

Entrepreneurship in immigrant communities: the case of ethnic enclaves

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Entrepreneurship in Immigrant Communities: The Case of Ethnic Enclaves

SUMMARY OF DISSERTATION

Ethnic ties among immigrants not only promotes enabling business environment for immigrant ventures individually, but also gradually molds extended ethnic enclaves facilitating enhanced community resources for immigrant entrepreneurs collectively. Though the enterprising/economic orientations around ethnic enclaves are held on a higher note in existing entrepreneurship literatures, focus on underlying social/community dynamics embedded with and revolving around ethnic enclaves remains much lesser. To contribute in this crucial yet under-researched arena, drawing on contemporary research streams and deconstructing the dominating discourses, this research firstly develops the community-centric integrated model maintaining the interplay of informal social factors and enterprising ethnic actors critically fostering ethnic enclaves in the context of ethnographic case study of enterprising Bangladeshi diaspora in Roma Termini, Italy. Herein, informality heavily characterizes the immigrant entrepreneurship's community protocols feeding and fostering the ethnic enclaves sustainably through the social mechanisms of – social subscriptions, social timings, social supply chain and social investments.

As global interests and attention in immigrant entrepreneurship have predominantly tilted toward economic priorities, nonetheless its socio-economic mixture remains the foundational epitome on which enterprising ethnic enclave stands, strives, surrounds, saturate and spills over, also opportunities are matched with resources in-and-out. Herein, not only the social embeddedness of migrant entrepreneurship is crucial, but also the overarching social process that embeds ethnic identities and translates enclaves into extended economic territory is critical. To demystify this

transitional process of ethnic enclaves embedded within at length and in depth, this research secondly pursues another qualitative study anchored in theory building inductive process and grounded theory approach narrating the gradual emergence and expansion context of ethnic enterprising ‘Bangla-town’ in Rome, Italy. In doing so, it reports on ethnic enclave’s gradual embedded social process of ‘community’ turning into ‘titled town’ through three interconnected dynamic and dual phases of: (a) intra-interlacing, (b) intra-intermingling, and (c) intra-interoperating, where “extent of embeddedness” by degrees identifies and solidifies both emergence and expansion of “enclave entrepreneurship”, departed from “ethnic entrepreneurship”, with due socio-economic significance. Thus, the research also contributes to multi-player, multi-sectoral & multi-layered collaborative procedural understanding of ethnic enclaves in contemporary entrepreneurship.

Overall, the research expands the entrepreneurial economic scope of Community-based Enterprise (CBE) theory defining and delineating the surrounding societal scene inseparable from economic scene. Alongside, it also captures the expanding nature of socio-economic exchanges of Knowledge Spillover theory of Entrepreneurship (KSTE) developing the social conditions of spilling over of economic expertise. It furthermore strengthens Social Embeddedness theory matching enterprising actors with gradually extending and expanding structures, determining transitional tipping points for the extent of social embeddedness with extensions of functionality and familiarity. Resolving past tensions, thus the research shifts the conversation from ethnicity, ethnic enclave, and ethnic entrepreneurship to the very notion of enclave dynamics and enclave entrepreneurship. This point of departure warrants future research to tilt toward addressing emerging tensions inside the domain of enclave dynamics blended with organizational dynamics.

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Entrepreneurship in Immigrant Communities: Prelude to Ethnic Enclaves

The flourishing and fostering of entrepreneurs at community levels result in community-based enterprises rooted in informal social networks, contributory to sustainable local development, and inseparable from global economic considerations (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). One core subset of this community entrepreneurship revolves around the diasporic immigrant critical mass concentrated on ethnic enclaves that at one end diversifies the local economy on novel means of productivity and affordability; on the other hand it provides potential disruptive strategies to outperform traditional markets giving rise to paradoxes and disruptions (Braymen & Neymotin, 2014; Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013; Chand & Ghorbani, 2011; Ndofor & Priem, 2011; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Selsky & Smith, 1994). Being integral and indivisible from nationwide economic activities, this paradoxical cluster of nested economy within national economy however invites academic debates on the separate “ethnic enclave economy” implying as a minority homogenous business sector coexisting with the general economy concurrently (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Razin & Scheinberg, 2001; Werbner, 2001; Light et al., 1994; Model, 1985). With an array of paradoxes across the board, ranging from global to local, formal to informal, big to small firms, native to immigrant entrepreneurs, economic to social capital, traditional to innovative strategies – all in all entrepreneurship at community level advances with due significance as more and more local entrepreneurial activities develop around the world.

Accordingly, structures and processes of community entrepreneurship are heavily motivated firstly with local level interactions among the entrepreneurs themselves, and secondly with the local institutions resulting in both informal information exchanges and skills generation with common community purpose (Parkinson et al., 2017; Farmer et al., 2016; Fortunato & McLaughlin, 2012).

This whole two-fold process also delineates the community behavior in and around community entrepreneurship broadening community's interactive and participatory capacities (Fortunato & McLaughlin, 2012; Torimiro & Dionco-Adetayo, 2005). Again, local depleted communities which are interestingly emerging as areas for entrepreneurial avenues with community goals trickle down to informal community contexts rendering alternative and extended means of enterprising possibilities and diversified extensions in local economies (Thompson et al., 2012; Johnstone & Lionais, 2004). In this setting, communities often also adopt key organizational capabilities for coping with multifaceted hazards (Gray et al., 2014; Magis, 2010), and entrepreneurship through local mobilization revitalizes such declining communities globally (Asmit & Koesrindartoto, 2015; Spilling, 2011). This process of entrepreneurship is about managing personal networks and solidarity that enable the community entrepreneurs to take up the responsibility of the local communities (Lumpkin et al., 2018; Spilling, 2011; Selsky & Smith, 1994).

With regards to entrepreneurial actions undertaken by immigrant entrepreneurs in poor communities, this creates higher values for the community customers compared to external business actors forming a unique community level exchange system (Braymen & Neymotin, 2014; Viswanathan et al., 2014). These informally embedded community systems and interactions lay the foundation of the "informal economy" in subsistence community economies (Viswanathan et al., 2014; Handy et al., 2011), with the process of "entrepreneurization" of local communities fostering the creation of entrepreneurial cultures and communitarian informal structures (Marti et al., 2013). Process of entrepreneurization constructs the sense of community entrepreneurship together with business relationships within the community beset with interactions with surrounding stakeholders (Marti et al., 2013; Gibson, 2012). Herein members of the community constantly participate in their capacity development to further adopt entrepreneurial initiatives in order to

stabilize, streamline and sustain the structure of their communities to extend and expand the boundaries of entrepreneurship (Viswanathan et al., 2014; Marti et al., 2013; Mair & Cardenas, 2012).

In doing so, corporate business communications minded behavior in entrepreneurial communities and local business networks tend to remain significant through friendly business events impacting both informal and local markets similar to formal business (Guercini & Ranfagni, 2016). Likewise, business education, training and capacity development of the community entrepreneurs tend to follow the similar path of organizational learning in an informal context and commitment, boosting up immense amount of business activities locally (Carbonell et al., 2014). Again, social cohesion inside the community implies better and stronger enterprising business cultures, testifying that a cohesive community enhances the entrepreneurial confidence and actions of community entrepreneurs (Hamby et al., 2017; Heinze et al., 2016; Huggins & Thompson, 2012). This intersection of “social places” and “economic places” amidst same entrepreneurial communities stimulates the holistic business network widening the entrepreneurial capacity of the communities by degrees. Furthermore, these community factors not only positively determine entrepreneurial processes locally, but also tend to develop a bridge between entrepreneurial actors and other community members informally (Hindle, 2010). Thus community cultural properties also act as informal local economic development mechanisms to reinforce community entrepreneurship (Marti et al., 2013; Huggins & Thompson, 2012).

While the significance of informal institutions is an existent reference point in organizational literatures, focus on community level organizational culture affecting local entrepreneurship requires much attention (Lumpkin et al., 2018; Valchovska & Watts, 2016; Hopp & Stephan, 2012;

Lyons et al., 2012). This is due to the fact that studies have already supported the notion of community-level culture impacting the entrepreneurial self-efficacy and entrepreneurial motivation resulting in local venture emergence (Hopp & Stephan, 2012; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). This embeddedness of entrepreneurial behavior is therefore by multifaceted means predominantly an asset to the local community context requiring of delving deeper into concrete insights (Valchovska & Watts, 2016; Braymen & Neymotin, 2014; Lyons et al., 2012). Particularly, this is important and interesting to understand the coordination and operational patterns of immigrant entrepreneurship taking place into diaspora community contexts concentrated on ethnic enclaves surrounded by informally embedded protocols and processes – which will altogether constructively contribute to the domain of entrepreneurship literatures which have been ignoring the discourse of informal ethnic organizing at a tightly knit community level organizational culture affecting local entrepreneurship dynamics (Braymen & Neymotin, 2014; Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013; Legros et al., 2013; Chand & Ghorbani, 2011; Ndofor & Priem, 2011; Mui et al., 2007; Zhou, 2004; Kim, 2003). To understand this phenomenon, building on immigrant research streams while delving deeper into the informal ethnic context can decipher the underlying subplots searchingly.

Relevantly to reiterate that, necessary research in such grounds, particularly in the context of ontological and epistemological standpoints, shall be approached from a social constructionist (relativist) perspective where the community immigrant entrepreneurs develop their intensions and actions depending on their own ethnic enclaves in relation to their informal organizational set-ups. While theorizing, generalizing the gained theoretical insights shall be blended to the contemporary theoretical discussions on entrepreneurship literatures contributing to enlargement of the scope, resolving past tensions, and shifting the conversation possibly to a new argument on ethnic enclaves with due significance.

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Paper 1.

**Entrepreneurship in Immigrant
Communities: Streams in Ethnic
Enclaves**

Entrepreneurship in Immigrant Communities: Streams in Ethnic Enclaves

ABSTRACT

From rhetoric to reality, ethnic immigrant entrepreneurship is an ever evolving and refreshing phenomenon both for the researchers and practitioners alike. Studying immigrant entrepreneurship in settings where prevailing assumptions do not apply, then it is incumbent to develop new theories, models, and frameworks based on new insights and contexts. As there is a shortage in theory-building and qualitative studies to enlarge the scientific knowledge on immigrant entrepreneurship, same is the essentiality to pinpoint the state-of-the-art holistically. In this context, ethnic immigrant minority firms are apparently detached from mainstream business, this distancing due to detachment renders inaccessibility to understand the deeply developing dynamics inside nested bubbles of migrant businesses, requiring of more meaningful and engaged scholarship. Better engagement is possible when adopting a holistic image, otherwise the unknown senses and tensions around informality is missed out substantially. Extracting that much of sense and substance from ethnic immigrant entrepreneurship research and contexts, the power of mapping the emerging streams at one hand, and the power of deconstructing the dominating discourses on the other hand is aptly captured and capitalized. Furthering “new themes” for “new times” based on new-fangled diaspora contexts and evolving ethnic circumstances, this analytic research enquiry outputs the intellectual structure of immigrant entrepreneurship critically grounded on contemporary discourses, directions, dimensions, and dynamics as emerged from the state-of-the-art.

Keywords:

Ethnic Enclaves, Immigrant Entrepreneurship, Research Streams

INTRODUCTION

Older generations of diasporic, migrant, and ethnic families are well recognized, as they built their own ethnic communities in different parts of the city and, the city as a whole. Most of these communities and neighborhood businesses have preserved their ethnic heritage and entrepreneurial characters and add profound richness to the sociocultural and economic life of the city. These ethnic communities and their entrepreneurial businesses have thrived over the past three-and-a-half centuries, and they have transformed from ethnic, and possibly initially informal, to successful family businesses that are held and managed by later generations with exceeding dynamism and vibrancy (Ramadani et al., 2019, pp. xv).

From rhetoric to reality, ethnic immigrant entrepreneurship is an ever evolving and refreshing phenomenon both for the researchers and practitioners alike. Peredo and Chrisman (2006) suggested that when studying community entrepreneurship in settings where prevailing assumptions do not apply, then it is incumbent to develop new theories, models, and frameworks based on new insights and contexts. Suddaby et al. (2011) further strengthened the argument to scope out new avenues of organizational research involving amended and blended contexts like entrepreneurship to imbue novelty, creativity and continuity. Aliaga-Isla and Rialp (2013) have also meticulously pinpointed that there is a shortage in theory-building and qualitative studies to enlarge the scientific knowledge on immigrant entrepreneurship. Aiming at enrichment, entrepreneurship hence seems and needs more moving outwards to engage with other social science disciplines like the sociological construct of ethnic enclaves (Jennings et al., 2013).

In pursuit of newness and adding concrete value to the body of immigrant entrepreneurship literatures, and in the domain of overall entrepreneurship, it is essential to pinpoint the state of the art together with the status quo (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013). The field of immigrant entrepreneurship has received rapidly growing scholarly interest and academic interest, mostly due to the growing and gravitating dynamics happening inside and outside immigrant contexts (ethnic enclaves), ethnic communities, informal economies (Darbi et al., 2018) and overall, the dossier of the diaspora ventures ventilating varieties of ethnic organizing, socializing, commercializing, enterprising and strategizing loaded heavily on the side of innovative informalities and unorthodox similarities (Knight, 2015; Webb et al., 2009). That is where entrepreneurship as a scholarly discipline is interested in engaging and embracing to imbue originality and novelty with innovative lenses and logics (Jennings et al., 2013; Suddaby et al., 2011).

In this continuum and continuation (Ram et al., 2017), academic debate on the noteworthy and distinct ethnic enclave economy is gaining momentum than ever before, and with due significance (Simarasl et al., 2021; Tuttle, 2021; Capriuolo et al., 2017; Zhou, 2004; Werbner, 2001; Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990; Stewart, 1990). To the extent that, researchers have not left the stone unturned to also reach out to ethnic characterized strategizing and economic venturing processes to cater to the demands of both small business and mainstream economics (Braymen & Neymotin, 2014; Ndofor & Priem, 2011). Ram et al. (2017) argued that as ethnic immigrant minority firms are apparently detached from mainstream business, this distancing due to detachment renders inaccessibility to understand the deeply developing dynamics inside nested bubbles of migrant businesses, requiring of more meaningful and engaged scholarship.

