

The experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs in a medium sized Canadian city

by
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Abstract

Traditionally, immigrant entrepreneurial research conducted in Canada has focused on major cities such as Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver (MTV). However, recent research on migrant economies highlights the need to examine immigrant entrepreneurship across all city types, including small to medium sized cities (SMCs). This thesis answers the call among the literature for qualitative studies to investigate immigrant entrepreneurship, by examining the experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs in the SMC of St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador (NL).

Combining the rescaling approach with the mixed embeddedness theory, the opportunities and barriers that immigrant entrepreneurs face in this Canadian SMC are identified. More specifically, this project explores what entrepreneurial supports are considered to be the most comprehensive for newcomers operating a business. My findings underscore that immigrant entrepreneurs in the low-skill sector face a much different, less holistic support system than those in the high-skill sector. Moreover, while this Atlantic province has long struggled with the retention of newcomers, Memorial University of NL is playing a key role in the integration, retention, and facilitation of immigrant entrepreneurship.

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List of Abbreviations

AIP—Atlantic Immigration Pilot
ANC—Association of New Canadians
BC— British Columbia
ESL—English as a Second Language
EU— European Union
GDP—Gross Domestic Product
GEM—Global Entrepreneurship Monitor
ICEHR—Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research
LA—Los Angeles
LIP—Local Immigration Partnership
MTV—Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver
MUN—Memorial University
NL—Newfoundland and Labrador
NLPNP—Newfoundland and Labrador’s Provincial Nominee Program
NGO—Non-governmental Organization
PEI—Prince Edward Island
PNP—Provincial Nominee Program
PR—Permanent Residency
RIAC—Refugee and Immigrant Advisory Council
SMCs—Small to medium-sized cities
SUV—Start-up Visa Program
TEA—Total early-stage Entrepreneurial Activity
UK—United Kingdom
US—United States of America

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Along with an immigrant, arrives a sharp mind and an entrepreneurial spirit which propels them to build not just economic capital but also social and cultural capital in the new place they call home. If you've eaten at one of the recently opened restaurants in St. John's you've likely been enjoying the spoils of immigration. (CBC News 2018)

The government does not want to lose the people who come to study as international students... A lot of times we look at it as replacing jobs for Newfoundlanders and Labradorians. I [Minister of immigration for the Department of Advanced Skills and Labour] look at this as an opportunity to create jobs (CBC News 2018)

Newfoundland and Labrador's immigration strategy is looking to immigrant entrepreneurship as a way to create a more diversified economy and alleviate the province's shrinking population, as demonstrated by these *CBC* quotes. In reference to the first quote, the province has recognized the high rates of entrepreneurship among newcomers, along with the economic opportunity that such businesses present to the local economy. As for the latter quote, the province hopes that the recent prioritization of immigration streams that cater to immigrant entrepreneurs will help ease the rising provincial debt, create jobs, and retain newcomers. However, this thesis argues that there is a need for a holistic, ongoing, approach to immigrant integration if NL's immigration strategy is to prove a long-term success.

Though immigration in Canada has continued to grow, it now makes up over 20 percent of the country's population, NL's immigrant population only consists of 2.4 percent of the provincial population (Statistics Canada 2017). The province has also experienced a different demographic trend than the rest of the country. In 2017, NL was the only province in Canada to witness a declining population from 2016 (Statistics Canada 2017). Low immigration numbers and a decreasing population has been paired with a boom and bust economy that has seen the province suffer from turbulent economic conditions, including events such as the cod collapse

(1992) and the more recent global crash in oil prices (2014). The decline in global oil prices has pushed Canada's easternmost province into an economic bust period. In response to the decreasing provincial population and economic conditions, the government is looking to increased immigration and government policies that facilitate immigrant entrepreneurship as a remedy to unfortunate economic and demographic trends.

In response to demographic and economic concerns, the provincial government's *Way Forward* strategy looks to increase NL's immigrant intake to 1700 newcomers annually by 2022 (Newfoundland and Labrador 2019). Meanwhile, the province has also added two immigrant entrepreneur streams to its Provincial Nominee Program (PNP). Although these strategies aim to bring more immigrant entrepreneurs to the province, NL has long struggled with the retention of immigrants, as newcomers often settle in larger urban centres (Biase & Bauder 2005; Fang et al. 2018; Sano et al 2017; Wang & Hii 2019). Scholars in the discipline of geography emphasize that Canadian immigration has traditionally been dominated by large urban centres like Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver (MTV), where over 60 percent of immigrants reside (Lo & Teixeira 2015; Walton-Roberts 2011; Statistics Canada 2016). However, regionalization policies have prioritized immigration in small to medium sized (SMCs) cities and rural areas (Fang et al. 2018; Lo & Teixeira 2015; Sano et al 2017; Walton Roberts 2011). With immigration predominantly flowing to MTV cities, it is not surprising that the majority of literature on immigration and immigrant entrepreneurship in Canada primarily focuses on MTVs. Furthermore, even though all levels of government are prioritizing immigration in SMCs, there remains little research that investigates immigrant entrepreneurship in such cities (Cooke & Kemeny 2017; Dauvergne, 2016; Filomeno 2015; Grant & Thompson 2015; Lo & Teixeira 2015; Walton Roberts 2011). Therefore, the purpose of this project is to investigate the concept of immigrant

entrepreneurship in St. John's, NL, in order to contribute to the limited amount of research that investigates this topic in SMCs.

1.1 Research objectives and questions

The objective of this research is to develop an understanding of the experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs in the city of St. John's, while also identifying which factors act as barriers and opportunities to the success or failure of their entrepreneurship. Moreover, this thesis aims to determine if the current entrepreneurial supports accessible to newcomers are adequately serving their needs. With several different government policies designed to support immigrant entrepreneurs, it is necessary to understand how successful these policies are. Asking immigrant entrepreneurs about their personal experiences with government policies and community resources provides insight into what is working and what changes could be made to improve available policies and supports. More specifically this thesis will answer the following questions:

- 1) What are the opportunities and constraints that enable and hinder immigrant business success?
- 2) What are the key support services that are available to immigrant entrepreneurs in St. John's?
- 3) Who is falling through the cracks of available immigrant entrepreneurial supports?

In answering these questions this project will provide valuable findings to the provincial and federal government, the city of St. John's, associations that provide services to immigrants in St. John's such as: the Local Immigration Partnership (LIP), Association of New Canadians (ANC), and the Refugee Immigrant Advisory Council (RIAC), all in hopes to better equip immigrant entrepreneurs to thrive, not just survive. This project is interested in the concepts of migrant economies, entrepreneurship, integration, and retention, as adequate employment is seen as a "silver bullet" for the integration of newcomers, while also being an asset to urban

development (Räuchle & Schmiz 2018). These concepts, combined with the high rates of entrepreneurship among immigrants, have exposed the importance of understanding the experiences of immigrant entrepreneurship across city types, yet the literature has largely ignored SMCs (Lo & Teixeira 2015). With the city of St. John's relying on immigration as a key tool in curbing the province's declining population and stagnant economy, the city must understand which support services are most effective, while identifying which support areas need improvement. With a lack of research on the dynamics of immigrant entrepreneurship in SMCs, including St. John's, my research will help fill this gap in the literature.

