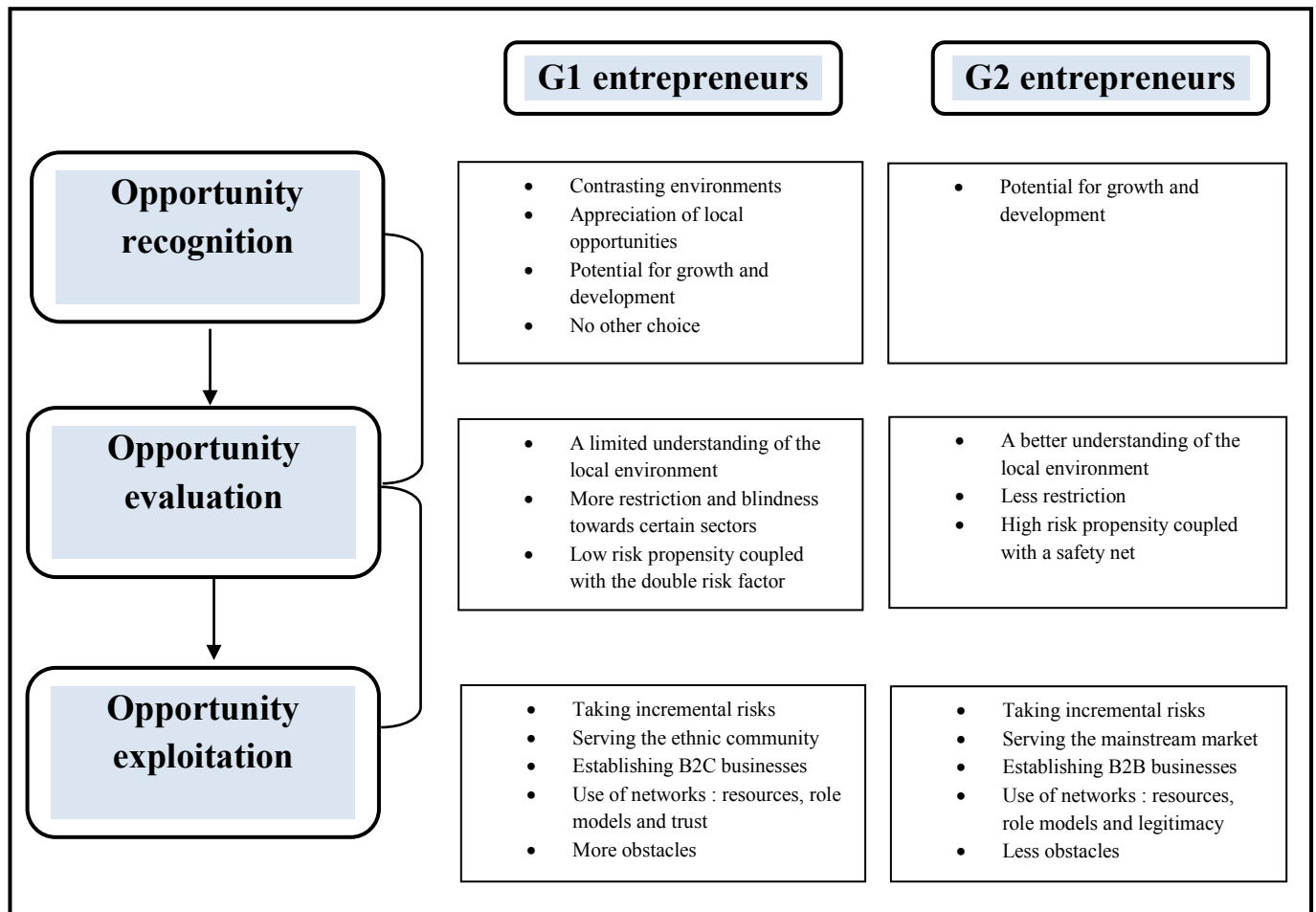


Figure2 provides a model showing the different stages of the entrepreneurial process experienced by G1 and G2 entrepreneurs. Situated at the top of the model, opportunity recognition was experienced differently by G1 and G2 entrepreneurs. G1 entrepreneurs were able to recognize opportunities through a contrast of environments, an appreciation of local opportunities, the potential for growth and development, or because they had no other choice. G2 entrepreneurs mentioned that they recognized opportunities because they were seeking growth and development. Opportunity evaluation comes next, towards which entrepreneurs had different attitudes and experiences. G1 entrepreneurs stated that they had a limited understanding of the local environment, more restriction and blindness of certain sectors and low risk propensity coupled with a double risk factor. This is unlike G2 entrepreneurs who had a better understanding of the local environment, less restriction and high risk propensity coupled

with a safety net. Finally opportunity exploitation was also different among the two generations: G1 entrepreneurs were taking incremental risks, serving the ethnic community, establishing B2C businesses, and using their networks to access resources, role models and gain trust. They also faced more obstacles than G2 entrepreneurs. G2 entrepreneurs also took incremental risks while exploiting opportunities; nevertheless they were concentrated on serving the mainstream market and establishing B2B businesses. Their networks provided them with an easier access to resources, role models and provided them with legitimacy. They also had fewer obstacles than G1 entrepreneurs.

Figure2. Model of the entrepreneurial process from the perspective of G1 and G2 entrepreneurs



In this section, I presented the findings derived from this study. The next section links the findings to the literature and discusses the underlying principles that lead to the distinctions in the recognition, evaluation and exploitation of the opportunities by G1 and G2 entrepreneurs.

5. Discussion

In this section, I will discuss the findings in the light of extant literature.