Engaging and interacting more with the holistic scholarship of immigrant entrepreneurship (Simba & Ojong, 2017), the strength of understanding classical and contemporary literatures and state of the art is undoubtedly immense (Legros et al., 2013; Ram & Jones, 2008). Better engagement is possible when adopting a holistic image (Carlsson et al., 2013), and for adopting a holistic image emerging streams on immigrant entrepreneurs need to be nailed from a stone's throw distance otherwise the unknown senses and tensions of informality is missed out substantially (Bu & Cuervo-Cazurra, 2020; Darbi et al., 2018; Knight, 2015; Gonin et al., 2013; Werbner, 2001). Witnessing the status quo in such proximity will result in reducing the distance and detachment pointed out by Ram et al. (2017) in the domain of migrant entrepreneurship research streams.

Extracting that much of sense and substance from ethnic immigrant entrepreneurship research and contexts, the power of mapping the emerging streams is immense at one hand (Dabić et al., 2020; Ferreira et al., 2019), nonetheless the power of deconstructing the dominating discourses remain equally indispensable on the other hand (Berglund & Johansson, 2007). In line with gaining and grabbing emerging streams, trends, and themes in contemporary ethnic and social entrepreneurship studies (Malerba & Ferreira, 2020; Farinha et al., 2020; Ma et al., 2013), furthering “new themes” for “new times” based on new-fangled diaspora contexts and evolving ethnic circumstances (Carlsson et al., 2013; Abouzeedan et al., 2010; Werbner, 2001), the epitome of outputted intellectual structure of immigrant entrepreneurship is thereby critically grounded on which the discourses, directions, dimensions and dynamics develop and deepen furthermore (Desai et al., 2021; Sithas & Surangi, 2021; Indarti et al., 2020; Van der Have & Rubalcaba, 2016; Short et al., 2009; Berglund & Johansson, 2007).

Classically what is implied as qualitative meta-synthesis on entrepreneurship (Bhardwaj & Srivastava 2021), contemporarily Van der Have and Rubalcaba (2016) have proved the same through innovative bibliometric patterning for theory building on entrepreneurship research, and Berglund and Johansson (2007) have propounded as discourse analysis for intellectual structuring on entrepreneurship research – revealing fundamental research insights and inspirations for engaging holistically as reflected in this current analytical inquiry on emerging streams of ethnic enclaves deriving from entrepreneurship patterns in immigrant communities.

STATE OF THE ART

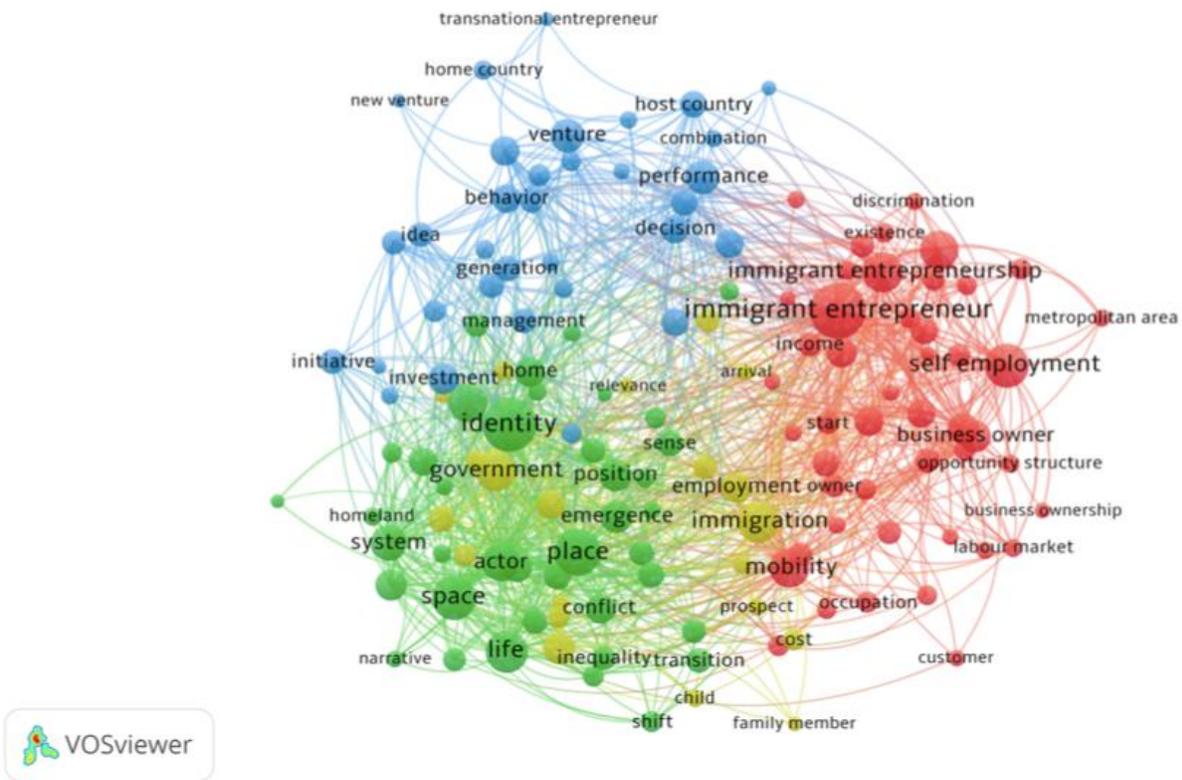


Fig. 1) Co-occurrences of themes

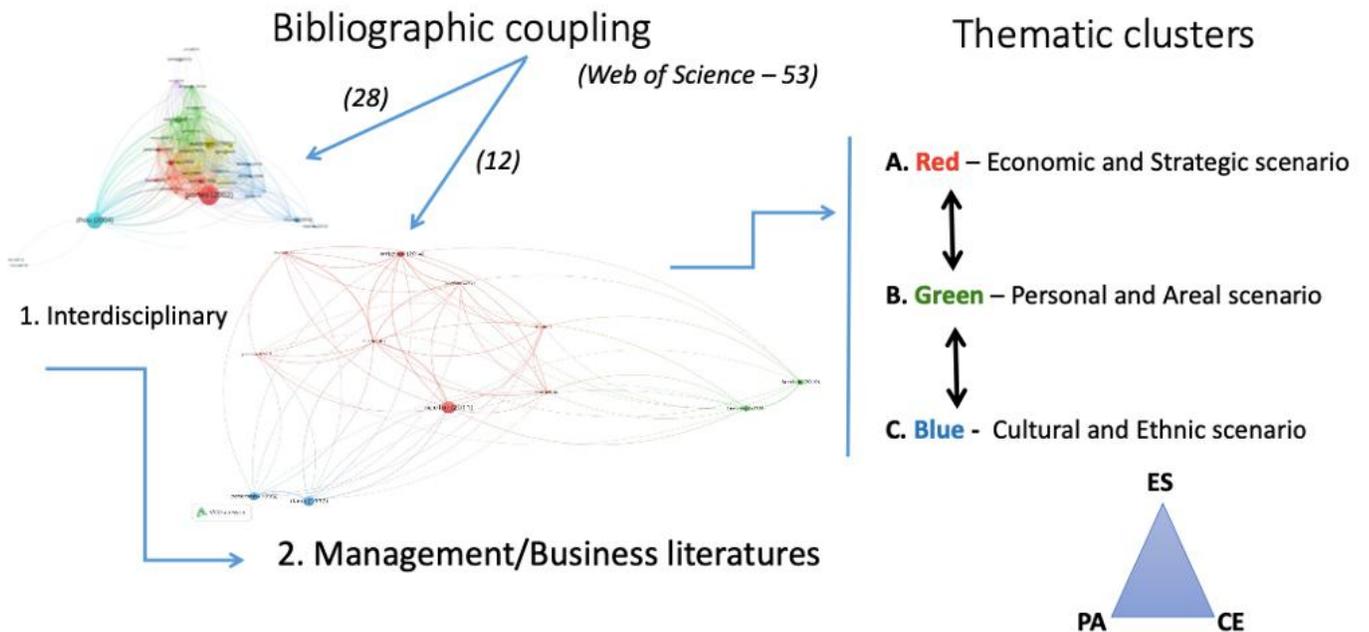


Fig. 2) Status Quo on Ethnic Enclaves research streams

Setting the search keywords as “ethnic enclave* ent* *migra* communit*” that constitute the main idea of ethnic enclaves, immigrant, and community entrepreneurship in all formats and forms under the bibliographic scholarly database Web of Science, holistically captures a range of multi-disciplinary scientific journal articles. At first, from an array of interdisciplinary related articles, an overall co-occurrence of thematic patterns has been identified (Fig.1). This context of topical themes sets the stage for the main discussions on ethnic enclave cluster in immigrant entrepreneurship research for the conceptual mapping and mastering – what Korede (2021) has rightly categorized as “*What do we talk about when we talk about Ethnic Entrepreneurship?*”. Thereafter, scaling it down to the management and business disciplines predominantly gives rise to core articles, while center on stage being none other than Ndofor and Priem’s (2011)

groundbreaking Journal of Management (JOM) research on “*Immigrant entrepreneurs, the ethnic enclave strategy, and venture performance*” cited mostly in the citation analysis, and mutually referred significantly in the co-citation analysis too under VOSviewer mapping of ethno-entrepreneurial literatures. Thereafter, another significant research turned out to be Li et al.’s (2018) Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice (ET&P) breakthrough research on “*The more the merrier? Immigrant share and entrepreneurial activities*”.

Collating it with relevant and related articles corroborating immigrant entrepreneurial insights on ethnic enclaves under the function of Bibliographic coupling denoting the commonality in overlapped or shared references concurrently, like the ones of Arrighetti’s et al., (2014) Entrepreneurship and Regional Development (ERD) research on “Beyond the enclave? Break-outs into mainstream markets and multicultural hybridism in ethnic firms”, Cruz et al.’s (2018) research on “Exploring the evolution of ethnic entrepreneurship: The case of brazilian immigrants in Florida”, Fairchild’s (2010) Journal of Business Venturing (JBV) research on “Intergenerational ethnic enclave influences on the likelihood of being self-employed”, and also Zolin et al.’s (2016) research on “Social capital or ethnic enclave location? A multilevel explanation of immigrant business growth” – likewise all in all give rise to the epitome of an emerging context. This context holistically renders the intellectual structure of ethnic enclave’s theoretical research-centric streams deriving from contemporary immigrant entrepreneurship’s state of the art. That said, in the aforesaid color-coded thematic categories of red, green and blue, it constructs three emerging scenarios respectively and namely: (a) Economic-cum-Strategic scenario, (b) Personal-cum-Areal scenario, and (c) Cultural-cum-Ethnic scenario – all based on focus, findings and forecasting of respective research accordingly. This emergence is encapsulated in the following theoretical structure as follows:

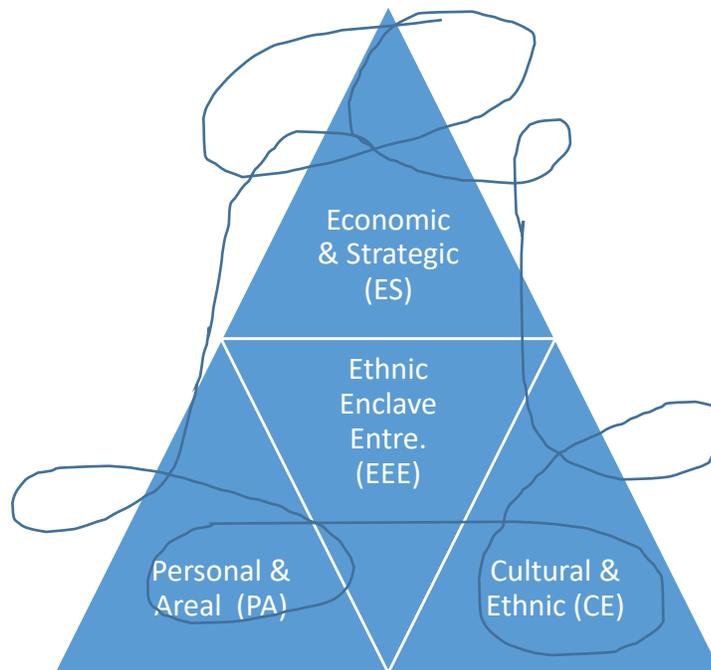


Fig. 3) Inter-cluster thematic “ES-PA-CE” network on EEE

Under the aforesaid ESPACE network on Ethnic Enclave Entrepreneurship (EEE) literature space, it is derived that intellectual sub-communities in ethnic enclave entrepreneurship research do not exist in isolation, rather caters to each other’s insights, and corroborates mutually substantially. As illustrated in Fig.3, Economic & Strategic (ES) dimension dominates the ethno-entrepreneurial economic, strategic and operational facets and contributes predominantly compared to Personal & Areal (PA) dimension and Cultural & Ethnic (CE) dimension - all however admitting prospective ethno-entrepreneurial social paradigms in relation to enclave contexts. As also narrated above, it is also found that ethnic entrepreneurship research tilts toward economic and strategic dynamics more often with a sense of saturation as proclaimed from Ndofor and Priem’s (2011) research on “*ethnic enclave strategy, and venture performance*” and Li et al.’s (2018) research on “*Immigrant share and entrepreneurial activities*” – both heavily cited and developed on economic logic. The vast majority on interdisciplinary research on ethnic enclaves clearly and critically admit the social logic

and its role in immigrant business, however, remains widely unaccounted for in the domain of business and management research, though accepted as a way forward to imbue novelty. That being said, the aforementioned analytical rationale underpins the following proposition accordingly:

Proposition 1: Social logics of ethnic enclaves vastly requires emmeshing with its economic logics both theoretically and exploratively.