1.2 Immigrant entrepreneurship literature

Recent geographic research on migrant economies has emphasized the need to develop an understanding of the impact that immigrant entrepreneurship has across varying city types (Lo & Teixeira 2015; Schuch & Wang 2015).¹ While substantial research has examined the opportunities and challenges facing immigrant entrepreneurs in major gateway cities (Lofstrom 2017) there is a lack of research on the dynamics of small business creation in SMCs. Moreover, how multi-scalar influences differ between the geographic locations of SMCs and MTV cities is not well understood (Cooke & Kemeny 2017; Dauvergne, 2016; Filomeno 2015; Grant & Thompson 2015). While SMCs and downscaled cities are disconnected from global networks, disadvantaged by neoliberal rescaling, and present limited opportunity structures for migrants, municipal actors frame migrants as key agents of urban development (Glick-Schiller & Çağlar

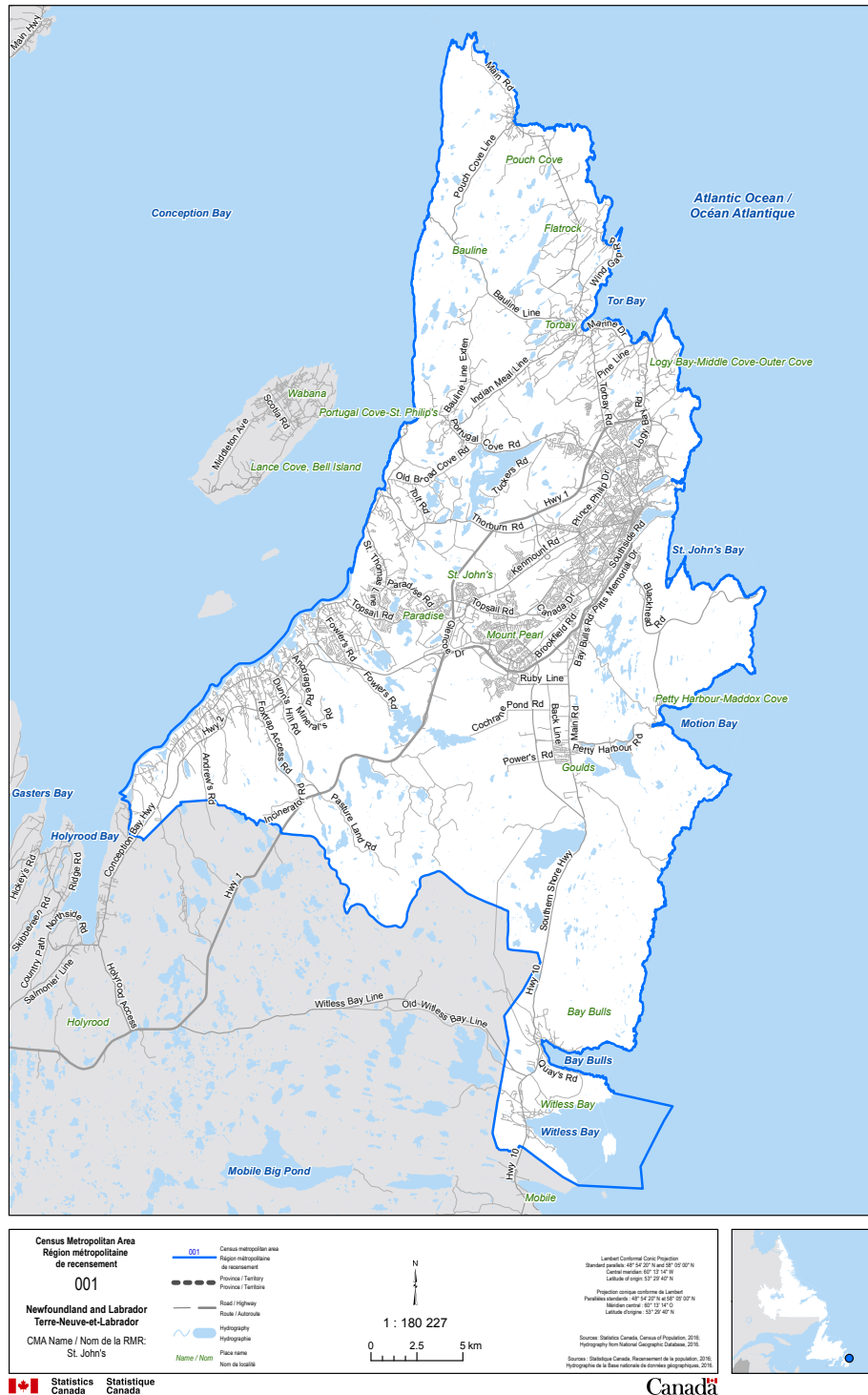
¹ The mixed embeddedness approach has been widely applied to immigrant entrepreneurial research. Created by Kloosterman and Rath (1999), the approach claims that immigrant's entrepreneurial outcomes are influenced by factors on three separate scales. Local level (micro), socio-cultural forces; regional level (meso), economic-structural contexts; and national level (macro), political and institutional forces are all embedded together and influence immigrant entrepreneurial outcomes (Kloosterman & Rath 1999).

2009; Filomeno 2015; Pottie-Sherman 2017). However, the research that exists on downscaled cities has not contextualized the mixed embeddedness approach in resource-driven urban economies, such as St. John's. This project will not only address the call for more qualitative case studies looking at immigrant entrepreneurship, but it will also contribute to the mixed embeddedness thesis approach in the boom and bust, resource driven economy of the SMC, St. John's.

1.3 Study Area

The study area for this project includes the census metropolitan area (CMA) of St. John's (see Figure 1.1). As the only city of more than 35,000 residents in NL, St. John's is home to the majority of the province's immigrant population (Statistics Canada 2016). Given the resources and time available for this study, participants were limited to those that resided within the St. John's CMA. Hosting 67 percent of the provincial immigrant population (Statistics Canada 2016), St. John's was identified as the most viable option to examine the experiences of immigrant entrepreneurship in a NL city. Data collection for this study stretched from June 2018 to January 2019. Though this study's scope included the entire CMA of St. John's, all but one participant owned their businesses in the downtown region of St. John's.

Figure 1.1 The CMA of St. John's NL.
Source: NL Statistics Agency, 2016.



1.4 Methods

Answering the call for more qualitative case studies that research the experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs in SMCs, this project employed a qualitative research design. The qualitative methods used in this study predominantly came in the form of in-person interviews. Key informant interviews provided a regional, provincial, and national level understanding of the current government and policy landscape for immigrant entrepreneurship. Meanwhile, interviews with immigrant entrepreneurs provided this study with a local level understanding of the experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs in NL. Interviews allow for the multi-scalar understanding of immigration in the region, province, and country. Immigration requires a multi-scalar approach since immigration intake and strategies are designed at a national and provincial level, while the actual everyday experiences of immigrants occur on a regional scale.