As discussed in the literature review section, researchers address obstacles, enablers and their influence on entrepreneurial processes when attempting to explain the variations amongst different groups of immigrant entrepreneurs (Teixeira, 2001). Later developments indicate that the entrepreneurial processes that immigrants engage in should not be perceived as mainly negative (blocked mobility) (Waldinger et al, 1990) or mainly positive (cultural thesis) (Zhou, 2004); rather they should be seen from mixed perspectives (Kloosterman, 2010). Both, the interactive model of ethnic business development and its variant, the mixed embeddedness framework, highlight the presence of four main elements that interact:

- 1) **Enablers** or cultural characteristics and ethnic resources and networks
- 2) **Obstacles** or disadvantages faced at the level of opportunity structures
- 3) **Micro-level components** consisting of the entrepreneur's experience (the individual level) and the characteristics of the local ethnic community such as the specific location of ethnic networks
- 4) **Macro-level components** or structures of the local economy and environment such as the politico-institutional factors

I will discuss how the findings related to micro and macro enablers and obstacles relate to the extant literature. Following this, I will use the concept of embeddedness to further deepen the discussion of the findings.

Enablers

The findings indicated the presence of both micro-level and macro-level enablers. The enablers experienced by first and second generation immigrant entrepreneurs were not identical. G1 entrepreneurs had reasons to engage in entrepreneurship that G2 did not experience, such as a “cause to struggle for” and “concern for family”. “Concern for family” is an example of cultural traditions and predispositions. This finding was consistent with the cultural thesis that mainly draws attention to cultural traditions and predispositions as enablers (Zhou, 2004). Volery (2007) highlights the importance of family. Immigrants consider family to be very important, a cultural trait that cannot be disputed (Volery, 2007). Another cultural predisposition that was among the findings of this study is the enabler “Personal belief in God’s guidance”. Participants were not originally asked about their personal beliefs, yet G1 entrepreneurs highlighted this enabler that facilitated their entrepreneurial processes. This was a clear distinction between G1 and G2 entrepreneurs. G1 entrepreneurs’ identification with the ethnic culture that promotes traditions of caring for family and religious practices influenced how they experienced the entrepreneurial process.