While constructing of the emerging epitome is essential like above, deconstructing of the dominant scholarly engagements with ethnic entrepreneurship research also requires substantial attention to reproduce critical discourses and diversities like below, based on discourses on specifically relevant socially-positioned ethnic immigrant entrepreneurship (IE) literature synthesis:

Table 1
Discourses on EE: Selected Evidence

IE Literature reviews	Phrases indicating emerging EE-patterns
<p>Aliaga-Isla, R., & Rialp, A. (2013). Systematic review of immigrant entrepreneurship literature: previous findings and ways forward. <i>Entrepreneurship & Regional Development</i>, 25(9-10), 819-844.</p> <p>Adedeji, A. (2021). Social capital and migrants' quality of life: A systematic narrative review. <i>Journal of International Migration and Integration</i>, 22(1), 87-101.</p>	<p>Shortage in theory-building and qualitative studies in this field of knowledge</p> <p>Most papers on immigrant entrepreneurship have focused on the reality of the USA</p> <p>Individual level of analysis and the deductive perspective as a common trend so far</p> <p>There have been very few attempts to progress a more theoretical approach to understanding the direction and extent</p>

<p>Berglund, K., & Johansson, A. W. (2007). Constructions of entrepreneurship: a discourse analysis of academic publications. <i>Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy</i>, 1(1), 77-102.</p>	<p>Idea of entrepreneurship as a story of creation for our times Alternative versions of entrepreneurship</p>
<p>Bhardwaj, R., & Srivastava, S. (2021). Dynamic Capabilities of Social Enterprises: A Qualitative Meta-Synthesis and Future Agenda. <i>Journal of Social Entrepreneurship</i>, 1-29.</p>	<p>Developing the theory of DCs in SEs Enablers for developing DCs in SEs have not been discussed in prior research</p>
<p>Carlsson, B., Braunerhjelm, P., McKelvey, M., Olofsson, C., Persson, L., & Ylinenpää, H. (2013). The evolving domain of entrepreneurship research. <i>Small Business Economics</i>, 41(4), 913-930.</p>	<p>Research on entrepreneurship has flourished in recent years and is evolving rapidly The need for a rigorous dynamic theory of entrepreneurship that relates entrepreneurial activity to economic growth and human welfare</p>
<p>Dabić, M., Vlačić, B., Paul, J., Dana, L. P., Sahasranamam, S., & Glinka, B. (2020). Immigrant entrepreneurship: A review and research agenda. <i>Journal of Business Research</i>, 113, 25-38.</p>	<p>Consideration of un-explored country contexts are among the authors' recommendations for future research</p>
<p>Darbi, W. P. K., Hall, C. M., & Knott, P. (2018). The informal sector: A review and agenda for management research. <i>International Journal of Management Reviews</i>, 20(2), 301-324.</p>	<p>The informal sector is a substantial contributor to economic life Informal sector provides opportunities to advance management theory, research, and practice</p>

<p>Desai, S., Naudé, W. A., & Stel, N. M. (2021). Refugee entrepreneurship: context and directions for future research. <i>Small Business Economics</i>.</p> <p>Farinha, L., Sebastião, J. R., Sampaio, C., & Lopes, J. (2020). Social innovation and social entrepreneurship: discovering origins, exploring current and future trends. <i>International Review on Public and Nonprofit Marketing</i>, 17(1), 77-96.</p> <p>Ferreira, J. J., Fernandes, C. I., & Kraus, S. (2019). Entrepreneurship research: mapping intellectual structures and research trends. <i>Review of Managerial Science</i>, 13(1), 181-205.</p> <p>Gonin, M., Besharov, M. H. P., & Smith, W. K. (2013). Managing social-business tensions: A review and research agenda for social enterprises. <i>In Academy of Management Proceedings</i> (Vol. 2013, No. 1, p. 11745). Briarcliff Manor, NY 10510: Academy of Management.</p> <p>Indarti, N., Hapsari, N., Lukito-Budi, A. S., & Virgosita, R. (2020). Quo vadis, ethnic entrepreneurship? A bibliometric analysis of ethnic entrepreneurship in growing markets. <i>Journal of</i></p>	<p>Since refugees are not primarily moving for economic or business reasons, the forced nature of their mobility should play a significant role in shaping their economic activity</p> <p>Social innovation represents an interesting research stream involving several research fields, including social entrepreneurship, public policy, cities and urban development, social movements, and community development</p> <p>Field of entrepreneurship has evolved from studying startups and small firms to embracing theories from other fields and developing new theories</p> <p>While existing research points to tensions as a characteristic of social enterprises, we know less about their types, challenges, and responses</p> <p>Typical research subjects are Asian immigrants, especially Chinese so far, in developed countries</p>
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<p><i>Entrepreneurship in Emerging Economies</i>, 13(3), 427-458.</p> <p>Legros, M., Karuranga, E. G., Lebouc, M. F., & Mohiuddin, M. (2013). Ethnic entrepreneurship in OECD countries: A systematic review of performance determinants of ethnic ventures. <i>International Business & Economics Research Journal (IBER)</i>, 12(10), 1199-1216.</p> <p>Ma, Z., Zhao, S., Wang, T., & Lee, Y. (2013). An overview of contemporary ethnic entrepreneurship studies: themes and relationships. <i>International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research</i>, 19(1), 32-52.</p> <p>Malerba, R. C., & Ferreira, J. J. (2020). Immigrant entrepreneurship and strategy: a systematic literature review. <i>Journal of Small Business & Entrepreneurship</i>, 33(2), 183-217.</p> <p>Ram, M., Jones, T., & Villares-Varela, M. (2017). Migrant entrepreneurship: Reflections on research and practice. <i>International Small Business Journal</i>, 35(1), 3-18.</p> <p>Ram, M., & Jones, T. (2008). Ethnic-minority businesses in the UK: a review of research and</p>	<p>Further study of the role of cultural and ethical values as determinants of ethnic entrepreneurship is critical</p> <p>Research focus have shifted from research on ethnic enterprises, to research on immigrant networks</p> <p>Gain benefits from their communities (the ethnic enclave strategy), then integrating with the mainstream market in their host country (break-out strategy) and, finally, expanding to other countries</p> <p>Growing interest among practitioners in supporting migrant enterprise has been influenced by developments in the academic domain</p> <p>Potential new topics for policy and research include: the social contribution of ethnic-minority entrepreneurship</p>
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<p>policy developments. <i>Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy</i>, 26(2), 352-374.</p> <p>Ramadani, V., Dana, L. P., Ratten, V., & Bexheti, A. (Eds.). (2019). Informal ethnic entrepreneurship: Future research paradigms for creating innovative business activity. <i>Springer International Publishing</i>.</p> <p>Short, J. C., Moss, T. W., & Lumpkin, G. T. (2009). Research in social entrepreneurship: Past contributions and future opportunities. <i>Strategic Entrepreneurship Journal</i>, 3(2), 161-194.</p> <p>Sithas, M. T. M., & Surangi, H. A. K. N. S. (2021). Systematic Literature Review on Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurship: Citation and Thematic Analysis. <i>Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies</i>, 8(3), 183-202.</p> <p>Van der Have, R. P., & Rubalcaba, L. (2016). Social innovation research: An emerging area of innovation studies? <i>Research Policy</i>, 45(9), 1923-1935.</p> <p>Zhou, M. (2004). Revisiting ethnic entrepreneurship: Convergencies, controversies, and conceptual</p>	<p>Given the importance of informal entrepreneurship in society, it is important to understand the motivations for ethnic entrepreneurs starting these business ventures</p> <p>Social entrepreneurship is informed by common areas of interest to management scholars like entrepreneurship, public/nonprofit management, and social issues, all of which represent fruitful venues for future research efforts</p> <p>Gaps identified should encourage novel paths and scopes in the ethnic minority entrepreneurship research field to fill these gaps in the literature</p> <p>A shift has occurred in the research paradigm to a growing interest in soft issues with a sociological perspective rather than problematic issues with economic perspectives</p> <p>Developed a sociologically oriented framework to approach social innovation, departing from the same previous approaches</p> <p>In the past thirty years, many concepts and theories on ethnic entrepreneurship have been developed, challenged, and revised to provide a fuller account of the phenomenon</p>
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advancements. <i>International Migration Review</i> , 38(3), 1040-1074.	
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Under the aforementioned discourses on immigrant ethnic entrepreneurship derived from its state of the art, it can be further derived that insights and implications corroborate mutually considerably. As narrated above, it is also found that future direction of ethnic entrepreneurship research tilts toward sociological constructs and societal dynamics more often with a sense of less saturation as proclaimed from the authors above – heavily directed toward demystifying social logics.

The vast majority of aforementioned research on ethnic enclaves substantially admit the evolving logic and its role in immigrant business, extensions of ideas where applies, expansions of ethnic territories where complies, and also remains widely hopeful for its further research to instill originality. Grosskopf et al. (2021) lately also showcased avenues for future research in this domain well correspond with uncovering the complex multi-layered societal interrelationships in more detail, opening up the black-box of extended socialization processes for entrepreneurship, whereas migrants’ identification of self and surrounding remains an evolving and expanding process. Having said that, the aforementioned analytical rationale underpins the following proposition accordingly:

Proposition 2: Socio-economic dimensions in ethnic enclaves evolve and extend overtime, requiring of both theoretically and practically investigating the expanding nature of the enclave entrepreneurship context with new set of immigrant identity extensions.

CONCLUSION

As ethnic immigrant entrepreneurship is an ever evolving and emerging phenomenon, it is of vital importance that in settings where prevailing assumptions do not apply, it is incumbent to develop new theories, models, and frameworks based on new insights and blended contexts. Since there is a shortage in theory-building and qualitative studies to enlarge the scientific knowledge on immigrant entrepreneurship, it is also impediment to pursue theoretical and practical research in that direction. Furthermore, the existing derived insights from the state of the art warrants addressing growing and gravitating dynamics happening inside and outside immigrant contexts of ethnic enclaves, ethnic communities, informal economies, and diaspora dimensions.

As Braymen and Neymotin (2014) and Ndofor and Priem (2011) have established the economic dimensions of ethnic enclaves, likewise research needs to be formulated to parallelly social dimensions of the same to approach enclave economics holistically impacting immigrant entrepreneurship theory and practice. At the same time, the strength of understanding classical and contemporary literatures and state of the art is undoubtedly immense to capture the holistic image on immigrant entrepreneurships research streams.

This research has addressed to cater to that need, by capitalizing on the power of mapping the emerging streams (Dabić et al., 2020; Ferreira et al., 2019), again the power of deconstructing the dominating discourses in the discipline (Berglund & Johansson, 2007). That said, it delimits also by considering the social paradigm and economic paradigm distinct and overlapping, with less scope on separately focusing on a joint socio-economic paradigm independently.

However, furthering “new themes” for “new times” based on new-fangled diaspora contexts and evolving ethnic circumstances, the epitome of intellectual structure of immigrant entrepreneurship is logically and critically outputted underpinned by bibliometric patterning, generating discourses from contemporary literatures, and reproducing directions and propositions for future research in the field. Both of the propositions are argued and augmented based on the status and characterizations of the contemporary literatures in the field of immigrant entrepreneurship.

As a concrete future step, inductively and exploratively delving deeper into the propositions will culminate into two separate research, one focusing on the social dimensions embedded with economic setting, another focusing on the expansion of social facets as a growing nature of ethnic context.

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Paper 2.

**Entrepreneurship in Immigrant
Communities: Mechanisms of Ethnic
Enclaves**

Entrepreneurship in Immigrant Communities: Mechanisms of Ethnic Enclaves

ABSTRACT

Ethnic ties among immigrants not only promotes enabling business environment for immigrant ventures individually, but also gradually molds extended ethnic enclaves facilitating enhanced community resources for immigrant entrepreneurs collectively. Though the enterprising/economic orientations around ethnic enclaves are held on a higher note in existing entrepreneurship literatures, focus on underlying social/community dynamics embedded with and revolving around ethnic enclaves remains much lesser. To contribute in this crucial yet under-researched arena, this research develops the community-centric integrated model maintaining the interplay of informal social factors and enterprising ethnic actors critically fostering ethnic enclaves in the context of ethnographic case study of enterprising Bangladeshi diaspora in Roma Termini, Italy. Herein, informality heavily characterizes the immigrant entrepreneurship's community protocols feeding and fostering the ethnic enclaves sustainably through the social mechanisms of – social subscriptions, social timings, social supply chain and social investments.

Keywords

Ethnic Enclaves, Entrepreneurship, Immigrant Communities, Immigrant Entrepreneurs

INTRODUCTION

International migration increased in the late twentieth century and has had a tremendous impact on the growth and composition of the business community.... Today, it is hard to imagine cosmopolitan cities like Vancouver or Sydney, London or Paris, Miami or Los Angeles without immigrant enterprises.... However, it is likely that most entrepreneurs have a mixed and gendered network comprising co-ethnics, other immigrants and mainstream people, and that these networks change over time. The number of social relations may, whether or not it is intended, increase or decrease; the network can become thicker or thinner or spread out and assume a different spatial basis; the social relations can become many-stranded or single-stranded or take on a different meaning (Rath, 2002, pp. 6, 11).