In total, I conducted 28 in-depth, in person interviews with both key informants and immigrant entrepreneurs. Initially, I interviewed eight key informants, these individuals included municipal and provincial government officials, representatives from relevant local immigrant organizations, and Memorial University. These 60-minute interviews were semi-structured and focused on existing support structures for self-employment in St. John's, along with key informants' opinions of Canadian immigrant entrepreneurial policies. Following key informant interviews, I interviewed 20-immigrant business owner-participants. In order to capture the greatest diversity of experiences possible within this sample size, ten individuals that owned businesses in the low-skill sector and ten individuals that owned businesses in the high-skill sector were interviewed. These semi-structured interviews varied from 40-90 minutes in length. The interviews with immigrant entrepreneurs focused on the opportunities and challenges faced in all stages of business ownership. Further, immigrant entrepreneurial questions focused on

available entrepreneurial support structures utilized. Questions regarding the completeness of these support structures, if anything was missing, and what resources were most utilized, helped develop an understanding of the support systems in place for immigrant entrepreneurs in St. John's.

All interviews were recorded and later transcribed verbatim. Transcriptions were coded using *Dedoose* software. *Dedoose* software is a web-based application designed for mixed methods research. The software allows for users to apply descriptors and codes to their data. I used descriptors and codes to identify reoccurring themes and patterns across participants. Descriptors used in this study were general descriptions of participants and varied between key informants and immigrant entrepreneurs. Key informant descriptors included service sector, gender, and duration of their employment. Immigrant entrepreneurs' descriptors included business phase, region of origin, gender, age, business sector, year of immigration, and admission category. Descriptors such as service sector and region of origin helps maintain participants' anonymity at a later stage, during the write-up phase of a report. Meanwhile a code, or meaning unit, facilitates the identification of concepts which is used to assemble data into groups or themes (Cotanzaro 1988). For this project, interviews were coded using grounded theory. Grounded theory involves the construction of theories through the gathering and analysis of data (Corbin & Strauss 1990). Using this theory, interviewing study participants was the first step in collecting data (Glaser & Strauss 1967). The purpose of this approach was to identify which dominant themes emerged from the coded interviews. Combining deductive and inductive approaches, this project began by collecting data from the 28 interviews. I used these 28 interviews to identify reoccurring barriers, opportunities, support systems, and themes (Catanzaro 1988). Before interviewing key informants, I created a deductive list of questions

based on relevant geography literature on immigrant entrepreneurship. After completing key informant interviews, I created an inductive question list. An inductive approach allows for the researcher to add questions to their question list (interview guide) throughout the data collection process (discussed below).

Content analysis is a valuable approach for qualitative studies, as Downe-Wambolt (1992, 314) stated, “it provides a systematic and objective means to make valid inferences from verbal, visual, or written data in order to describe and quantify specific phenomena.” Further, content analysis is a research practice that allows for replicable and valid conclusions to be made from interviews in the form of text (Krippendorff 2004). Researchers take a variety of approaches when conducting content analysis, however Bengtsson (2016) identifies four main stages for the analysis, which are decontextualization, recontextualization, categorisation, and compilation. Decontextualization is the start of the coding process where a researcher breaks down the text into meaning units. A meaning unit is a set of sentences or paragraphs that is derived from participants answering interview questions (Bengtsson 2016; Catanzaro 1988; Graneheim & Lundman 2004). Within a meaning unit, codes are then applied in relation to the context of the response in a process referred to as an “open coding process” (Berg 2001). Codes enable the identification of concepts, which then makes it possible to categorize patterns and themes within a data set. The list of codes applied to the text comes from a code list that can be created deductively or inductively.

Research using a deductive approach requires a code list to have been created prior to the analysis process, whereas inductive studies can see code lists change over the duration of the study (Bengtsson 2016). Following the application of codes, the researcher then condenses the coded material, removing the number of words coded, while ensuring to not lose valuable

content. Coded material can then be grouped into domains or content area. Finally, in latent analysis the concept of sub-theme allows themes and categories to be identified (Graneheim & Lundman 2004). According to Bengtsson (2016: 12), “a theme is an overall concept of an underlying meaning on an interpretative latent level, and it answers the question “How?””

For this project, latent analysis allowed for the interpretation of the underlying meanings within a large amount of text to be identified, in short, what story did the coded text tell? (Bengtsson 2016; Berg 2001; Catanzaro 1988; Downe-Wambolt 1992). Given that data collection occurred from July 2018 to January 2019, I reread all transcriptions to ensure familiarity of the material before the coding process began. Next, a deductive code list was created; however, following the completion of key informant interviews I applied an inductive approach, adding codes to the pre-existing code list for immigrant entrepreneurial interviews. Following this step, I applied meaning units to the text, which was followed by the application of codes. Once this step was completed for all interviews, I condensed codes into smaller sets of words. Finally, I performed latent content analysis so implicit themes could be identified within the coded interviews, thus generating the findings of this project.

Living in St. John’s for the past two years also allowed me to conduct periodic participant observation during the data collection phase of this project. Though participant observation was not initially part of this project’s methods, informal conversations, observations, and experiences have also contributed to my understanding of St. John’s immigration landscape, including my experiences as a customer at local immigrant-owned businesses. Living in the location of my case study enabled me to develop an understanding of the region’s immigration picture that would have been impossible if travelling to conduct data collection, for weeks at a time.

Therefore, while no quotes or direct findings stemmed from participant observation, it provided this project with a richer, more in-depth knowledge.

To triangulate my qualitative findings, I also used available data from the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) and Statistics Canada. The triangulation approach combines the strengths of qualitative and quantitative methods, while simultaneously filling each method's gaps (Hay 2010; Pierce & Lawhon 2015). I used quantitative data in the form of secondary sources to develop a more global understanding of immigrant entrepreneurship trends (such as gender ratios among immigrant entrepreneurs and industry statistics). To measure interprovincial migration statistics, I used the Canadian government's census data. These statistics helped demonstrate NL's population challenges and the high ratio of entrepreneurship among immigrants in Global North countries, including Canada.

1.5 Thesis Structure

This thesis is comprised of five separate chapters and is in manuscript form. The first chapter is an introduction to the thesis. Chapter one discusses this project's research questions, objectives, methods, purpose, timeline, and process. Chapter two reviews the literature on immigrant entrepreneurship. Chapter two offers readers an understanding of what research has been conducted on this topic, while also demonstrating the importance of this project and how it contributes to the field of immigrant entrepreneurial research. Then, this thesis will turn to two separate manuscript-style chapters (chapters three and four) that will identify the major findings of this project. Finally, chapter five consists of a discussion and conclusion section. Chapter five reiterates the key findings of this project and discusses directions for future research and policy recommendations.

1.6 Findings

The findings of this project will be broken into two separate chapters (chapter three and four) but will both contribute to answering the overarching question: is St. John's a city of opportunities or barriers for immigrant entrepreneurs? Both chapters contribute to developing an understanding of whether all immigrant entrepreneurs face uniform opportunities and barriers.