“Support of networks and contacts” was a micro enabler experienced by both G1 and G2 entrepreneurs. G1 entrepreneurs built an ethnic network that supported them, and established businesses serving the ethnic niche markets. G2 entrepreneurs relied mainly on the mainstream network and established businesses that serve the mainstream market. The entrepreneurial enablers and choices made by these two generations of immigrant entrepreneurs reflected their embeddedness in different milieu, G1 entrepreneurs were embedded in their ethnic networks and

G2 entrepreneurs were embedded in the mainstream market and environment (Rusinovic, 2008a). The findings of this study are consistent with the long-standing argument that social capital provides access to resources: immigrant entrepreneurs with higher social capital with the ethnic community tend to have greater access to ethnic resources (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990; Waldinger et al., 1990; Teixeira 2001) which was the case of G1 entrepreneurs who were getting referrals and clients based on their ethnic network of family and friends. In contrast, G2 entrepreneurs tend to have higher social capital outside the ethnic community. Their embeddedness in the mainstream environment implied greater access to resources in the mainstream society.

On the macro-level, when entrepreneurs were asked about the enablers that facilitated their venture creation, only G1 entrepreneurs referred to “stability of the host country” and appreciated the simple “legal transactions” and the “free financial advice”, enablers that G2 did not refer to. G1 entrepreneurs were able to appreciate these opportunities considering that they were outsiders to the local environment, however G2 entrepreneurs took these opportunities for granted. These two groups of entrepreneurs had different frames of reference to interpret the environment and the entrepreneurial process (Kirzner, 1973; Rusinovic, 2006). In fact, this observation is consistent with Shane and Venkataraman (2000) who explained that prior information possessed by entrepreneurs affects how they perceive new opportunities and advanced that “an entrepreneur has to have prior information that is complementary with the new information, which triggers an entrepreneurial conjecture” (Shane and Venkataraman, 2000, p.222). And also with Drucker (1985) who thought that entrepreneurs become more sensible to spotting opportunities when their location changes due to information asymmetries. Obstacles

A major finding related to obstacles was the dominance of micro-level obstacles faced by G1 entrepreneurs. G1 entrepreneurs faced “language barriers” and “integration obstacles” (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990) unlike G2 entrepreneurs who mainly faced “traditional business development obstacles” that fall outside of the experience of immigrant entrepreneurship and can be faced by any entrepreneur (Beckers and Blumberg, 2013). In addition, participants spoke about the “double risk factor” – the risk of immigrating and integrating into a new environment and the risk related to the process of starting and operating a business – that was only experienced by G1 entrepreneurs. Extant literature has not given much attention to this notion. G2 entrepreneurs did not face the risk of moving and integrating into a new environment. They

spoke of a “safety net” consisting of a well established network, local education and experience, and easier access to resources.

Further, the traditional view in the blocked mobility theory that immigrant entrepreneurs engage in entrepreneurship as the only alternative to poorly paid jobs in the market (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990; Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward, 1990) was not greatly supported by the findings of this study. This holds true, not only among second generation immigrant entrepreneurs who had strong human and social capital and were not searching for alternatives, but also for first generation immigrant entrepreneurs, the majority of whom engaged in entrepreneurship in order to pursue opportunities and seek growth and development (Rusinovic, 2006). With the exception of two entrepreneurs who mentioned that they had no other choice but to start their businesses, G1 entrepreneurs were motivated by growth and development. The two exceptions could be explained by the participants’ view of their situation. They faced the obstacle of “lack of recognition of previous qualifications” and considered themselves “too old” to acquire new skills and credentials in the host country. Therefore, unlike the belief that G1 entrepreneurs engage in entrepreneurship as the only alternative to blocked mobility and poorly paid jobs in the market, this study found that they pursue opportunities and seek potential for growth and development.

Moreover, the findings also indicate that entrepreneurs who had more knowledge and were more embedded in the local environment of the host country faced less challenges in their entrepreneurial process (Kloosterman et al., 1999). The literature indicates that the extent to

which an individual is embedded in the local social structure has an impact on his/her economic actions (Granovetter, 1985; Uzzi, 1997; Jack and Anderson, 2002; Jack, 2010).