Global immigrant communities are increasingly getting enriched by enterprising migrant entrepreneurs (United Nations, 2018), heavily advancing the arena of entrepreneurship (Li et al., 2018), however also acknowledging increasingly unknown socially embedded nature of entrepreneurial activities (Szkudlarek & Wu, 2018). As such, flourishing of collective entrepreneurial activities at community settings continuously fosters community-based entrepreneurship rooted in its communitarian culture and social bases (Lumpkin et al., 2018; Somerville & McElwee, 2011; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). Given this dynamic community context, ethnic ties among immigrants not only promotes better business environment for immigrant ventures (Basu & Altinay, 2002), but also over time gives rise to ethnic enclaves (concentration of high immigrant business activities) facilitating better community resources (Hindle, 2010; Model,

1985). However extant literatures predominantly tend to incline toward enterprising/economic situations mostly (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013), ignoring or sidestepping the underlying social/community dynamics embedded with ethnic enclaves, through which immigrant entrepreneurship thrives (Braymen & Neymotin, 2014; Ndofor & Priem, 2011). As ethnic enclaves are substantially situated in community bedrocks (Somerville & McElwee, 2011) and sufficiently characterized by social processes (Szkudlarek & Wu, 2018), ignoring this paradigm inevitably means leaving a meaningful facet of it unexplored, which indeed matters much in a journey of an immigrant entrepreneur (Tavassoli & Trippl, 2019; Hindle, 2010).

The role of communities as reference points to create new knowledge and resources for strategic competition, economic development and “entrepreneurization” are already established by theoretical discussions on entrepreneurial communities (Marti et al., 2013; Lyons et al., 2012; Aldrich & Martinez, 2001). While the significance of community-based enterprises is an existent landmark in entrepreneurship literatures, focus on community level immigrant societies’ “entrepreneurial social infrastructure” impacting ethnic enclaves’ dynamics requires much attention (Valchovska & Watts, 2016; Flora & Flora, 1993). Studies have already supported the notion of community-level culture impacting entrepreneurial behaviors resulting in both competitive venture emergence and enhancement (Braymen & Neymotin, 2014; Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013; Ndofor & Priem, 2011) – consequently necessitating and implying for delving deeper into ethnic enclaves’ social/community mechanisms. Thus, precisely this research focuses on: How do social/community mechanisms help immigrant entrepreneurs survive and thrive in ethnic enclaves over time? This community dimension of entrepreneurship (Mezias & Kuperman, 2001; Selsky & Smith, 1994) nonetheless turns ethnic enclaves more dynamic, furthering the discourse

of underrated “social places” in line with overrated “economic spaces” (Huggins & Thompson, 2012; Johnstone & Lionais, 2004).

Aliaga-Isla and Rialp (2013) have pinpointed that there is also a shortage in theory-building and qualitative studies to enlarge the scientific knowledge on immigrant entrepreneurship. Aiming at enrichment, entrepreneurship also seems moving outwards to engage with other social science disciplines (Jennings et al., 2013), studying entrepreneurship in new settings also demands fresh frameworks based on first-hand insights (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006), further scoping out new avenues in organizational research with blended contexts like entrepreneurship imbues novelty (Suddaby et al., 2011). On this ground and in line with aforesaid research inquiry, this study is based on a theory-building inductive research process, anchored in ethnography (Mattarelli et al., 2013).

The research culminates into the broader perspective of community-oriented relational integrated model, where the local entrepreneurship processes internalize maintaining the interplay between informal social factors and enterprising ethnic actors. In order to close the discussed existing gap in entrepreneurship literatures, this research strengthens effective social setups and community forces in ethnic enclaves contributing to novel insights and strategic resources for immigrant entrepreneurial activities. That said, informality heavily characterizes the immigrant entrepreneurship community processes and protocols giving rise to informally networked resourceful social setups feeding and fostering the ethnic enclaves sustainably through their unique social mechanisms of – social subscriptions, social timings, social supply chain and social investments.

THEORETICAL CONTEXT

Peredo and Chrisman (2006) argued that the necessity to delve into the interaction among communities, families and individual entrepreneurs vastly remain on entrepreneurship literatures, and strengthened the notion of community-based enterprise. In this concept, value creation and innovation through local businesses while providing strategy for sustainable local development is a way forward to tackle poverty, where we transform the ‘community’ into an ‘entrepreneur’ and an ‘enterprise’ fundamentally considering social elements inseparable from economic elements (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). Interestingly, the amalgamation of social factors with economic factors when constitute this new form of community-based entrepreneurship, altogether this also opens up the tangent of interlacing social pillars stitching up the community spirit in and around a community-based business surrounding. Invariably, what Flora and Flora (1993) coined as “entrepreneurial social infrastructure”, what Selsky and Smith (1994) propounded as “community entrepreneurship”, what Mezias and Kuperman (2001) termed as “community dynamics of entrepreneurship”, what Kloosterman and Rath (2001) asserted for “social embeddedness of migrant entrepreneurship”, what Johnstone and Lionais (2004) symbolized as “social places of economic spaces for community businesses”, what Peredo and Chrisman (2006) called “entrepreneurship rooted in community culture”, what Hindle (2010) framed as “community context of entrepreneurial process”, what Karim and Rahman (2017) underlined as “social sustainability”, and what Szkudlarek and Wu (2018) labelled as “socially embedded nature of entrepreneurial activities”. However, grouping them all in this current study under the theoretical label of “social/community mechanisms” provides ample room to demystify a spectrum of fresh understandings of our research focus on “ethnic enclaves” – crisscrossing the body of “community entrepreneurship” (CE) literatures with the “immigrant entrepreneurship” (IE) ones.

Apart from Peredo and Chrisman's (2006) postulated theory of community-based enterprise (CBE), it is also plausible to partially define the phenomena through the lenses of knowledge spillover theory of entrepreneurship (KSTE). Building on KSTE features, Li et al. (2018) meticulously argued that knowledge spillover/exchange between immigrants and native communities fosters entrepreneurial activities and stimulates collaborations gradually. As at first the social exchange between migrant entrepreneurs develops and strengthens over time internally (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001), thereafter saturates and penetrates to natives externally (Li et al., 2018), therefore it remains highly explorable to identify the nature of such interestingly expanding social exchanges among immigrant entrepreneurs by degrees, the way it is characterized and also calibrated in ethnic communities over time.

This becomes more interesting precisely when we see demarcated ethnic enclaves around global city centers standing on an array of tightly knit community resources and social processes giving a new meaning to immigrant businesses with their innovative arrangements and informal strategies, exactly what Ndofor and Priem (2011) termed as "ethnic enclave strategy". Nonetheless, this strategy is more apparent being an economic instrument for immigrant venture performance in immigrant and dominant markets (Ndofor & Priem, 2011), rather less apparent being a social instrument for tying up the concentrated ethnic enclave altogether as a community resource for immigrant business at one end and acting as a social bridge for the dominant market on the other end, whereas in reality behind the scene it is. This is more evident from the research of Marti et al. (2013) that pinpoints the process of "entrepreneurization" of a community particularly through social interactions, cohesion, identity, friendship and solidarity - thus also relevant and explorable in the distinguished area of ethnic enclaves where the gathered immigrant business community retains the similar commonality and communality.

It is further fortified through the research of Tavassoli and Tripl (2019) and also Szkudlarek and Wu (2018) – as both adopted in their respective research and also additionally proclaimed the necessity to delve deeper into the domain of immigrant entrepreneurship taking a community perspective revealing more unexplored social insights for ethnic/migrant businesses. Relating Hindle’s (2010) diagnostic framework of “community context of entrepreneurial process”, and depicting the same “bridge analogy”, we thus theorize the “economic travelers” as “immigrant actors” who initiate their “entrepreneurial journey” crossing over the “pathway of migration” – each passerby having a personal social fabric of their ethnic community experience, brick by brick which eventually constitutes the resourceful enclave economy itself. Illustrated in the findings of Braymen and Neymotin (2014), as it is vivid that - personal, social and community bonding across ethnic enclaves plays a pivotal role in the success of stationed immigrant businesses, thus the more we extract such social/community inspired linking factors of the enclave area in depth and at length, the better we bring such innovative mechanisms into mainstream.

EMPIRICAL CONTEXT

Contextualizing the Mediterranean Europe in general and Italy in particular - where a growing number of immigrants amassed over the past several decades, thereby remains a relevant study point for this research (Monzini, 2007; Stone & Stubbs, 2007; Knights, 1996; King, 1993). In this context, Italy is regarded as one of the most important destination countries for immigrants in Europe, where particularly the Bangladeshi legal immigrants are as many as 92,695 in Italy and 21,643 in the Municipality of Rome according to the Italian National Institute of Statistics (Kopečna, 2014). In short, the largest Bangladeshi Diaspora in Europe is based and dwells in Italy

now, whereas the capital city Rome representing the largest and most compact community of Bangladeshis in Italy critically developed over the period of time (Kopečna, 2014; Mannan & Farhana, 2014; Rahman & Kabir, 2012; Knights & King, 1998). Therefore, in line with the purpose of the research, this study is positioned to be an ethnographic case study research on Roma Termini's ethnic enclave area where a huge migrant Bangladeshi community survives and thrives on a daily basis.



Image 1) Mapping of Esquilino food-market area, Rome, Italy

RESEARCH METHOD

Samnani and Singh (2013) argued for the case-study based explorative, empirical and ethnographic research setup fitting to dig deeper into theory building insights, whereas Lok and De Rond (2013) strengthened the idea of ethnography in demystifying embedded micro-processes suitable for management studies. Methodologically, Smith (2017) also established the relevance of qualitative and ethnographic narrative approach to address and analyze important phenomena in entrepreneurship underpinned by synthesis of critical literatures and anchored in ethnographic dialogues. That said, the author as an overt ethnographer immerses and engages with the Esquilino

food-market informants in Rome (where out of 133 shops, mostly around 85% are directly run by Bangladeshi origin first generation migrant entrepreneurs) maintaining research dairy and capturing encompassing field notes backed by in-depth ethnographic observations, orientations and 36 noteworthy interactions – spreaded across a period of two years (late 2017 – late 2019) intermittently.

Concurrently, being authentic to the ethnographic tradition (Lok & De Rond, 2013), the author actively and authentically engages, prays, eats, travels and gossips and further witnesses and participates in the daily lives, buying, selling, interacting, and associating of the ethnic Bangladeshi entrepreneurs inside and outside the Esquilino food-market area reaching out related places, people and events. Daily purchasing sessions, economic transactions, social events, coming and going of customers, coffee-breaks, interactions with immigrants and locals were observed and noted with due significance. From time to time, field notes were revisited and restructured accordingly giving meaning to the bigger puzzle.

Furthermore, the ethnographer's substantial access to the research setting permitted occasional photographic evidence of prominent aspects of the research site, trade scenes, relationship building, noteworthy gestures etc. Together with the text, images were paid especial attention to derive relevant meaning to cater to the greater body of insights. Again, from time to time, and in leisure times and occasions, telephonic conversations with informants kept the ball rolling.

Across the Esquilino market area, the main attraction is the food area that sells all kinds of fruits, grains, crops, vegetables, beans, fish, meat, major groceries, spices, and such edible items. Out of 133 total food shops/boxes, uniquely at least 97 of them are found out to be run by Bangladeshi

immigrant entrepreneurs (IEs). The researcher visited the BD boxes (97) in person, intermingled with all IEs, and gathered data inclusively. Apart from capturing field notes overtly, one-on-one interactive on-site sessions were held (36) exclusively. All the discussions gradually reveal their social experiences in ethnic enclave (EE) beyond economic activities of IE.

Collected notes, observations and narrations were organized to generate social function themes. Accordingly, theory building approach was adopted with an iterative process of going back and forth between data, criss-crossing IE-CE literatures, and emerging epitome of theoretical notions. At an advanced stage of data integration, mutual component-wise comparisons were made to streamline the interplay of the social mechanisms in a wider social scene of entrepreneurship. Having identified the social mechanisms at the point of theoretical saturation, their relationships were revisited to ensure trustworthiness, by cross-checking and re-reading notes, before finally theorizing the process.

KEY FINDINGS

The anecdote of Roma Termini's compact ethnic enclave - Esquilino market area is popular among the Bangladeshi immigrant entrepreneurs, it is a matter of pride to them. During early 1980s, migrants hailing from various parts of Bangladesh started gathering and selling food, cloths, vegetables, fruits and small useful items in front of adjacent Victoria Park area as merely street-vendors. The accumulation gradually started expanding after receiving good market response, while at one point the necessity to establish a separate market area in the neighborhood materialized too. Today this market is called the famous "Nuovo Mercato Esquilino" of Piazza Vittorio (Victoria

Park area) adjacent to Rome’s central train station Termini – concentrated mostly and predominantly by Bangladeshi diaspora micro-entrepreneurs.

We are mostly Bangladeshi people here, and we managed to establish our base here.

We are committed to good quality... We are aware of our capacities and limitations.

We know this is not Bangladesh.