Chapter three contributes to the literature on mixed embeddedness and rescaling by investigating how immigrant entrepreneurs in St. John's navigate the various opportunity structures that exist in St. John's. St. John's is a unique case study as the city is spatially isolated, has a boom and bust economy, holds little political power, and hosts a small immigrant population when compared to other Canadian cities. However, the city is also the provincial capital, the only region in the province to have a growing population in 2018, is home to two thirds of the province's immigrant population, hosts the province's one major University, is closely positioned to offshore oil reserves, and hosts provincial and federal government offices. Therefore, chapter three examines how these differing opportunity structures impact the entrepreneurial outcomes of immigrants. The purpose of this chapter is to identify what barriers and opportunities immigrant entrepreneurs face in this particular boom and bust economy. Moreover, are these factors uniform for all immigrant businesses or do they vary between high and low-skill businesses? Chapter three will address these concepts by highlighting four key barriers that immigrant entrepreneurs in St. John's face: that NL does not market ethnic diversity; high-skill entrepreneurs face challenges hiring enough qualified labour; immigrant entrepreneurs lack knowledge of what existing supports are available in St. John's; and that there is a lack of in-person government assistance. As for theoretical concepts, this chapter will focus on combining the mixed embeddedness thesis with the rescaling approach. Given St. John's

distinctive position, the city provides an ideal case study to contribute to these theoretical approaches that have rarely been combined, especially in a Canadian SMC.

Chapter four explores what the immigrant entrepreneurial support system looks like in a SMC. At a time where regionalization policies are pushing for immigration to occur outside of major cities, researchers have yet to thoroughly consider what supports are the most effective in SMCs. Therefore, the objective of the chapter is to contribute to the literature that studies what entrepreneurial supports exist in an SMCs and which prove the most effective. Further, the chapter will contribute to the essentially non-existent literature that considers how universities foster immigrant entrepreneurship, especially in SMCs. The purpose of chapter four is to develop an understanding of how different sectors of the economy shape the opportunity structures of immigrant entrepreneurs and how entrepreneurship is shaped by the available support systems. Further, are traditional immigrant serving supports meeting the needs of immigrant entrepreneurs and are these organizations themselves equipped to handle NL's projected immigration increase? Finally, this chapter will continue to build on the theoretical concept of mixed embeddedness.

1.7 Key characteristics of participants

Table 1.1 summarizes the characteristics of the research participants, including the 20 immigrant entrepreneurs and eight key informants.

Table 1.1. Key characteristics of participants.
Characteristics of Immigrant Entrepreneurs (N=20).

Gender	Region of origin	Age	Industry	Immigration category	# of employees	Business focus
Male (14)	Asia (11)	20-24 (3)	Scientific/technical (10)	International student (11)	1-4 (11)	International (11)
Female (6)	Europe (4)	25-29 (4)	Retail (6)	Refugee (4)	5-9 (6)	Domestic (9)
	Africa (3)	30-34 (4)	Food (4)	Skilled worker (2)	28-32 (2)	
	South America (2)	35-39 (5)		Temporary foreign worker (2)	10-14 (1)	
		40-44 (2)		Tourist visa (1)		
		55-59 (2)				
Characteristics of Key Informants (N=8)						

Employer

NGO (3)

University (1)

Government (4)

1.8 Research Process

Upon arriving in St. John's in September of 2017, I made contact with the LIP coordinator and the executive director of RIAC where two separate informal meetings were held to discuss my research questions. Following this initial contact, I began attending and contributing to monthly meetings that were hosted by the LIP and attended by local immigrant organizations and representatives. The purpose of attending these meetings was to develop an understanding of the local immigration picture along with what key actors identified as areas of concerns or opportunities for immigration in St. John's. While developing my research study design, I continued to stay in close contact with both LIP and RIAC to develop a more local level knowledge of the active immigrant organizations in St. John's.

On May 29, 2018, the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) approved this project (#20190175-AR). On May 14, 2019 this project had its ethical approval extended to May 31, 2020. Following the initial ethical approval, interviews began to be conducted from June 2018 to January of 2019. In total, I conducted 28 interviews, all of which were in-person with the exception of one immigrant entrepreneurial interview that was held over the phone. Both the LIP and RIAC assisted in the recruitment of interview participants (i.e., by forwarding my information sheet). I distributed the recruitment script (Appendix 1 & 2) to interview participants, both in person and via email. Once participants agreed to be interviewed, I emailed immigrant entrepreneurs and key informants an informed consent form (Appendix 3) and asked each participant to read through the form prior to the scheduled interview. I gave participants the opportunity to choose the location and time of the interview

that was most convenient and comfortable for them. Before beginning each interview, I asked participants if they needed more time to review the informed consent form and if they had any questions or concerns. If no concerns were raised, participants were asked to either check yes or no to indicate permission for the use of direct quotes and the audio recording of the interview. All participants were informed that if at any point they became uncomfortable the interview could be stopped and the recording terminated upon request. One of eight key informants and three of 20 immigrant entrepreneurs elected to not be audio recorded; therefore, these four interviews consisted of detailed notes that were written during each interview.

I constructed one interview guide (Appendix 4) for key informant interviews, which consisted of questions regarding topics that included: immigration policies and approaches, immigrant friendly practices, government involvement, barriers, inclusion and exclusion, regulations, and diversity. Following the completion and analysis of the key informant interviews I also created an interview guide (Appendix 5) for immigrant entrepreneurs. The interview guide for immigrant entrepreneurs was created from the findings of key informant interviews, but also from the call among scholars to develop a deeper understanding of immigrant business experiences in SMCs. Immigrant entrepreneurs were asked questions about their immigration process, entrepreneurial experience in NL, inclusion and exclusion, regulations, and support systems used in St. John's. Once all interviews were complete, each was transcribed. Once all interviews were transcribed, they were then uploaded and coded in *Dedoose*. The coding and analysis process of this project was completed late in February of 2019. From March to June 2019, the writing and presentation of this project was conducted. I presented findings from this project at three conferences: in Atlanta, Georgia ("Comparative Urbanism"); Halifax, Nova Scotia ("Metropolis: Doing Immigration Differently"); and St. John's, NL ("People, Place, and

Public Engagement”). My participation in these conferences allowed me to gain invaluable feedback from panelists and audience members and informed my analysis.

1.9 Power and Position

From the early stages of the research process I considered the role of power, positionality, and outsider status as a researcher interviewing both key informants and newcomers. Not only am I not a Newfoundlander, I am a white male, raised by a middle-class family in the Interior of British Columbia (BC). Opportunity was plentiful in BC, while challenges were minimal, and the economy never acted as an apparent deterrent in the community where I was raised. Therefore, I recognized that I was an outsider and in a position of power during two separate phases of this research. First, while interviewing key informants I was a newcomer to the province interviewing government officials and organization representatives that have worked, lived, and invested in NL often longer than I have been alive. These individuals dealt with past and current economic dilemmas while witnessing many transitions to St. John's during their tenure. Therefore, I concentrated on always being aware of my boundaries, as a newcomer myself, while interviewing key informants. Second, I was also an outsider during my interviews with immigrant entrepreneurs. Not only were these individuals transitioning to owning a business in a new country they were trying to adapt to living in a completely new country. There was also a possibility that these individuals had experienced past trauma or hardships that I had not. As an outsider in all stages of this research, I recognized that I had to be cautious of the ethical and methodological dilemmas brought forward by cultural and power differences. Furthermore, to acknowledge my positionality, I adapted Milner's (2007) framework designed for conducting educational research with different racial and cultural groups. Rather than the traditional approach in attempting to detach myself from the research process, I adopted a process of

cultural cognizance as I conducted my research, which meant that I paid careful attention to how different racial and cultural systems can experience activities (such as being interviewed) differently (Milner 2007).