G1 entrepreneurs were less embedded in the Canadian structure and mentioned facing additional micro-level obstacles related to integration in the new society such as “language barriers”, “loss of previous qualifications”, “lack of credit history and local knowledge”, and a “limited network”. G2 entrepreneurs face fewer challenges in their entrepreneurial process in view of their strong embeddedness in the local environment of the host country (Razin, 2002).

It was stated earlier that G2 entrepreneurs show the same characteristics as native born entrepreneurs in terms of not facing micro-level obstacles related to their identity as immigrants. However both groups of immigrant entrepreneurs face the macro-level obstacle of “discrimination”. This is where the distinction between micro-level and macro-level yielded different conclusions for the entrepreneurial experiences. G2 entrepreneurs spoke about facing discrimination in both social and professional contexts because they have physical characteristics that differentiate them from the mainstream population. Thus, on the macro-level G2 entrepreneurs faced discrimination, an element that distinguishes them from native born entrepreneurs (Teixeira, 2001).

The entrepreneurial process

Storey (1994) suggested that entrepreneurs recognize opportunities and start their businesses in the same field in which they had acquired previous experience, however in this study, seven out of ten G1 entrepreneurs did not start their businesses in the same field compared to one out of ten G2 entrepreneurs. This suggests that when moving to a new country G1 entrepreneurs lose

their previous qualifications, networks and resources making it difficult for them to continue doing what they were doing in the country of origin, so they recognize opportunities and start businesses in different fields to what they were used to (Jack and Anderson, 2002). For example, G1-P7 worked as a banker in Lebanon but after coming to Canada, was not able to work in his field, and had to start businesses in other fields. G2 entrepreneurs acquire human capital (education, skills, and professional experience) in the host country so they start their entrepreneurial journey in the same field as earlier employment. They recognize opportunities in the same field. The embeddedness framework helps explain this observation. G2 entrepreneurs are embedded in the Canadian environment; they are able to recognize opportunities and start their entrepreneurial journey in the local context, which makes their entrepreneurial process easier than G1 entrepreneurs (Jack, 2010).

The businesses established by G1 entrepreneurs were mainly B2C, where every person in their ethnic network is a potential client. They were able to understand the needs of their counterparts and hence were able to satisfy these customers (Zhou, 2004; Valdez, 2008). G2 entrepreneurs established businesses that were mainly of a B2B nature and served mainly the local mainstream market because of their ability to build professional networks with mainstream organizations. These results confirm those reported by Rusinovic (2008a) whose study showed that G2 entrepreneurs break from the ethnic market and serve the mainstream market. In addition, Baycan et al. (2012)'s findings noted that second generation immigrants are seen in non-traditional sectors such as IT, Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate. This is consistent with my findings.

Embeddedness

Embeddedness is identified as “the nature, depth and extent of an individual’s ties into the environment” (Jack and Anderson, 2010, p.468). Since entrepreneurship is seen as the creation of value from the environment, then being embedded in the environment will have positive influence on the entrepreneurial process (Jack and Anderson, 2002; Jack, 2010). But an important question is: embeddedness in which context or environment? We can conceptualize embeddedness in terms of the ethnic community and in terms of the mainstream society.

This division of the environment was empirically grounded in the data and theoretically supported by the notion of mixed embeddedness presented by Kloosterman et al. (1999) who emphasized that businesses established by immigrants are embedded in both the ethnic network and the external political and institutional context of the country of settlement. According to the mixed embeddedness framework, entrepreneurial processes should be explored in the context of markets and opportunity structures at different levels (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001).

Embeddedness as process over time

The concept of mixed embeddedness is used “to understand the socio-economic position of immigrant entrepreneurs by taking into account not only their rather concrete embeddedness in social networks of immigrants but also their more abstract embeddedness in the socio-economic and politico-institutional environment of the country of settlement” (Kloosterman and Rath,

2001, p.190). Political–institutional factors are defined by the existing national rules and legislation, institutions and laws that enable or hamper businesses start-ups and development (Kloosterman 2010). Credit history for example is a national rule that hindered the entrepreneurial process of G1 entrepreneurs.