Image 2) *“Proud that in Italy we have a shop named Dhaka (capital of Bangladesh), however yet back in home no particular outlet is called Rome”*

Table 1. Overview of representative salient quotes

Social subscriptions	Social timings	Social supply chain	Social investments
When someone dies amongst us, within no time there comes contributions of 5 EURO (set as per the community standards) from each of us willingly so that the body is transferred back to Bangladesh without delay ... the surplus of the collected fund is relayed as a social security deposit to their children as well.	We operate, lend, delegate and monitor revolving around our standard five daily prayer times (congregations held at Bangladeshi diaspora-run community central mosque steps away from Esquilino market for daily morning, noon, afternoon, evening and night prayers), thus we meet each other every day five times socially, account for our dealings regularly and sometimes mutually lend capital or defer payments or even distribute business works amongst us from Jumuah (Friday prayer) to Jumuah (Friday prayer) on our weekly timescale.	All the fresh vegetables sold here, let's say 1 kg. of brinjals is cheaper in Rome (capital of Italy) than in Dhaka (capital of Bangladesh) We have a unique network of our Halaal (especially processed) meat in Italy, e.g. People from far-away places travel miles of distance to reach us and buy from us based on our goodwill, relationship, quality and trust.	Community people trusted us, invested on us, saved with us, banked on us instead of relying on formal banking. In exchange, we are happy to provide consultancy/literacy supports to our illiterate seasonal migrant workers, sharing with them our resources, travel cards, cargo contacts and temporary rentals.
We collaborate when needed, as this is not our country, people are often in need of each other and socially much require each other to survive, sustain and socialize	When we find some free times, we utilize it by learning the process of business from our colleagues whom we meet around everywhere, here and there, now and then. Outside our country, not only capital, but also what is required more is expertise to run business, so interacting with our colleagues in free times pays off	We work here in small groups independently, we know each other well and nurture our personal bonding and brotherhood, sometimes we are from same villages back home	Compared to our home-country, we enjoy a state of social well-being here. For example, there is no such thing called forceful donations/subscriptions by conmans or corrupt street guys, therefore the savings are further saved here as no need to give out any percentage to any other person, what is saved, is then reinvested to our business
Working from dawn to dusk requires a lot of motivations. We are provided with coffree talk breaks, fully enjoy gossiping in our mother tongue, most beneficially these are sponsored by the upper class to the lower class, e.g. Seniors to Juniors, Owners to Employers ...likewise	From one coffee break to another coffee break, we sometimes thus categorize our times to focus on the in-between business activities	Our BD relatives dwelling in Italy were the first source of information to motivate us to come to Italy. We maintain our local networks, e.g. people from Noakhali district of BD go around well together here.	First two years of our job placements here are considered our learning time, in this time frame we are allowed to settle down, socialize to stabilize our network, learn our business activities and become mature. This lead time is like a social benefit to us with others social accountability toward us to help settle the newcomers.
All national and religious festivals of BD are celebrated here no matter how busy we may be. Good thing is that all are invited, together we enjoy our festivities and gather for our social good irrespective of our classes, no matter who is owner or who is worker. Alongside, other non-festival events also take place, e.g. Hafiz prize giving (those who complete memorizing Quraan) to serve our communities	Several events take place in our communities, ranging from weekly, bi-weekly, monthly, quarterly and annually. Whereas during weekly Friday prayer we see many of us regularly to exchange frequent talks, nevertheless we only see some more occasionally like during a set community picnic, or bi-annual Eid gathering. Many investors of the same business meet occasionally.	Many BD people (e.g. owners of our shops) have purchased agro-lands in Italy for local productions, its easy to produce here and then sell, rather than to bring all the from BD. Then, in these lands own district people are employed, a good way to gain employment and secure a stable income via networks	We have our own informal BD Bunker Samity (Association) who provides loans to us to purchase bunkers for arranging stalls outside Esquilino and elsewhere. We also share a percentage of our profits with them, bit by bit from many bunker revenues the donations amount gets bigger for another BD person help get a bunker via lottery for own business

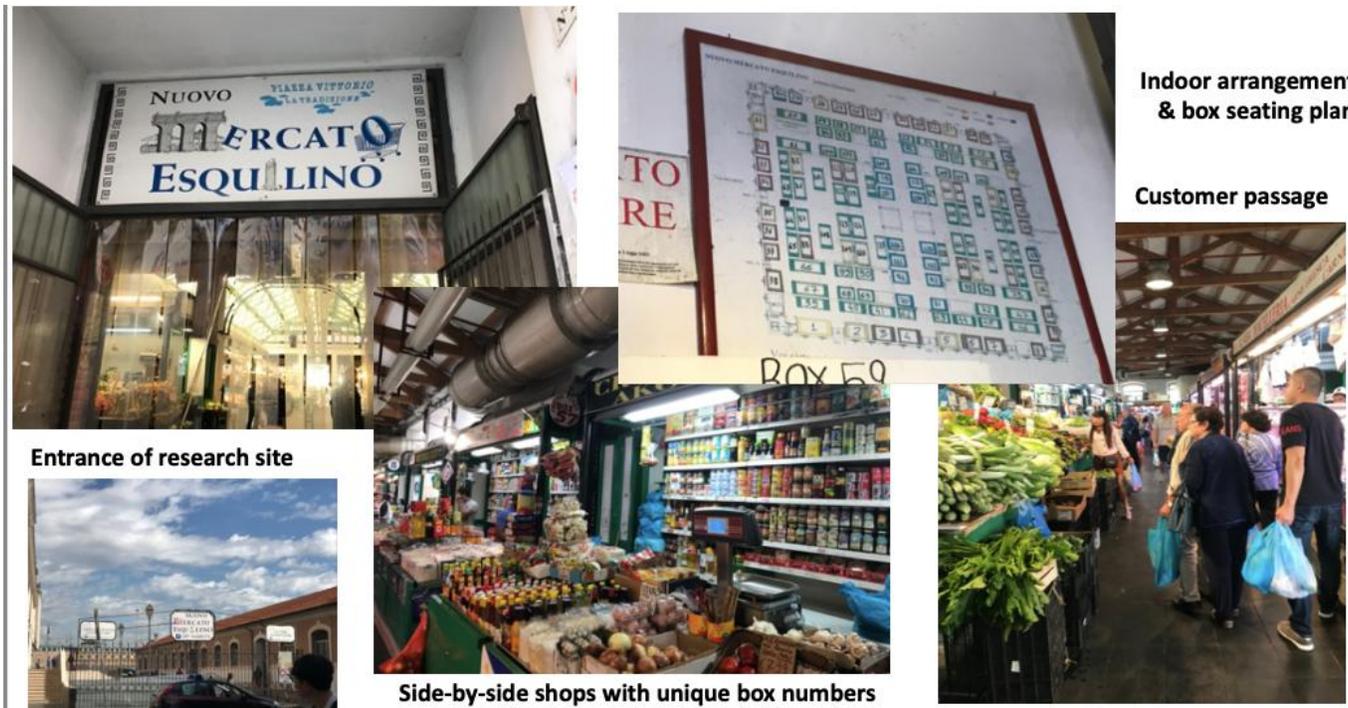


Image 3) Arrangement and Orientation of the Ethnographic research site

Interesting to note, inside the ethnic enclave, immigrant entrepreneurs possess a practical outlook and formal approach being completely aware of the fact that “everything” is professional inside which is gained at an age-old price, whereas the marketplace is stationed at a foreign place in a developed first world country requiring of a quality standard with optimum commitment. The acknowledgement that it is not their easy-going birthplace or original homeland bears the testimony of a sense of professionalism, additional commitment and a shared meaning of mutual healthy competition and cooperation with the need to adapt to local capacities for continuity. However, under the garb of this formal community culture, dwells a wealth of informality (Bu & Cuervo-Cazurra, 2020; Tavassoli & Trippel, 2019; Hindle, 2010), as echoes in ethnic spectrum: *“From one coffee break to another coffee break...”*



Image 4) Italian cappuccino with Bangladeshi dry cake – A blended social image

1. Social Subscriptions (SS)

Firstly, the ethnic enclave interlaces almost all the formal economic transactions with informal social transactions, gradually turning these social dealings into referral points of their social brand image. No matter how many intra-business transactions each ethnic venture counts for profits every day, the non-profit social subscriptions, for instance, in the form of inter-business informal coffee offers everyday: “senior immigrants” offering to “junior immigrants”, “ethnic business owners” offering to “immigrant employees”, “established migrants” offering to “newcomers/freshers”, “literate immigrants” offering to “illiterate immigrants” – define the aggregate enclave motivation of the ethnic business community.

Working from dawn to dusk requires a lot of motivations. We are provided with coffree talk breaks, fully enjoy gossiping in our mother tongue, most beneficially these are sponsored by the upper class to the lower class, e.g. Seniors to Juniors, Owners to Employers ...likewise



Image 5) Ethnic identity with social branding (*Name plate as demonstrated ownership*)

Shepherd et. al (2020) also pinpointed that for better resilience of ethnic entrepreneurs, interactions and interrelations with social structures are vastly vital. Another immigrant entrepreneur reflected such informal social subscription as follows:

When someone dies amongst us, within no time there comes contributions of 5 EURO (set as per the community standards) from each of us willingly so that the body is transferred back to Bangladesh without delay ... the surplus of the collected fund is relayed as a social security deposit to their children as well.

2. Social Timings (ST)

Secondly, community values and beliefs of ethnic entrepreneurs work as driving forces (Dodd & Gotsis, 2007) behind the social fabric of the enterprising ethnic enclave – which also put forth the significance of their informal social timings for formal business operations (Bird & West, 1998).

One immigrant entrepreneur reflected such informal social timings as follows:

When we find some free times, we utilize it by learning the process of business from our colleagues whom we meet around everywhere, here and there, now and then. Outside our country, not only capital, but also what is required more is expertise to run business, so interacting with our colleagues in free times pays off.

Immigrant entrepreneurs arrange their economic life in and around the enclave area based on these social timings set through the lenses of rituals and faiths related to fixed daily and weekly prayer times – which not only connect them for their integrity and accountability, but also allow them to facilitate business operations in a completely different value-regulated temporal scale and social-time-oriented payment system, far from the formal Greenwich Mean Time (GMT):

We operate, lend, delegate and monitor revolving around our standard five daily prayer times (congregations held at Bangladeshi diaspora-run community central mosque steps away from Esquilino market for daily morning, noon, afternoon, evening and night prayers), thus we meet each other every day five times socially, account for our dealings regularly and sometimes mutually lend capital or defer payments or even distribute business works amongst us from Jumuah (Friday prayer) to Jumuah (Friday prayer) on our weekly timescale.



Image 6) Social time rotations (*Prayer timings inside community mosque*)



Image 7) Social real-time contexts (Prayer carpets and spaces in underground shop basements)



Image 8) Social real-life benefits (Special access to discounted community services & info.)

3. Social Supply Chain (SC)

Thirdly, immigrant people are informally and mutually classified district-wise (hailing from 64 districts of Bangladesh) with multi-layered nested bonding inside their ethnic business community. Beyond their generic identity of “Bangladeshi national businesspeople in Italy” or “My father’s shop, and I am here to represent” - what many claimed respectfully apart from merely identifying as “floating immigrants from developing countries” – it is noticeably visible that several layers of nested bonding within themselves too exist creating a unique and strategic social supply chain of the ethnic enclave (Knight, 2015). For instance, early immigrants hailing from *Noakhali* and *Shariatpur* districts of Bangladesh those who managed to buy agricultural lands in Italy, gradually invited and hosted more people of their own micro-ethnicity to employ on their lands, grow vegetables/fruits, supply foods to Esquilino and also to successfully running their mini-marts maintaining tailor-made ties with their ethnic networks for better business performance.

We work here in small groups independently, we know each other well and nurture our personal bonding and brotherhood, sometimes we are from same villages back home.... Many Bangladeshi people (e.g. owners of our shops) have purchased agro-lands in Italy for local productions, it’s easy to produce here and then sell, rather than to bring all the from Bangladesh.



Image 9) Halaal meat network

Apart from inbound to Esquilino market, social supply chain is also visible outbound from Esquilino market when raw food items (vegetables, fruits, meats, fish, crops and spices) are being supplied to neighboring Bangladeshi owned and run big restaurants and small eateries based on social proximity. The benefit of this unique social supply chain can be illustrated as follows:

All the fresh vegetables sold here, let's say 1 kg. of brinjals is cheaper in Rome (capital of Italy) than in Dhaka (capital of Bangladesh) We have a unique network of our Halaal (especially processed) meat in Italy, e.g. People from far-away places

travel miles of distance to reach us and buy from us based on our goodwill, relationship, quality and trust.



Image 10) Boosted recognition of “100% Halaal” meat identity

4. Social Investments (SI)

Fourthly, Italy being a migrant destination in Europe, is also inundated with seasonal or summer workers from Bangladesh creating a unique social force for the Esquilino market based ethnic

enclave community. Concentration of critical mass over time also comes with a prolonged social recognition as happened with the case of this ethnic enclave in Rome for over-reaching migrant masses in the host country.

First two years of our job placements here are considered our learning time, in this time frame we are allowed to settle down, socialize to stabilize our network, learn our business activities and become mature and resourceful. This lead time is like a social benefit to us with others social accountability toward us to help settle the newcomers.

Klaesson and Öner (2021) also argued that concentration at one point opens up and invites new social networks. Seasonal Bangladeshi migrant workers those who ply on ports, shops, and streets with off-track small business interventions earn around 10K Euros per season, while are only allowed to carry not more than 5K Euros when temporarily leaving after the work period of the season. This gives rise to the opportunity of leaving behind around half of their seasonal earnings ranging from 3K – 5K Euros with the trusted Esquilino ethnic enclave immigrant Bangladeshi entrepreneurs in the form of informal social savings to be collected at a later point in time or season. Hence, creating avenues of informally accessible social investments to these concentrated and connected enclave entrepreneurs for their ethnic business capital:

Community people trusted us, invested on us, saved with us, banked on us instead of relying on formal banking. In exchange, we are happy to provide consultancy/literacy supports to our illiterate seasonal migrant workers, sharing with them our resources, travel cards, cargo contacts and temporary rentals.