Just as subjectivity cannot be completely removed from research, it is impossible to completely remove the risk of power dynamics while conducting research. When one individual is interviewing another there is always a risk of participants feeling vulnerable, especially when discussing citizenship status, their immigration process, opportunities, challenges, their employers, and government functions. Therefore, the cultural cognizance approach assisted me in a variety of stages of this research. I utilized the cultural cognizance approach in the design of research questions, in ensuring that participants understood their rights and the process of informed consent, and ensuring that it shaped how I approached each participant uniquely and respected the wishes of some participants to not be recorded or quoted.

1.1.1 Argument

Immigrant entrepreneurs benefit from a holistic approach to settlement and entrepreneurial services which must provide support beyond the initial months of entrepreneurship or one's arrival to Canada. A more complete support system includes a variety of elements such as: access to economic capital, qualified labour, resources that assist with general immigration and support information, representation of diversity, access to social networking and local knowledge, and public and governmental acknowledgement of the contributions made by newcomers. In St. John's there are two different types of supports available to immigrant entrepreneurs. While traditional immigrant entrepreneurial services provide support to newcomers in the low-skill sector, the University is playing a major role in all stages of integration and business development, among high-skill immigrant entrepreneurs. This thesis

will also argue that governments and immigration policies must recognize the diversity and resourcefulness of immigrant entrepreneurs. With immigration policies being designed specifically to bring entrepreneurs to Canada, it is essential to realize that entrepreneurs stem from all immigration categories. This point is especially important as certain entrepreneurial supports can exclude individuals because of their immigration status and as this study will demonstrate, entrepreneurs stem from all immigration categories.

Chapter 2: Literature Review of Immigrant Entrepreneurship

2.1 Introduction

Considerable research has examined the opportunities and challenges facing immigrant entrepreneurs in major Canadian gateway cities, yet there is a lack of research on the dynamics of business creation in SMCs. Moreover, research has yet to fully explore how macro and micro-level influences across multiple cities with similar demographic characteristics differ. With increased immigration occurring across Canada, it is critical to examine the varying experiences that immigrant entrepreneurs endure throughout different sized cities, and the opportunities and challenges these urban communities offer immigrant entrepreneurs. Considering the varying experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs, this thesis will demonstrate that a holistic and sustained immigration strategy is required in order to retain immigrant business owners in NL.

This chapter will begin by summarizing definitions of and debates about immigrant entrepreneurship, and how this study, in particular, defines immigrants that choose the path of self-employment. Next, in chronological order, I will explain the major theories that have been used over time to explain immigrant entrepreneurship. Following the early explanations of immigrant entrepreneurship, I review the more recent approaches that have been used to explain the transitioning landscape of immigrant entrepreneurial practices, including emerging research in the field of geography. Geographic approaches include, symbolic transformation, downscaled cities, the commodification of diversity, and the varying experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs in immigrant gateway cities and small to mid-sized cities (SMCs). Finally, I also review the literature focusing on the spatialities of immigrant entrepreneurship in order to establish the significance of researching immigrant entrepreneurship in SMCs.

Volery (2007) defines immigrant entrepreneurship as that by individuals who have immigrated to their host country in the past few decades and own a business in that country.² The topic of immigrant entrepreneurship, however, is more complex than this explanation. As Shane (2012) and Dheer (2018: 558) state, “immigrant entrepreneurship is defined as the process whereby immigrants identify, create and exploit economic opportunities to start new ventures in their destination nations.” Immigrant entrepreneurs are exposed to different economic opportunities and barriers geographically; moreover, as this study demonstrates, entrepreneurs stem from a variety of immigration categories. The existing literature also approaches the topic of immigrant entrepreneurship from different perspectives and disciplines, as a result terms such as ethnic, transnational, returnee, and minority entrepreneurs are used as interchangeable terminologies in the study of immigrant entrepreneurship.

Immigrant entrepreneurs may be ethnic entrepreneurs, operating primarily at a micro level.³ Micro level entrepreneurship indicates small scale, primarily locally conducted entrepreneurship (though ethnic entrepreneurs may conduct transnational business) that services

² The definition of an “immigrant” varies cross-nationally. According to Statistics Canada (2018), immigrants are “persons residing in Canada who were born outside of Canada, excluding temporary foreign workers, Canadian citizens born outside Canada, and those with student or working visas.” More simply put, they are an individual that is born in one nation and moves to another nation permanently, or at least plans to permanently move (Schiller et al. 1995; Wadhawa et al. 2007).

³ Macro, meso, and micro levels indicate scale, micro being the smallest, macro being the largest. The mixed embeddedness thesis for example argues that immigrant entrepreneurship is shaped by micro level socio-cultural forces, meso level economic-structural conditions, and the macro-level political-institutional factors of the host country (Kloosterman 2010; Kloosterman & Rath 2001; 2003; Rath 2000; Rath & Kloosterman 2000; Lo & Teixeira 2015). In Kloosterman & Rath’s analysis, micro level forces are everyday interactions with members of society, while macro level forces reference large scale, national, even transnational factors such as the interests of federal level political parties that are in power.

a small clientele base. These entrepreneurs are tied to a specific cultural heritage (Zhou 2004) and the needs and preferences of co-ethnic consumers in their host country (Evans 1989). Specific ethnic goods, services, and labour are leveraged within an ethnic community, thus promoting increased support from the specific ethnic community of suppliers and customers (Waldinger et al. 1990). With a focus on a specific ethnic market, these entrepreneurs often operate in dense ethnic or religious areas and operate on a local level (Dheer 2018; Fong & Ooka 2002).

Transnational immigrant entrepreneurship occurs on a macro level, with business conducted in at least two countries (Schiller et al. 1995). This type of entrepreneurship is consists of entrepreneurs that are involved socially and economically in at least two separate countries, conducting business on a cross-national level (Drori et al. 2001). Furthermore, these cross-national business practices require mobile entrepreneurs that bridge their resources in a variety of countries, while benefiting both their host and origin countries, not just their host countries (Hart & Acs 2011; Portes & Yui 2013).

Returnee entrepreneurship occurs on a meso and macro level. This form of entrepreneurship ensues following the return of a migrant from their host country. After living abroad for work or education, the individual returns to their country of origin to open a business (Wright et al. 2008). These businesses cater to the interest of their origin country, as the country benefits economically, however, the host country does not reap the financial rewards of the returnee migrant (Démurger & Xu 2011). Returnee entrepreneurs differ from immigrant entrepreneurs, as they take what they have learned in their previous host country and return to their origin country to start a business venture, thus contributing to their country of origins'

economic and social fabric. This advantage for an immigrant's country of origin is a key difference from the other types of entrepreneurship discussed in this section.