The findings show that G1 entrepreneurs built ethnic networks and received support from their local ethnic community (Zhou, 2004). They faced micro-level obstacles related to their identity as immigrants such as “integration obstacles” and “language barriers” and macro-level obstacles such as “lack of credit history” and “lack of recognition of previous qualifications” (Waldinger et al, 1990). The obstacles were imposed by the political and institutional context of the host country (macro-level) (Kloosterman, 2010). However, their network provided access to resources and information and helped mitigate the micro-level obstacles. For example, through the ethnic community that provided easier access to information, the obstacle of “lack of knowledge of the Canadian system” was seen to be less relevant. It is said that relationships between ethnic business entrepreneurs include a common consent of reciprocity and exceed just a contract monetary relationship (Granovetter 1985; Zhou, 2004). The essential factor for successful business interaction is “face-to-face informal social interaction” that is more flexible, unconditional and less costly than legalistic formality (Jones and Ram, 2007, p.442). More precisely, “most behavior is closely embedded in networks of interpersonal relations” (Granovetter, 1985, p.504). Embeddedness in the ethnic community provided new information and resources and activated both economic value and social value (Granovetter, 1985; Jack and Anderson, 2002); embeddedness in the host country environment was not their strong point.

Thus, G1 entrepreneurs are by default more embedded in their ethnic networks (micro-level) and less embedded in the political and institutional context of the mainstream society (macro-level).

Even though G1 entrepreneurs were less embedded than G2 entrepreneurs in the macro environment of the host country, “the notion of embedding was seen as process over time” (Jack and Anderson, 2002, p.477). G1 entrepreneurs who lived in Canada for over twenty years started to be embedded in the local structure and faced less challenges. For example, after establishing and developing a strong ethnic network, the obstacle of limited contacts was transformed into an enabler that facilitates the entrepreneurial process instead of hindering it, as G1-P6 noted. Moreover, some G1 entrepreneurs, after spending a significant time in the Canadian society, were able to break out from the ethnic niche market and to start serving the mainstream market (Rusinovic, 2008a). But this is only the case when G1 entrepreneurs felt integrated and embedded in the Canadian society and hence understood the Canadian market and trends. An example is G1-P8, who established a restaurant serving the Canadian market after spending twenty years in Canada. Although G1 entrepreneurs’ early embeddedness tends to be in the ethnic community, it transitions to a mixed embeddedness over time, allowing the entrepreneurs to experience both benefits.

Beckers and Blumberg (2013) reported that “entrepreneurs need to possess higher levels of education as well as business and country-specific skills to access attractive markets with better growth perspectives and higher profit margins, such as the high-tech sector or business services” (Beckers and Blumberg, 2013, p.660). This was indeed the case of G2 entrepreneurs in this study. They were also more aware than G1 entrepreneurs of the local market needs and trends

(Zhou, 2004). They faced general entrepreneurship obstacles that were common to native born individuals (Rusinovic, 2006). The only obstacle that was related to their ethnic identity as immigrants was discrimination. In comparison to G1 entrepreneurs, G2 entrepreneurs are more embedded in the mainstream society and thus have a better understanding of, and alignment with, the socio-economic politico-institutional environment in Canada (macro-level) (Razin, 2002). However, the notion of mixed embeddedness underlines the importance of social networks as an essential support mechanism of business life (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001; Jones and Ram, 2007; Valdez, 2008). G2 entrepreneurs did not place great importance on their ethnic networks, but they did utilize these contacts occasionally. The mixed embeddedness offered them more opportunities, not unlike G1 entrepreneurs who had spent more time in Canada and were able to leverage knowledge and connections in both the ethnic and mainstream market (Kloosterman et al., 1999).