Image 11) Poster on Community contribution recognition ceremony



Image 12) Micro-saving of vendors with established ethnic business

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

The aforesaid findings culminate into the following community-centric integrated model, where the local entrepreneurship actions internalize embedding ethnic enclaves' social mechanisms:

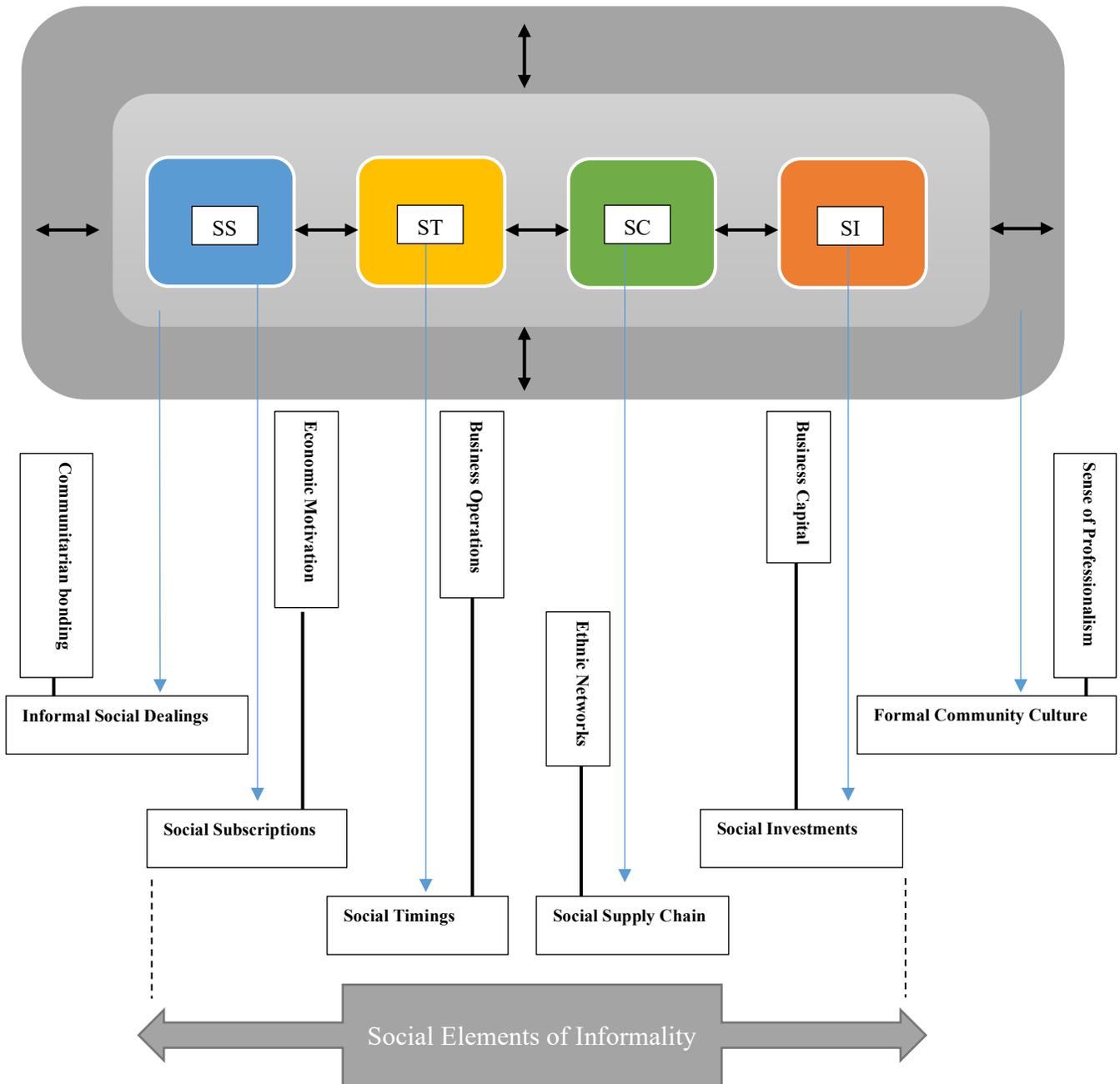


Fig. 1) Social/Community mechanisms of Ethnic Enclaves

As entrepreneurship is embedded in the whole web of social life (Stewart, 1990), the aforesaid mechanisms provides with a better inside-view of the immigrant businesses with real-life access to actual social networks (Klaesson & Öner, 2021). As visible from the model above (Fig.1), informality heavily characterizes ethnic enclaves across its embedded social/community mechanisms extending the formal and economic scopes of immigrant entrepreneurial processes (Bu & Cuervo-Cazurra, 2020). The outer professional setting and formality dissolve and fade away slowly and gradually the more one digs deeper into the ethnic context encircled with informal social dealings with communitarian bonding as depicted in Fig. 1. Social elements of informality heavily impact the economic formal exchanges, as social subscriptions link economic motivations of ethnic ventures, social timings link business operations' time orientations, social supply chains link ethnic business networks, and also social investments link business capital for immigrant businesses.

This also serves as critical theoretical implications as the body of “community entrepreneurship” literatures plunging into “immigrant entrepreneurship” ones, reveals such first-hand social insights for the under-researched interesting arena of “ethnic enclaves” in the management and entrepreneurship domain.

Previously, Braymen and Neymotin, (2014), and also Ndofor and Priem (2011) vastly built on the economic scene of the ethnic enclaves in entrepreneurship literatures. However, this research adopting a community perspective (Flora & Flora, 1993; Selsky & Smith, 1994; Mezas & Kuperman, 2001; Kloosterman & Rath, 2001; Johnstone & Lionais; 2004; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Hindle, 2010; Szkudlarek & Wu, 2018; Li et al., 2018) extends the extant immigrant entrepreneurship literature to the social bases of enterprising ethnic enclaves. Particularly, delineating the concurrent focus on informality as an added value comprising of its discussed social

elements shaping the social/community mechanisms of ethnic enclaves, shedding light on the other side of the coin.

Drawing on further theoretical contributions, as informality heavily characterizes ethnic enclaves, thus enhances economic scopes of CBE theory (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006), extending the extant immigrant entrepreneurship literature to the social bases of enterprising EE, in addition to the existing economic scenes established by Braymen and Neymotin, (2014), and Ndofor and Priem (2011). Moreover, as social/community mechanisms of EE shed light on the other side of the coin, it unfolds and demystify the expanding social exchanges of KSTE theory as well. Klaesson and Öner (2021) lately also added the concentration nature of ethnic enclaves have got immense social resources, extensive access to extended social networks, contrary to the idea of economic segregation. This research expands this understanding and delves deeper into the underlying social mechanisms of economic activities in and around ethnic enclaves and determines how powerful the idea itself is. Exactly, what Szkudlarek and Wu (2018) highlighted as the high time to shift the conversation on the socially embedded nature of immigrant entrepreneurial actions.

Furthermore, at one hand, we end up offering a strong managerial implication with strategic directions toward generating and replicating ethnic insights for businesses and markets positioned in community-focused and migrant-friendly climates. On the other hand, we also in tandem end up drawing attention of the local and global policy stakeholders including UN's International Organization for Migration (IOM) and European Union (EU) to consider ground-level core understandings while devising social programs for enterprising immigrants. The significance of nurturing ethnic enclaves for the betterment of local sustainable development is also a core input.

Looking back into the community-centric integrated model derived from the ethnographic ground understandings, the existing outcome can also be improved and extended adopting different theoretical lenses (e.g. social capital perspective) and also establishing relationships with the outer community beyond ethnicity and ethno-racial segments. Though it can be regarded as a delimitation of the study to irrelate social capital perspectives and beyond, however the existing community perspective played a pivotal role in devising the social/community mechanisms of the ethnic enclaves adding on the extant literatures in management and entrepreneurship. To contextualize more broadly, this existing research also calls for focusing on the bigger picture of the ethnic entrepreneurship scene better understanding how these identified social mechanisms evolve from mono-ethnic enclave setup to poly-ethnic enclave scenario.

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Paper 3.

**Entrepreneurship in Immigrant
Communities: Embeddedness of
Ethnic Enclaves**

Entrepreneurship in Immigrant Communities: Embeddedness of Ethnic Enclaves

ABSTRACT

Global interests and attention in immigrant entrepreneurship have predominantly tilted toward economic priorities, however its socio-economic mixture remains the foundational epitome on which enterprising ethnic enclave stands, strives, surrounds, saturates, spills over, also opportunities are matched with resources in-and-out. Herein, not only the social embeddedness of migrant entrepreneurship is crucial, but also the overarching social process that embeds ethnic identities and translates enclaves into extended economic territory is critical. To demystify this transitional process of ethnic enclaves embedded within at length and in depth, this qualitative study is anchored in theory building inductive process and grounded theory approach narrating the gradual emergence and expansion context of ethnic enterprising ‘Bangla-town’ in Rome, Italy. In doing so, it reports on ethnic enclave’s gradual embedded social process of ‘community’ turning into ‘titled town’ through three interconnected dynamic and dual phases of: (a) intra-interlacing, (b) intra-intermingling, and (c) intra-interoperating, where “extent of embeddedness” by degrees identifies and solidifies both emergence and expansion of “enclave entrepreneurship”, departed from “ethnic entrepreneurship”, with due socio-economic significance. Thus, the research contributes to multi-player, multi-sectoral & multi-layered collaborative procedural understanding of ethnic enclaves in contemporary entrepreneurship.

Keywords

Ethnic Enclaves, Entrepreneurship, Immigrant Entrepreneurs, Mixed Embeddedness

Entrepreneurship in Immigrant Communities: Embeddedness of Ethnic Enclaves

INTRODUCTION

Immigrant entrepreneurs have to rely on their own social arrangements, and on moral codes which put a great deal of emphasis on trust. Particularly in cases where institutional trust is lacking, trust can be generated by personal relations, including relations with other members of the same community. This serves to emphasize once again how relevant issues of social embeddedness can be... The economic incorporation of immigrants and the resulting ethnic division of labour is a network-driven process, and economic changes do not really matter... New immigrants are funneled into clustered economic positions by way of the mobilization of network resources, and this fosters ethnic niches. New vacancies are filled by newer immigrants, as older immigrants move up the social ladder, and this is how the ‘game of ethnic musical chairs’ is played (Rath, 2002, pp. 10, 12).

Keeping pace with growing global interests and attention in immigrant entrepreneurship (Malerba & Ferreira, 2020), researchers have exponentially explored economic aspects of this phenomenon predominantly (Sithas & Surangi, 2021; Li et al., 2018; Ndofor & Priem, 2011). This however led to a fragmented understanding of the true drivers of immigrant entrepreneurship (Dabić et al., 2020). Since the frontispiece of migrant businesses apparently as it portrays (Korede, 2021), also like the metaphor of the tip of the iceberg, is much robustly intertwined and integrated with its backdrop’s underlying social scene (Lumpkin et al., 2018; Flora & Flora, 1993). This inseparable

social context defines the very root and rapture of immigrant entrepreneurship (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006), as an embedded mixture of both economic and social elements (Huggins & Thompson, 2012; Lyons et al., 2012), without which matching an array of socio-economic opportunities with critical resources is a far cry indeed (Kloosterman, 2010).

Substantially strengthened by Kloosterman and Rath (2001) as “social embeddedness of migrant entrepreneurship” vastly sets the stage for ethnic entrepreneurs to concentrate its economic activities around ethnic enclaves (Braymen & Neymotin, 2014), which solidly contain and cumulate economic features rooted in social substance (Marti et al., 2013; Johnstone & Lionais, 2004). Hence, slowly but surely this underlying process at some point signifies its saturation and salience, shaping and impacting its surrounding heading toward a visible demarcated territory or titled town (Orozco, 2021; Tavassoli & Tripl, 2019). This happens at which revolutionary point and undergoing what evolutionary process, of it little is known, neither at length nor in depth.

Lo and behold, when the surrounding gradually optimizes, it abruptly tends to offer more as Orozco (2021) further fortifies it as identifying more and more with the very core nature of the ethnic enclave. Likewise, immigrant entrepreneurs’ commonality and communitarian cumulative identity (Mezias & Kuperman, 2001), proudly takes the shape and form of the enclave itself strengthening its co-ethnic ties (Szkudlarek & Wu, 2018). This collectively embedded gradually building and broadening enclave dynamics (Braymen & Neymotin, 2014), yet from inside its untapped and increasingly less-known identification, demarcation and expansion process of the newly carved-out clustered community context (Somerville & McElwee, 2011), thus requires deeper inspection and direr inquiry with new insights to its core (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013; Jennings et al., 2013; Suddaby et al., 2013).

Relevantly enough, the case of Chinatown is the classical text-book example in this regard (Lin, 1998), which is such a socio-economic embedded story of foundational ethnic enclaves (Rath, 2002). Nevertheless, as the ethnic enclave matures, modifies, and moves with the passage of time by degrees (Della & King, 2019), it also sophisticatedly embeds within and into the surrounding releasing its holistic critical identity that impacts the overall organizing and operating nature of the ethnic businesses (Orozco, 2021), that is again well economic in nature, yet social in creature (Hindle, 2010; Basu & Altinay, 2002). That said, this paper particularly attempts to participate in identifying the underling socially embedded transitional process which typifies the economic expansion of ethnic enclaves into extended territories and titled towns. Anchored in theory building inductive process and grounded theory approach, this study reports on the gradual embedded process of ‘community’ turning into ‘titled town’ through three interconnected dynamic and dual phases of: (a) intra-interlacing, (b) intra-intermingling, and (c) intra-interoperating, in narrating the emergence of ethnic enterprising ‘Bangla-town’ in Rome, Italy.

THEORETICAL CONTEXT

The mixed embeddedness perspective propounded by Kloosterman and Rath (2001) critically delineates migrant entrepreneurship through entrepreneurial embeddedness in two-fold holistic dimensions: ethnic business context (economic sphere) and social contacts (social sphere). The approach links up micro-level of the individual immigrant entrepreneurial actors with limited economic resources with the meso-level of the societal scope structures with extended social resources given macro-institutional underpinning. Setting this theoretical stage, immigrant

entrepreneurs seem to accumulate an array of socio-economic resources in and around demarcated territories of ethnic enclaves, and the properties of the enclave itself reveals a greater identity than the ethnic boundaries. The age-old “Gestalt” metaphor seems to prove valid once again that, “The organized whole is greater than the sum of its parts”, as the portion of each subsistent ethnic individual needs one another, whereas the organized whole chunk of united and bonded ethnic enclave upholds a bigger, broader, and better utilitarian identity of “greatest good for greatest immigrants” holistically and collectively.