Minority entrepreneurship applies a broader definition than the other forms of entrepreneurship discussed. It encompasses an individual that is a minority and owns a business (Dheer 2018). Minority entrepreneurs may include immigrants, racialized minorities, Indigenous peoples, women, and religious minorities (Sonfield 2005). While this concept includes a wide array of groups, the determining factor is that the business owner is a member of a minority group (Dheer 2018). However, it is important to differentiate between these minority groups as each face unique challenges (including discrimination), while having separate entrepreneurial trends.

While this thesis investigates entrepreneurship (and the subsequent enterprise) through the experiences of immigrant business owners, it is primarily concerned with the entrepreneur themselves. Entrepreneurship is defined as the activity of setting up a business, while absorbing greater risk than if employed via a wage paying job, in hopes of achieving greater profit. Meanwhile an entrepreneur is the individual who organizes and operates at least one business, while absorbing greater than normal risk, in hopes to achieve greater financial profit (Oxford Dictionary 2019). But entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship are not as simple as a dictionary's definition, as individuals and government policies understand these individuals and activities differently. For an entrepreneur, entrepreneurship is viewed as an opportunity to advance themselves financially or pursue employment through an idea that they have created. Meanwhile, the government views entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship as a strategy to achieve high rates of economic growth, maximize tax returns, create jobs, facilitate innovation, and increase

commercialization (Canadian Chamber of Commerce 2014). Therefore, this thesis utilizes the mixed embeddedness theory (discussed below) to consider entrepreneurship on multiple scales.

For the purposes of this study, I define an immigrant entrepreneur as a first-generation immigrant that is the majority owner of a business in St. John's; therefore, the individual may be any person born outside of Canada. While these individuals may operate portions of their business abroad, their business must primarily operate in Canada, and more specifically, in NL. I apply this broad definition to an immigrant entrepreneur, to avoid excluding those who are not formally permanent residents (i.e., international students and temporary foreign workers). The rationale to only include first-generation immigrants in this study is twofold. First, second and third generation immigrants have increased levels of social and human capital, given that their family has previously settled in Canada. Second and third generation immigrants have likely been educated in Canada, so their skills and education are often recognized. Second, being born in Canada, second and third generation immigrants have greater local knowledge when compared to first-generation immigrants, who may lack any local connections or knowledge. Therefore, this study's goal is to examine the effectiveness and awareness of the current immigrant entrepreneurial supports that are available in St. John's, among newcomers that may have minimal knowledge of their new host society. This study's definition for immigrant entrepreneurship, therefore, encompasses the concepts of ethnic, transnational, and minority entrepreneurship, but limits the scope to first-generation newcomers.

2.2 Classic explanations of migrant entrepreneurship

Early research on immigrant entrepreneurship was heavily shaped by Simmel's (1908; 1921) work that explored the "stranger" (newcomer) as a trader, intercultural communication, and the social structure of society (Menzies et al. 2000; Wolf 1950). However, in the 1970s and 1980s,

the topic gained interest among many scholars. Academics from sociology, economics, entrepreneurship, and geography became interested in the societal and economic impacts of immigrant entrepreneurship (Dheer 2018). During this time, scholars such as Bonachich, Light, Portes, Waldinger, and many others began to develop theories on why immigrants had higher entrepreneurial rates, and at times, more success than the native-born population in the United States (US), especially certain groups of ethnic minorities. These early studies that investigated immigrant entrepreneurship were dominated by American scholars working in a select few large US gateway cities.⁴ For example, Light's (1972; 1988; 2002) focused on the high numbers of Korean entrepreneurs in Los Angeles. Wilson and Portes (1980) examined the high ratio of Cuban entrepreneurs in Miami. Meanwhile, Wong (1987) explored the role of immigrant businesses in New York, focusing on Chinese garment factories and enclave enterprises. These early, prominent, US-based scholars almost exclusively focused on a small set of major American gateway cities, leaving a gap in the literature outside of a select few locations.

In the US, as immigration totals increased from eleven percent of the country's total population growth in the 1950s, to 16 percent in the 1960s, to 22 percent in 1970 (Irwin 1972), along with a growth in visible diversity among immigrants,⁵ immigrant entrepreneurial research

⁴ Smith (2010: 570) defines a Gateway city as, "defined by several constituent parts: a city that is a "turnstile" for immigrants wishing to eventually leave and settle in another location, a major location in terms of the exchange of information, products, and cultural differences. It serves as an entrance into a host society, and there are also deep spatial divisions that are reflections of the politics surrounding migration."

⁵ The Hart-Celler Act (Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965) was a federal law that President Johnson passed. The law eliminated the Immigration Act of 1924, which limited the ethnic diversity among immigrants in the US. The 1924 Act allotted almost 70 percent of the US immigration intake to northern European countries (Kammer 2015), which was mainly designed to avoid altering the predominantly Protestant, European settler lineage of America. The Hart-Celler Act altered the ethnic diversity of the country, as the number of immigrants from African and Asian countries subsequently increased (Kammer 2015).

also developed (Kammer 2015). The increased diversity of newcomers settling in the US also coincided with a diversifying entrepreneurial population (Light 1979). In the US, the decrease of agricultural and non-agricultural self-employment between 1870-1940 correlated with American workers shifting from self-employment to wage earning labour (Light 1979; Mills 1950). By 1973, only 6.7 percent of Americans outside of agriculture were self-employed. A decline in self-employment, among native born citizens, was linked to the decreased economic rewards and longer hours that self-employment entailed (Ray 1975). With increased immigration in the 1970s, native-born citizens continuing to transition to salary paying jobs, and agricultural practices declining, immigrants began to counter decades of falling entrepreneurial rates (Light & Sanchez 1987). High rates of entrepreneurship and the successes among certain ethnic groups resulted in scholars developing and refining a series of theories to help understand this transitioning trend of entrepreneurship among newcomers.

The cultural theory tied high rates of immigrant entrepreneurship to specific cultures and their psychological traits. The theory considered how certain cultures promoted entrepreneurship through ethnic resources and further “that the cultural and psychological characteristics of groups incline adult members toward business enterprise as a mode of achievement” (Light 1979: 32). Light (1972) presented a sociological, cross cultural analysis that compared the low entrepreneurial levels of native-born whites and African Americans, to the high levels among Chinese and Japanese minorities. Light linked high rates of entrepreneurship among Asian immigrants in Los Angeles (LA) to support his cultural theory. Light (1972) and Bonachich (1972) argued that the competitive edge of having “group solidarity” created a competitive advantage for these entrepreneurs. These scholars, however, seemed to ignore the laundry list of

disadvantages that were inflicted on immigrant entrepreneurs at the time, which included discrimination, native-born citizens boycotting ethnic businesses, and cultural barriers.