Furthermore mixed embeddedness highlights the impact of specific economic milieu on immigrant entrepreneurship (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001; Razin, 2002). As Kloosterman and Rath (2001) advanced, mixed embeddedness should be studied while analyzing the situation and the opportunity structures from a three level approach: on the national level, on the regional level and on the neighborhood level. On the national level, this study reported on obstacles and enablers that were specific to Canada. For example, the resource acquisitions opportunities offered by the Canadian government would be different and not applicable if the context changes (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001). Lack of credit history or not acknowledging previous qualifications would vary depending on the host country standards and requirements. These obstacles and enablers found on the national level certainly affected the opportunity structure

that immigrant entrepreneurs were able to embrace (Kloosterman et al, 1999). Secondly, regional differences were also noted in this study between Quebec and Ontario especially in terms of discrimination. Participants from Quebec experienced more discrimination than participants from Ontario. Due to these experiences, some participants had to bring locals from Quebec in order to ensure successful business transactions, an obstacle that clearly affects the entrepreneurial process. At the neighborhood level, participants who were living in neighborhoods where there was a strong ethnic concentration felt more integrated and embedded in the ethnic community compared to those who were far from these congregations (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001; Teixeira, 2001). As it was seen in this study, G1 entrepreneurs who were tied up to an environment around ethnic congregations built their networks around the ethnic community and utilized ethnic resources. However, G1 entrepreneurs who were situated in regions far from ethnic congregations found more difficulties in building their ethnic network and did not have a sense of belonging to their local network either.

Beckers and Blumberg (2013) did not find clear support that the improved integration of second generation immigrants makes them more successful in business than the first generation immigrants. Their conclusion is contrary to the study conducted by Rusinovic (2006), based on 70 firms, that found the share of surviving firms considerably higher for the second generation than for the first generation. This study cannot make such inferences, because it does not focus on the performance, or business success, or rate of survival of immigrant businesses, it addresses how G1 and G2 entrepreneurs experience the entrepreneurial processes. Based on the reported experiences, one can say that the better integration of the second generation in the host society facilitated the entrepreneurial process experienced by these entrepreneurs.

6. Conclusion

In this section, I summarize the contributions of this research to the body of knowledge on the entrepreneurial process experienced by first and second generation immigrant entrepreneurs and present implications for practice. I also review the limitations of this study and the possibilities for future research to carry the findings forward.

6.1 Contributions

This study has analyzed data from a qualitative study using in-depth interviews to understand the entrepreneurial process from the perspective of first and second generation immigrant entrepreneurs in Canada. Unlike previous studies of ethnic entrepreneurship that have focused on first generation immigrants, this study attends to second generation immigrants and compared their experiences with those of the first generation counterparts. Further, there has been recently a strong recommendation to bridge across macro and micro-levels (Razin 2002; Kloosterman, 2010) by integrating individual level dynamics referring to the agent or the entrepreneur and institutional level dynamics presented by the environmental context (Jack, 2010). Unlike most studies on entrepreneurial processes that consider the entrepreneur in isolation and emphasize the micro-level of analysis, the present study integrates the macro-level.

In addition, studies on generational differences focus on differences between first and second generation entrepreneurs that denote a business succession from the first generation to the

second. However, this study focuses on first generation immigrants and second generation immigrants who establish their businesses independently (Rusinovic, 2008a; Rusinovic, 2008b). In this study we sought to refine and extend theory by undertaking a multi-level analysis and exploring the differences between first generation immigrant entrepreneurs and second generation immigrant entrepreneurs. I have shown that they recognized, evaluated and exploited opportunities differently. I have also provided two models grounded in the data and derived from the participants' experiences to conceptualize the entrepreneurial process from the perspective of different generations of immigrant entrepreneurs. The first model shows the obstacles and enablers that were experienced differently or similarly by the two groups. The second model is an integrative model of three stages in the entrepreneurial process as experienced by each of the two groups of entrepreneurs.