Talking about this exponential ethnic identity with greater theoretical underpinnings, Orozco (2021) has shed light on collective ethnic identities with greater impact on both ethnic business organizing and ethnic venture strategies. In the theoretical backdrop, Ndofor and Priem (2011) have argued on social identification degree impacting ethnic enclave’s venture strategy, on the flipside, Braymen and Neymotin (2014) highlighted enclave’s strategic nature as competitive advantage compared to surrounding. In both theoretical cases, further augmented with Orozco’s (2021) strategic ethnic identities, the underlying transitional process of ethnic enclaves into extended territories of titled towns extending socio-economic scope remain theoretically unaccounted for, as such inquiring and adding it is tantamount to deeper theoretical insights.

EMPIRICAL CONTEXT

Contextualizing the Mediterranean Europe in general and Italy in particular - where a growing number of immigrants amassed over the past several decades, thereby remains a relevant study

point for this research (Monzini, 2007; Stone & Stubbs, 2007; Knights, 1996; King, 1993). In this context, Italy is regarded as one of the most important destination countries for immigrants in Europe, where particularly the Bangladeshi legal immigrants are as many as 92,695 in Italy and 21,643 in the Municipality of Rome according to the Italian National Institute of Statistics (Kopečna, 2014). In short, the largest Bangladeshi Diaspora in Europe is based and dwells in Italy now, whereas the capital city Rome representing the largest and most compact community of Bangladeshis in Italy critically developed over the period of time (Kopečna, 2014; Mannan & Farhana, 2014; Rahman & Kabir, 2012; Knights & King, 1998). Therefore, in line with the purpose of the research, this study is anchored in theory building inductive process and angled from grounded theory approach on Roma Termini's ethnic enclave area where a huge migrant Bangladeshi community survives and thrives on a daily basis.

RESEARCH METHOD

Gioia et al. (2013) fundamentally reasoned inductive studies applying systematic conceptual and analytical process culminates into credible interpretations of qualitative data with plausible insights, alongside Brattstrom and Wennberg (2021) recently also emphasized on adopting storytelling frameworks continuing the development of entrepreneurship research into a rich and diverse field. This research further significantly incorporates Aliaga-Isla and Rialp's (2013) arguments on shortage in theory-building and qualitative studies to enlarge the scientific knowledge on immigrant entrepreneurship, and also Jennings et al. (2013) and Suddaby's et al. (2011) remarks on entrepreneurship moving outwards to engage with other social science

disciplines imbuing blended novelty, further Peredo and Chrisman's (2006) notion of researching community entrepreneurship in new settings requiring of fresh frameworks based on first-hand insights. All in all, the theory building induction process is grounded as above.

Methodologically, Labianca et. al (2000) established the relevance of qualitative and grounded theory approach to address and analyze theoretically important management phenomena anchored in unstructured ethnographic dialogues. Qualitative data collected through ethnographic observations and analyzed in grounded theory lens enhances research vigor in entrepreneurship and organization studies (Marion et al., 2015). Corley and Gioia (2004) also proclaimed purposive sampling of informants with snowball technique, and documentation with observation as important ground for grounded theory in understanding underlying processes. That said, the author as an overt ethnographer immerses and engages with the Esquilino market informants (where out of 132 shops, mostly around 85% are directly run by Bangladeshi origin first generation migrant entrepreneurs), and also extendedly adjacent territorial outlets, minimarts and mosques in Rome maintaining research dairy and capturing encompassing field notes backed by in-depth ethnographic observations, orientations and 36 noteworthy interactions – spreaded across a period of two years (late 2017 – late 2019) intermittently. Employing theoretical sampling process, herein data is pursued thematically, constantly compared across informants iteratively, and analyzed inductively and concurrently until the theoretical saturation point of the emerging theory as vital part of grounded research process (Glasser & Strauss, 1967).

KEY FINDINGS

The outcome of the grounded research process is considered to be the first and foremost finding of this study, based on the delineating themes and aggregate dimensions inspired by inputs and side-puts revealed by enterprising ethnic informants (Gioia et al., 2013; Corley & Gioia, 2004).

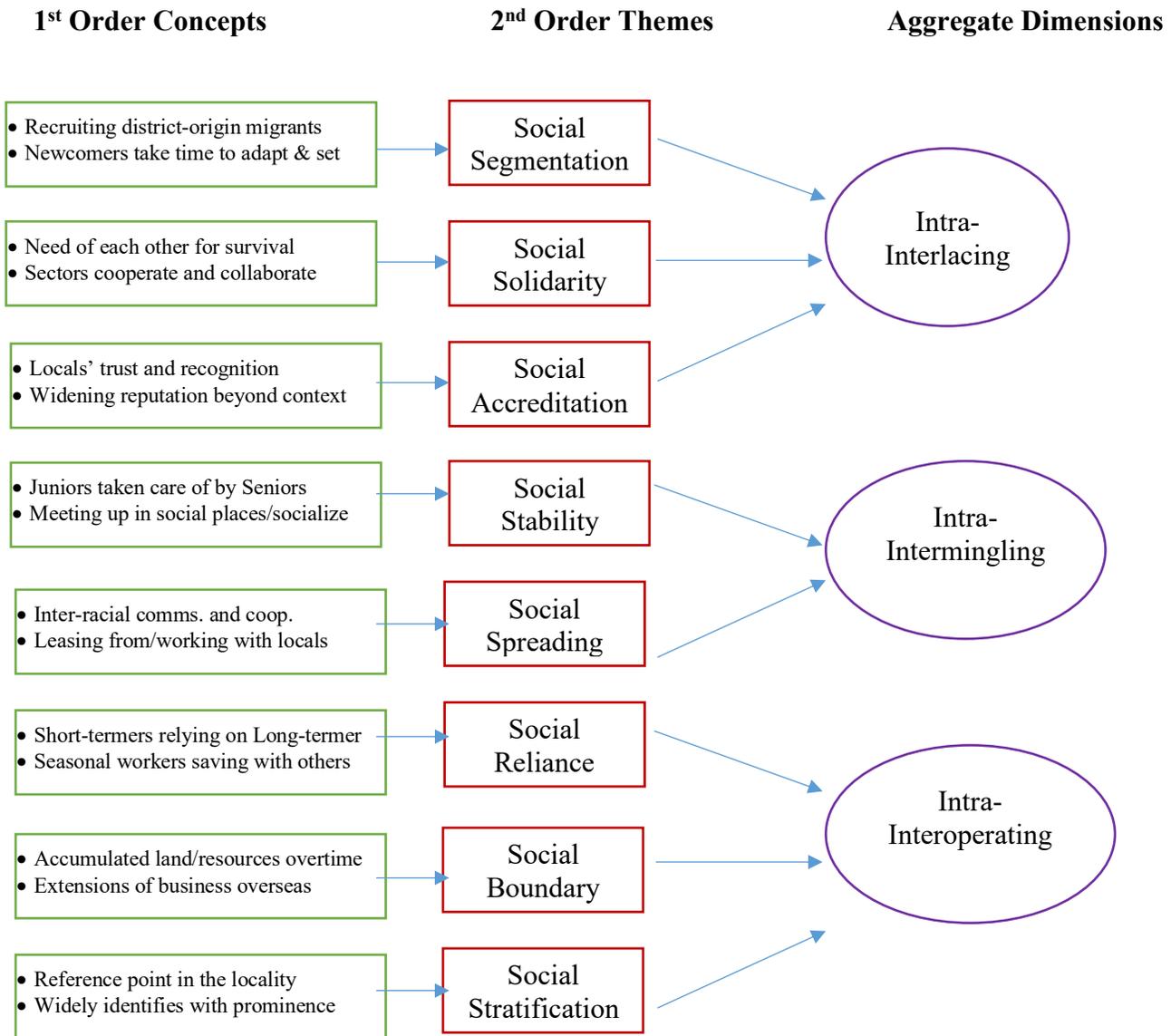


Fig. 1) Data outcome structure

Table 1
Intra-Interlacing: Selected Evidence

Second-Order Codes	Selected Evidence on First-Order Codes
<i>Social Segmentation</i>	<p><i>Recruiting district-origin migrants</i> “We work here in small groups independently, we know each other well and nurture our personal bonding and brotherhood, sometimes we are from same villages back home”</p> <p><i>Newcomers take time to adapt & set</i> “This lead time is like a social benefit to us with others social accountability toward us to help settle the newcomers”</p>
<i>Social Solidarity</i>	<p><i>Need of each other for survival</i> “People are often in need of each other and socially much require each other to survive, sustain and socialize”</p> <p><i>Sectors cooperate and collaborate</i> “When we find some free times, we utilize it by learning the process of business from our colleagues whom we meet around everywhere, here and there, now and then”</p>
<i>Social Accreditation</i>	<p><i>Locals’ trust and recognition</i> “People from far-away places travel miles of distance to reach us and buy from us based on our goodwill, relationship, quality and trust”</p> <p><i>Widening reputation beyond context</i> “We have good reputation among other ethnic communities, those people know where good products are found in the city”</p>

Table 2
Intra-Intermingling: Selected Evidence

Second-Order Codes	Selected Evidence on First-Order Codes
<i>Social Stability</i>	<p><i>Juniors taken care of by Seniors</i> “Working from dawn to dusk requires a lot of motivations. We are provided with coffee talk breaks, fully enjoy gossiping in our mother tongue, most beneficially these are sponsored by the upper class to the lower class, e.g., Seniors to Juniors, Owners to Employers ...likewise”</p> <p><i>Meeting up in social places/socialize</i> “Whereas during weekly Friday prayer we see many of us regularly to exchange frequent talks, nevertheless we only see some more occasionally like during a set community picnic, or bi-annual Eid gathering.”</p>
<i>Social Spreading</i>	<p><i>Inter-racial comms. and coop.</i> “Our greater identity is also Asian, thus people from China, Vietnam and Philippines are also comfortable with us. Particularly we go well with Pakistanis (South Asian) too”</p> <p><i>Leasing from/working with locals</i> “We lease lands from local residents for our business, it’s easier for us, also we are more connected now and access local business networks, gain info. from local colleagues”</p>

Table 3
Intra-Interoperating: Selected Evidence

Second-Order Codes	Selected Evidence on First-Order Codes
<i>Social Reliance</i>	<p><i>Short-termers relying on Long-termer</i> “We have our own informal BD Bunker Samity (Association) who provides loans to us to purchase bunkers for arranging stalls outside Esquilino and elsewhere”</p> <p><i>Seasonal workers saving with others</i> “Community people trusted us, invested on us, saved with us, banked on us instead of relying on formal banking. In exchange, we are happy to provide consultancy/literacy supports to our illiterate seasonal migrant workers, sharing with them our resources, travel cards, cargo contacts and temporary rentals”</p>
<i>Social Boundary</i>	<p><i>Accumulated land/resources overtime</i> “Many BD people (e.g., owners of our shops) have purchased agro-lands in Italy for local productions, its easy to produce here and then sell, rather than to bring all the way from BD”</p> <p><i>Extensions of business overseas</i> “Our owner of shop resides in UK, settled there now, but for business here in Italy we are employed locally, and looks after our boss’s business activities in Italy”</p>
<i>Social Stratification</i>	<p><i>Reference point in the locality</i> “All the fresh vegetables sold here, let’s say 1 kg. of brinjals is cheaper in Rome (capital of Italy) than in Dhaka (capital of Bangladesh) ... We have a unique network of our Halaal (especially processed) meat in Italy”</p> <p><i>Widely identifies with prominence</i> “Our area has become well-known over the years... We are mostly Bangladeshi people here, and we managed to establish our base here.”</p>

Szkudlarek and Wu (2018) highlighted the high time to boost up the conversation on the socially embedded nature of immigrant entrepreneurial actions, the aforesaid results cater to that need to some extent. The expanding social process around the journey of a migrant venture inside the demarcated enclave starts with a dream, and as it unfolds, so do many other happenings inside and outside the boundaries impacting the whole economic lifecycle of the entrepreneur reshaping the dynamics of the enclave context itself. Co-ethnic segmentary notions push forward similar-origin networked, befriended and related migrants to upper chambers of opportunities, whereas unknown newcomers lag behind as demonstrated from: “*Our BD relatives dwelling in Italy were the first source of information to motivate us to come to Italy. We maintain our local networks, e.g. people from Noakhali district of BD go around well together here.*”. Both however devise their own

migratory methods to integrate with local dynamics, at times collaborate across sectors (food chains, travel agencies, garment sellers, street vending) lending and leveraging mutually for better solidarity, other times compete to gain better ties and social accreditations regionally and locally beyond own ethnic enclaves. The process is altogether termed as Intra-Interlacing phase.

As the entrepreneurial journey extends further, Hindle (2010) and Tavassoli and Tripl (2019) are recalled as focused on how the social paradigm perfects the surrounding of the ethnic entrepreneur. Extending that swing, once interlaced well, immigrant entrepreneurs organically grow for intermingling more mutually and inter-rationally bettering the status of stability and spreading wings to surround themselves with significant substance and sources of subsistence socially. As demonstrated through: *“All national and religious festivals of BD are celebrated here no matter how busy we may be. Good thing is that all are invited, together we enjoy our festivities and gather for our social good irrespective of our classes, no matter who is owner or who is worker.”* It gives rise to a new extended identity to the ethnic enclave with extended versions and senses of sharing and caring as underpinned by Barnard and Pendock (2013). The process is altogether termed as Intra-Intermingling phase.

With the passage of time and by degrees, the ethnic enclave is well recognized, ratified and rounded-off to undertake a broader ground of hosting ventures, accumulation and concentration also intensify, a sense of positive integration and assimilation also solidify. Now is the time that both migrants and locals are comfortable relying on and relaying to each other, economic scope is strengthened, old boundaries are suspended, and new heights are sustained. Now migrants can mobilize more and saturate well, and finally exercise spill over freedom as if the “fish is not out of

the water anymore”, but the “bird is out of the cage for sure”. The process is altogether termed as Intra-Interoperating phase.