Light (1972) used the cultural theory to demonstrate that immigrants were being pushed into entrepreneurship, as they were disadvantaged by having less education, credentials, and skills, while also suffering from discrimination. However, Light did not identify white citizens as being a barrier to these immigrant entrepreneurs, overlooking the high levels of segregation and racism in LA that pushed these individuals into entrepreneurship in the first place (Zhang 2010). In short, this theory argues that Chinese and Japanese immigrants had high rates of successful entrepreneurship because their culture provided them with the necessary resources, while the African American culture did not (Light 1979). Hence, this theory aligns with the culture of poverty argument that explained poverty among African Americans via institutional and cultural factors (Lewis 1966; Light 1977). Institutional factors included financial services not providing certain cultures with adequate access to financial capital, therefore economic development could not be sustained (Light 1977). Cultural factors were said to include “wasteful and destructive” consumption habits that also included unsophisticated and irresponsible shopping, large families, unhealthy diets, and gambling (Light 1977: 892). As subsequent scholars like Massey and Denton (1993) note, this surface level critique of institutional factors ignored the systematic disadvantages that were inflicted on minority populations, instead placing blame on certain cultures’ habits for perpetuating their socio-economic disadvantage.

During the second half of the twentieth century, US cities such as LA, New York, and Miami experienced substantial increases in the diversity of their cities’ residents. In 1960, LA had a white majority population of about 80 percent, while eight percent of its population was foreign born. By the end of twentieth century, however, about 30 percent of the city’s residents

were white (US Census Bureau 2010). These demographic changes resulted in widespread discrimination against non-white immigrants, especially those that were entrepreneurs. For example, in San Francisco, city authorities refused to grant Japanese immigrants permits to operate laundry businesses (Light 1972). In LA, white residents boycotted Asian businesses and hired individuals to terrorize and vandalize immigrant businesses. Though early theories discuss the discrimination inflicted on immigrant entrepreneurs by city officials and the public, they largely ignore how such factors perpetuated racial hierarchies and socioeconomic disadvantages.

A related, but not strictly culturally focused theory was Blalock (1967) and Bonachich (1973) “middleman minorities” theory. The approach looked to explain the social mobility and business success of “sojourners” —minorities that plan to return to their country of origin. The approach stated that sojourners were concerned with quickly amassing capital and sustaining very close ties with their countrymen in their host and origin countries. These individuals often did not integrate into their new country’s society. The disconnect from their host society is a key difference between the cultural and middleman theories (Bonachich 1973). The approach focused on the high rates among certain ethnicities within small business ownership (Bonachich 1973). Similar to the cultural theory, the host population develops animosity towards a migrant population because of their presence in the community, thus blocking them from the labour force. Stemming from discrimination, minority groups rely on middleman, intermediate businesses (banks, barbershops, traders, launderers, and restaurants) to economically survive (Bonachich 1973). These individuals develop a “competitive business edge” by relying on ethnic employees or family members to provide cheap labour.

According to this theory, Korean grocers in LA provide an example of “middleman minorities,” because of the high rates of Korean businesses in predominantly African American

neighbourhoods (Min 1996). For example, Park (1996) stated that in an area of LA, that was comprised mainly of African American and Latino residents, up to 70 percent of gas stations were Korean-owned. Media coverage highlighting conflicts between Korean business owners and African American residents in LA magnified racial tensions and conflict (Park 1996). The middleman minorities approach argued that blocked access is key to immigrants choosing entrepreneurship. Hostilities between immigrants and the native-born population further drives immigrants to choose entrepreneurship, which often targets the needs of an ethnic group (Light 1979). As a result of the middleman minority approach the ethnic enclave theory was created.

Wilson and Portes' (1980) ethnic enclave theory theorised that immigrants that gather in spatial concentrations benefit from ethnic resources that include, labour, clientele, market knowledge, and social relations. The concentration of immigrants in a spatial area is paired with high rates of ethnic businesses that serve the local ethnic customer base (Wilson & Portes 1980). Ethnic enclaves present opportunities to ethnic minorities that do not have their skills and education recognized, or those that cannot speak the dominant language. Strong relationships are fostered between those living and working in these enclaves; however, this results in the economic, social, and spatial isolation of these residents. The ethnic entrepreneurs in these enclaves rely on lower cost (or unpaid) labour from ethnic employees or family members to cut operating costs, which can be linked to unfair working conditions (Wilson & Portes 1980). A key trait of ethnic enclaves is that they consist of a specific ethnicity, unlike ethnoburbs (Li 1997) which are multiethnic communities (discussed below). Cities can be transformed and attract newcomers through large enclaves such as the Cuban enclave in Miami, or the Korean enclave in LA, which contain significant clusters of minority businesses (Portes & Jensen 1989).

While prior theories considered how minority populations were disadvantaged within the labour market, the disadvantaged theory primarily linked racism, discrimination, exclusion, and skills and education not being recognized as the driving forces behind high rates of self-employment among minorities. Due to large numbers of minorities not being able to find employment, while facing discrimination, self-employment is necessary for economic advancement (Light 1979). This theory also explains the economic behaviour of the unemployed, more generally during the great depression when jobs were scarce, as correlating with an increase in entrepreneurship. Light used census data to demonstrate how self-employment increased among both immigrants and native-born citizens showing a clear correlation between self-employment and unemployment among minorities. The disadvantage theory is also linked to Waldinger et al.'s (1990) blocked mobility theory which showed that immigrants identify entrepreneurship as a solution to discrimination and their disadvantage within the job market and work place (Waldinger et al. 1990; Zhuang 2010).

The ecological succession concept was developed in the US, but also appeared in Britain. The theory argues that when entrepreneurs of a certain ethnicity vacate a neighbourhood or industry, a different ethnicity will replace the previous population of entrepreneurs (Aldrich et al. 1989). Arguing that society has a demand for small scale businesses; however, the lack of large-scale production and distribution limits the native-born population's interests (Aldrich et al. 1989; Aldrich & Waldinger 1990; Evans 1989). A lack of native-born citizens' interest creates an opportunity for ethnic businesses to fill the subsequent void. Again, the theory suggests that when the ethnic population cannot find employment they look to self-employment and mobilize ethnic resources, to meet their labour needs. Similar to the ethnic enclave model, this theory assumed that ethnic businesses benefit from sharing languages, skills, and interests to serve their

co-ethnic clientele, in a spatially clustered area that provides familiarity and protection (Evans 1989; Aldrich & Waldinger 1990; Aldrich et al. 1989). These businesses can also serve the non-ethnic markets in four separate cases: markets that are underserved; abandoned markets; markets of low scale economies; and, markets that are uncertain, volatile, and sell exotic goods (Aldrich & Waldinger 1990). Factors that draw immigrants to these businesses include their ability to work longer hours; that they do not mind markets with smaller economic return since these returns are attractive in comparison to that of their country of origin; and that they can keep their operating costs low through ethnic resources and family labour.

The ecological succession theory emerged from the Chicago School of Sociology's work on ethnic economies and immigrant neighbourhoods (Aldrich 1975). The School was interested in the assimilation of immigrants into US society, during the early twentieth century (Kazal 1995). The influential Chicago School contributed many concepts to the field of immigrant entrepreneurship; however, it assumed that the assimilation of newcomers into the Anglo Protestant US "ideal" was inevitable among newcomers. Scholars from the Chicago school (i.e., Park and Thomas) assumed that the city was a societal experiment. Park believed that contact between different ethnicities resulted in an inescapable conflict; however, after time and conflict passed, assimilation would occur (Park et al. 1925; Howard 2004). The opportunity structure theory claimed that when the demographics of a residential area changed (i.e., the number of immigrants or African Americans increased), the native-born population departed and their numbers, and overall ratio declined, resulting in a prosperous environment for ethnic business (Aldrich et al. 1989; Evans 1989). Aldrich and Reiss' (1989) study, conducted in four neighbourhoods in Boston, Chicago, and Washington, D.C., demonstrated that when the African American population increased in an area, the result was a decrease in white, native-born

business owners, which resulted in an increase in African American and ethnic self-employment rates. Therefore, the outcome of this spatial concentration of ethnic businesses and residential dwellings was said to foster ethnic business and at times would result in enclaves (Aldrich et al. 1989).