Specifically, I have contributed to an understanding of the entrepreneurial process from the perspective of different generations of immigrant entrepreneurs by exploring a range of similarities and differences that emerged from the data as summarized below:

G1 entrepreneurs are more tied to their cultural traditions and predispositions and show stronger identification with the ethnic community than G2 entrepreneurs. They are more embedded in their ethnic community, which affects the venture strategies they pursue. Unlike the traditional belief that G1 entrepreneurs engage in entrepreneurship as the alternative to blocked mobility and poorly paid jobs in the market, I found that they pursue opportunities and seek potential for growth and development. They have higher social capital with the ethnic community, which provides them with access to ethnic resources. In addition, they appreciate the macro-level opportunities to a higher extent, considering that they were outsiders to the local environment,

compared to G2 entrepreneurs who take them for granted. G1 entrepreneurs are the only group of immigrants confronted with the double risk factor (the risks of immigration and integration and the risks of starting and operating a business), unlike G2 entrepreneurs who face a single risk. G2 entrepreneurs show similar characteristics to native born entrepreneurs; they do not face micro-level obstacles related to their identity as immigrants. Despite the fact that they face fewer challenges in their entrepreneurial process in view of their strong embeddedness in the mainstream society, on the macro-level, G2 entrepreneurs faced discrimination, an element that distinguishes them from native born individuals. Since G2 entrepreneurs are more embedded in the Canadian environment, they are able to start their entrepreneurial journey and recognize opportunities in the mainstream market and environment, which makes their entrepreneurial process easier compared to G1 entrepreneurs' process. Unlike G1 entrepreneurs, G2 entrepreneurs establish B2B businesses that serve mainly the local mainstream market because of their ability to build professional networks with mainstream organizations. Although G1 entrepreneurs' are strongly embedded in the ethnic community and network, this embeddedness tends to develop into mixed embeddedness over time. G2 entrepreneurs in contrast are strongly embedded in the host country, but tend to interact as well with the ethnic network.

6.2 Implications for practice

A number of practical considerations can be drawn from this study. The models provided show the enablers and obstacles that the two generations of entrepreneurs might face and address the experience of the entrepreneurial process. Careful consideration of these models would allow to-be entrepreneurs to be prepared for what might lie ahead and to take appropriate measures to

mitigate potential obstacles and capitalize on potential enablers. Although the sample consisted of Lebanese immigrant entrepreneurs, findings may also be applied to other nationalities of immigrants in Canada who face similar experiences. It may also provide them with an exploratory model through which they can examine the entrepreneurial process in their own setting. For policy makers, this research can be used to enrich their knowledge of entrepreneurship practices and experiences of different generations. Policies that encourage and facilitate the development of social capital by immigrant entrepreneurs could be beneficial in encouraging the establishment of new ventures, such as organizing networking events that introduce the prospective immigrant entrepreneur to other successful entrepreneurs in order to interact and share experiences and best practices.

6.3 Limitations

This study has limitations. First, the findings were based on data collected from Lebanese immigrant entrepreneurs and generalisability is constrained. However, the findings should be evaluated on the basis of transferability to other settings with similar contexts (Creswell, 2013) and serve to build, not test, theory (Eisenhardt, 1989). I have tried to facilitate this transferability by providing thick contextual descriptions of the participants' backgrounds and social contexts.

Some limits to transferability should be considered. It is possible that other Lebanese individuals arriving to Canada under other immigration programs, such as the entrepreneur start-up visa program (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2014), would have more financial means and might invest more in marketing to promote their businesses and find clients, which grants them

an extra advantage. Financial resources also allow them to move faster in acquiring credit history by depositing a certain amount of money in financial institutions as collateral for credit. Therefore financial means and resources may mitigate some of the obstacles faced by G1 entrepreneurs.

Moreover, reflecting on the notion of transferability to other ethnic groups, other populations of immigrant entrepreneurs might have similar or different entrepreneurial experiences depending on their cultural distance from the host country Canada. For example, British or French immigrants might face fewer obstacles than Lebanese immigrants because of their languages and cultural proximity to Canada. This would be unlike Caribbean populations who might face more obstacles considering that their language and cultural distance is greater. This reflection is consistent with Teixeira's findings (2001) on Portuguese and Black individuals from a Caribbean background in Toronto where Black entrepreneurs faced more barriers in starting and operating their businesses especially when they were seeking loans and financial resources.