Image 1) Social tipping point (TP₁): *Ethnic business processes get rid of originated “Made in China” labels for a new sense of “Made in Bangladesh”*



Image 2) Social tipping point (TP₂): Ethnic identities get rid of “Foreign naming” for “Own renaming” of immigrant operative ventures

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

The interconnectedness of all these three outputted phases can be captured in the following process flow, giving rise to the context of a titled town with extended functionality and familiarity:

Enterprising ethnic enclave: **Stands** → **Strives** → **Surrounds** → **Saturates** → **Spills over**

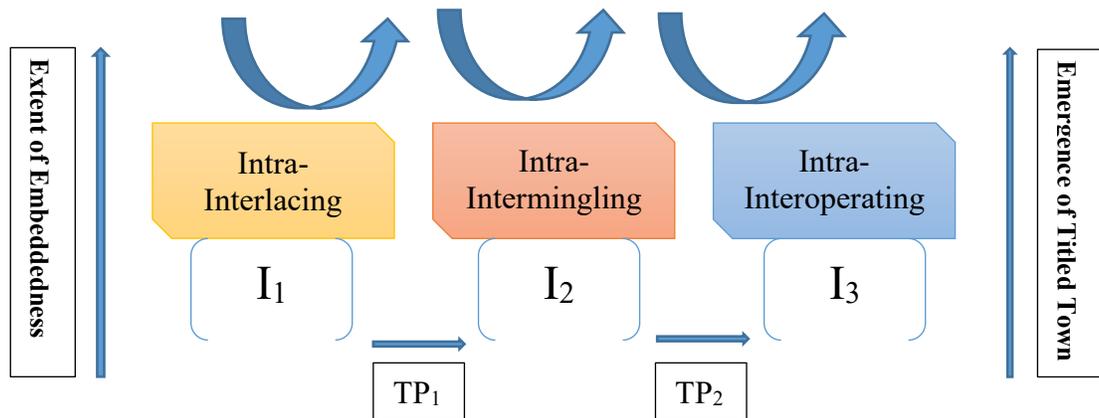


Fig. 2) Tipping process of Titled Town (*TP = Tipping Points*)

“We are now a mini-Bangla-town here” – this collective notion of a mature ethnic enclave dominated by first generation immigrant entrepreneurs preparing the hotbed for second generation nascent actors with extended social resource and economic opportunity pool, overall rests the case. Strengthening Kloosterman and Rath’s (2001) social embeddedness of migrant entrepreneurship notions of matching actors with structures, and Braymen and Neymotin ‘s (2014) ideas on concentrating its economic activities around ethnic enclaves, this research further building on Orozco’s (2021) ethnic identity aspect, predominantly contributes to demystifying the underlying process of signifying its identity saturation, shaping its surrounding heading toward a terrific territory or titled town consequently.

The tipping process of titled town (Fig.2) reveals two critical tipping points (TP) at three interconnected dynamic and dual interphases of: (a) intra-interlacing, (b) intra-intermingling, and (c) intra-interoperating, in capturing the gradual emergence of ethnic enterprising ‘Bangla-town’ in Rome, Italy. The tipping points are tantamount to revolutionary point of transition to the next logical phase; and the undergoing gradually embedding extent of social embeddedness is tantamount to evolutionary process of transition to the thick layer and latex of a titled town with extended functionality and familiarity, bigger than the idea of merely ethnicity.

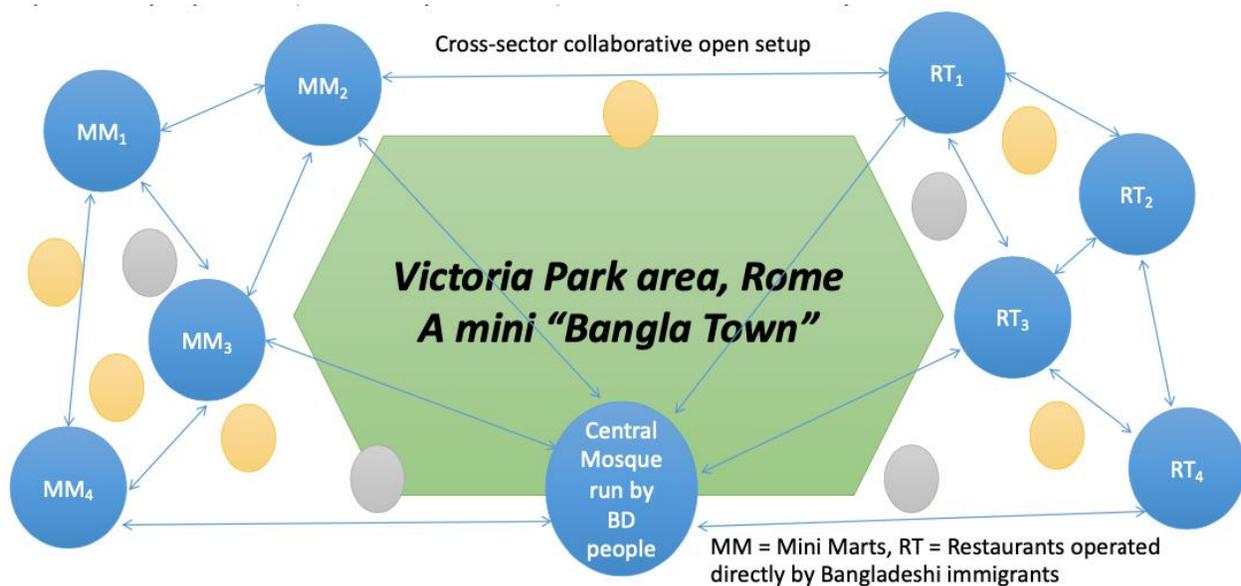


Fig. 3) Construction of Titled Town

In addressing the collectively embedded gradually building and broadening enclave dynamics (Braymen & Neymotin, 2014), this research reveals a set of aforesaid insights previously unaccounted for, related to the untapped and increasingly less-known identification, demarcation and expansion process of the newly carved-out clustered community context characterized as an

independent extended territory recognized and endorsed extensively. Herein, not only the social embeddedness of migrant entrepreneurship is crucial, but also the overarching social process that embeds ethnic identities and translates enclaves into extended economic territory is critical, where “extent of embeddedness” phase-wise identifies and solidifies both emergence and expansion of new “enclave entrepreneurship”, departed from merely “ethnic entrepreneurship”, with due socio-economic significance.

Thus, the research also contributes to multi-player, multi-sectoral & multi-layered collaborative procedural understanding of ethnic enclaves in contemporary entrepreneurship. Though as the delimitation of the study, this research has not much looked into the parallel titled town crisscrossing and amalgamating with each other creating a greater ethnic multicultural arena. At the same time, for further research inquiry it remains meaningful to delve deeper into the dynamics of enclave entrepreneurship which fades the discussion away from ethnicity and also talks about the enclave itself as a matter of greater research inquiry.

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Entrepreneurship in Immigrant Communities: Conclusion on Ethnic Enclaves

Though the enterprising/economic orientations around ethnic enclaves are held on a higher note in existing entrepreneurship literatures (Li et al., 2018; Braymen & Neymotin, 2014; Ndofor & Priem, 2011), this research has opened up the Pandora's box on underlying social/community dynamics embedded with and revolving around ethnic enclaves (Szkudlarek & Wu, 2018; Lumpkin et al., 2018; Somerville & McElwee, 2011; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). To continue the growth of entrepreneurship field, the developed community-centric integrated model in this research revealed the interplay of informal social factors and enterprising ethnic actors fathoming and furthering ethnic enclaves through the social mechanisms of – social subscriptions, social timings, social supply chain and social investments. It expands the entrepreneurial economic scope of CBE theory (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006) defining and delineating the surrounding societal scene inseparable from economic scene. Alongside, it also captures the expanding nature of socio-economic exchanges of KSTE theory (Li et al., 2018) developing the social conditions of spilling over of economic expertise beyond.

Basing the foundational social epitome on which enterprising ethnic enclave stands → strives → surrounds → saturates → spills over, also opportunities are matched with resources (Kloosterman, 2010), the research furthermore characterizes the essential social process that embeds ethnic identities and translates enclaves into extended economic territory (Orozco, 2021) demystifying the gradual emergence and expansional social laws of embedded enclave dynamics through interconnected dynamic and dual phases of intra-interlacing, intra-intermingling, and intra-interoperating. Thus, the research also contributes to multi-player, multi-sectoral & multi-layered

collaborative procedural understanding of ethnic enclaves in contemporary immigrant entrepreneurship literatures. It hence strengthens social embeddedness theory (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001) matching actors with gradually extending and expanding structures, and also determines transitional tipping points for the extent of social embeddedness with extensions of functionality and familiarity. Resolving past tensions (Szkudlarek & Wu, 2018; Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013; Jennings et al., 2013, Suddaby et al., 2011), the research shifts the conversation from ethnicity, ethnic enclave, and ethnic entrepreneurship to the very notion of enclave dynamics and enclave entrepreneurship. This point of departure requires future research to tilt toward addressing emerging tensions inside the domain of enclave dynamics blended with organizational dynamics.

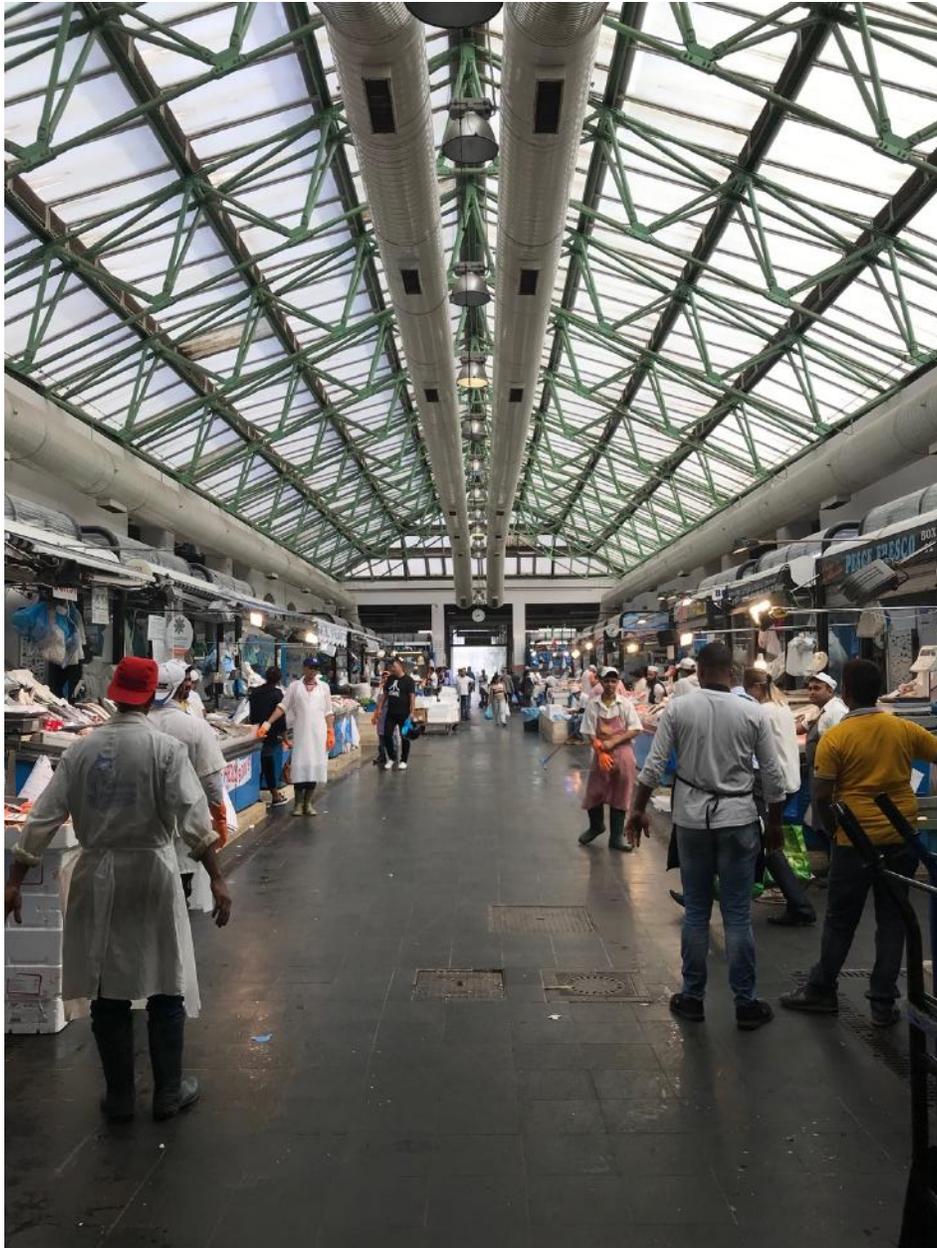
As the notion march forwards, the arena of ethnic informal organizing is deemed to be a well untapped ground to supplement added value and sidestepped theoretical insights in organizational and management disciplines. It is because, entrepreneurs not in isolation but as part of larger collectives representing components of communities play pivotal roles in community fostering through business opportunities by engaging in organizational activities informally similar to an institutionalized entrepreneurial firm (Hindle, 2010; Mezias & Kuperman, 2001). Given this community perspective to entrepreneurship, populations of informl organizations constituting the off-track value chain through community-level functions of production and distribution consequently result in emergence of new local industries arising predominantly from such informal associations (Mezias & Kuperman, 2001). What usually happens inside a formal business organization given a long-standing institutional set-up, interestingly takes place inside a community context informally symbolizing the community environment as the organizational environment where the interplay of roles and relationships among employees are substituted by entrepreneurial local actors and community members informally (Hindle, 2010). Therefore, further

deep understanding of community and ethnic entrepreneurship is rooted into the combination of bespoke institutional components and underlying human factors, where physical resources, human resources, social networks, and community boundaries informally regulate the entrepreneurial, managerial and organizational processes with due significance (Patluang, 2017; Murphy, 2012).

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“These communities are not enclaves. They are integral parts of the city and at times there is no distinction between one community and the next.”

(Ramadani et al., 2019, pp. xv).