Second, the data collection was limited to a relatively small sample size: twenty interviews. Nevertheless, because the sample size was fairly small, I was able to conduct an in-depth analysis of interviews which has allowed me to add further depth to the findings. Third, this research does not provide an exhaustive examination of the entrepreneurial process but it identifies salient themes in intergenerational experience. Furthermore, the sample included a gender specific limitation: only three women entrepreneurs participated in this study. However, the limited number of women is most likely indicative of the characteristics of the Lebanese community where the majority of entrepreneurs are men.

6.4 Future Research

My research explores the entrepreneurial process from the perspective of different generations of Lebanese immigrant entrepreneurs. As a next step, it would be helpful to validate my conceptual models by conducting studies with entrepreneurs in a variety of contexts to assess and refine my representation of the entrepreneurial process. For example it would be important to explore this model by studying other ethnic communities in Canada. In addition, gender specific issues were reported by female participants, but given the small frequency of women, I was not able to highlight these observations and experiences. A key issue that future research could pursue is seeking to understand the experiences of women immigrant entrepreneurs and their challenges.

In conclusion, as immigrant entrepreneurship continues to influence Western economies, the subject of generational differences will continue to arouse the interest of researchers. Although studies exploring this topic turned attention to second generation immigrant entrepreneurs, they have been ignored for a long period of time. It is my hope that this study will stimulate further research into the subject of generational differences. So, “are they really different?” Yes they are. First and second generation immigrant entrepreneurs should not be treated as one entity considering that each group experienced different enablers and obstacles that shaped their entrepreneurial processes and experiences differently.

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Appendix A: Interview protocol

We will first start with questions concerning the immigration process and experience and then move to the process of establishing your business.

- 1) Can you tell me about your background: education, parents ...

- 2) How old were you when you first immigrated to Canada? How long have you been in Canada?

- 3) What motivated you to immigrate to Canada? Or what motivated your parents to immigrate to Canada?

- 4) How well integrated do you feel within the Canadian society? What factors facilitated your integration? Did you ever experience stereotypes/racism as an immigrant? To what extent are you tied up to the local environment?

- 5) Did you face risks in moving to a new country? If, so, what were they? What about the risk of starting your business?

- 6) How long has your business been established in Canada? What kind of business do you own? What motivated you to start your company?

- 7) Could you take me back to the early stages of your business creation, how did you discover the opportunity? What did you do to exploit it? Can you describe to me the detailed step-by-step process for establishing your company?
If you were a 1st/2nd generation would this process be different?

- 8) Think about a list of enablers that you faced along this process, what would your list include? Do you think that the other generation has different enablers? Can you give me an example?

9) We talked about the enablers that you faced. I now want to ask you about the obstacles that hindered your venture creation. Do you think that the 1st/2nd generation faces different obstacles? Can you give me an example?

10) We're about half way through the interview now and from my point of view, it's going very well. How is it going for you?

11) While planning out and starting your business, did you seek 1) advice 2) financing 3) resources from any sources external to your business? Are you aware of the services provided by the government?

12) Were these sources mainstream Canadian support? Did you seek/find help or support within your own ethnic group? Please explain.

13) Which individuals make up your primary clientele/market? What about your suppliers and other partners? (Lebanese/Canadians or other nationalities)

14) Do you think that your network and contacts are directly related to your identity as a 1st/2nd generation?

15) Do you think that your location affects your business? If so, how?

16) Is the entrepreneurial process experienced by the first generation of immigrant entrepreneurs really different from the process of second generation immigrant entrepreneurs? If yes, what are the differences?

17) Do you think that being a 1st/2nd generation entrepreneur helped in shaping your process differently than any other 1st/2nd generation entrepreneur? If so, in what ways?

18) I asked you in the previous question about your personal opinion based on your personal experience. Considering other immigrant entrepreneurs that you know and their experience, do first and second generation immigrant entrepreneurs experience different entrepreneurial processes?

19) Suppose I was a new Lebanese immigrant entrepreneur and I wanted to establish my own company in a successful way what would you tell me?

20) What should I have asked you that I didn't think to ask?