Aldrich and Waldinger (1990: 111) later explained ethnic entrepreneurship by developing a framework that centred around three dimensions: “an ethnic group’s access to opportunities, the characteristics of a group, and emergent strategies.” This interactive theory aimed to address the limitations of previous approaches that did not consider that the opportunity structures vary drastically across different societies and times, pointing out that they focused on small windows of a businesses’ existence (Aldrich & Waldinger 1990). In response, Aldrich and Waldinger called for future research to consider shared relationships between ethnicity and entrepreneurship, and a more cautious application of “ethnic” categories. This caution against categorizing newcomers according to their ethnicity is an early example of the current critiques emphasizing the “superdiversity” of migration patterns, including within specific ethnic groups designated by census categories (i.e., Vertovec 2007).

Aldrich and Waldinger (1990) argued that group characteristics of immigrants and the opportunity structure of their host country also shape entrepreneurial strategies. Further, these entrepreneurial opportunities are shaped by the economic conditions and structure of the host country in relation to the ethnic resources (family, labour, and community) that are available. This theory attempted to understand immigrant entrepreneurship by combining competing theories of culture and opportunity.

The economic model theorizes that the determinant factor for individuals to become self-employed is economic reward (Campbell 1995). One will choose entrepreneurship over a wage

paying job if the economic return is more favourable when owning your own business. However, one must also factor in the risks associated with self-employment in their decision-making process (Campbell 1995). To test this theory, Campbell (1995) created a decision-making model that compared the potential economic gain predicted from self-employment, to that of a wage paying job. Campbell argued that the determinant factor for an individual to become an entrepreneur is the anticipated net gain of wealth, however, psychological factors, lower start-up costs, and supportive policies increase the likelihood of success for entrepreneurs (Campbell 1992; Segal et al. 2005). This model was tested across several Mississippi counties, though Campbell later (1995) called for a broader application of this model in other geographic regions. While risk is considered in one's decision to become an entrepreneur, Campbell (1992) stated wage paying labour itself comes with risk. Though this model was not applied to an immigrant population it can be applied to the decision making of immigrant entrepreneurs. Moreover, as many of the theories discussed above demonstrate, a lack of access to the labour market pushes minorities into entrepreneurial paths in the first place.

Li's ethnoburb model (1997) proposed a new spatial lens to analyze ethnic settlement through the ethnic suburb (i.e., an "ethnoburb") which had important implications for the study of immigrant entrepreneurship. According to Li, the ethnoburb constituted a new kind of ethnic settlement. As she argued, the "international geopolitical and global economic restructuring, changing national immigration and trade policies, and local demographic, economic and political contexts, a new type of suburban ethnic concentration area" has emerged (Li 1997: 47). Writing about suburban LA, Li described an ethnoburb as a multiethnic community with a cluster of immigrant dwellings or businesses within a large urban city. Though there is a dominant ethnic

group in an ethnoburb, they are not necessary the majority, and other ethnicities are present (Li 1997).

An ethnoburb can consist of high and low-skilled; wealthy and poor immigrants. Unlike the ethnic enclave theory, immigrant businesses in ethnoburbs can conduct international, highly-skilled, technology businesses, while also exploiting the ethnic market, and do not consist of just one ethnicity. This model stated that these individuals are impacted by population size, economic conditions, government policies and the majority population's perception of them (Li 1997). Finally, the ethnoburb theory moved beyond the common narrative that immigrant businesses are low-skilled, small, niche-serving establishments.

Kloosterman's et al.'s (1999) theory of mixed embeddedness has been widely used to understand the successes and failures of immigrant entrepreneurs and is an essential theory for this thesis. The mixed embeddedness theory is now the dominant approach used to study immigrant entrepreneurship and was not developed in the US. Kloosterman et al. (1999) moved past the previous, incomplete assumption that the entrepreneurial success of immigrants was tied to their embeddedness only within their co-ethnic, social capital networks (Ram et al. 2017). Instead, they argued that an immigrant entrepreneur's success and upward social mobility was shaped by three separate levels of embeddedness: the social networks of immigrants, regional socio-economic conditions, and the political-institutional environment of their host country. Kloosterman et al. (1999) argued that immigrant businesses are able to survive, where indigenous firms would not, through the facilitation of informal economic activities. Moreover, the factors that shape immigrant entrepreneurship occur on three separate scales, the micro (neighbourhood), the meso (city), and the macro (transnational, national or economic sector). Kloosterman et al. (1999) claimed that though many of these immigrant entrepreneurs have little

economic and human capital, they are able to thrive in the informal market, given the right opportunity structure. Further, these entrepreneurs rely heavily on trust (informal labour) and social capital.

To provide context, the macro scale shapes immigrant entrepreneurs through state policy and regulation. However, immigrant entrepreneurs operate in different levels of state interaction dependant on their country of residence. Kloosterman et al. (1999) use the example of Moroccan and Turkish butchers that operate in the cities of Rotterdam and Amsterdam. With hundreds of butcher shops serving the religious dietary needs of the large number of Muslim immigrants, state agencies long turned a blind eye to informal business practices. However, in the 1990s Dutch policy prioritized minimizing the informal activities of Islamic butcher shops, which resulted in more stringent regulations. Subsequently, many of these businesses became less successful (Kloosterman & Rath 2018).

The mixed embeddedness theory has been applied across the Global North and additions have been made to the original approach. Extensions to the original model emphasize the dimension of time, as in the different stages of an individual's entrepreneurship (Kloosterman & Rath 2018). Furthermore, the concept of time also refers to different stages of political or economic conditions, which is necessary given the deregulation of programs under neoliberal policies in recent decades (Kloosterman & Rath 2018; Rath 2006). The deregulation of policies has lowered the qualifications needed to become an entrepreneur, thus making small business creation less complicated (Rath 2006). Scholars have also called for the incorporation of "transnational social capital" to the model given the high rates of transnational business among immigrants (Kloosterman & Rath 2018: 110). The 2008 financial crisis offered an example of the unequal economic conditions and opportunity structures across different areas of the world,

providing evidence that geography matters in the study of immigrant entrepreneurship. Cities, nations, and continents are impacted disproportionately by macro level economic events, and Kloosterman and Rath (2018) now call for a longitudinal approach to be added to the mixed embeddedness theory. This need for longitudinal studies is reiterated by Lo and Teixeira (2015), who emphasize that geography shapes all levels of opportunity structures and that the spatialities of migrant economies cannot be ignored, even if they are SMCs. These additions also reflect a changing landscape of diversity among immigrant entrepreneurs and immigration in general.

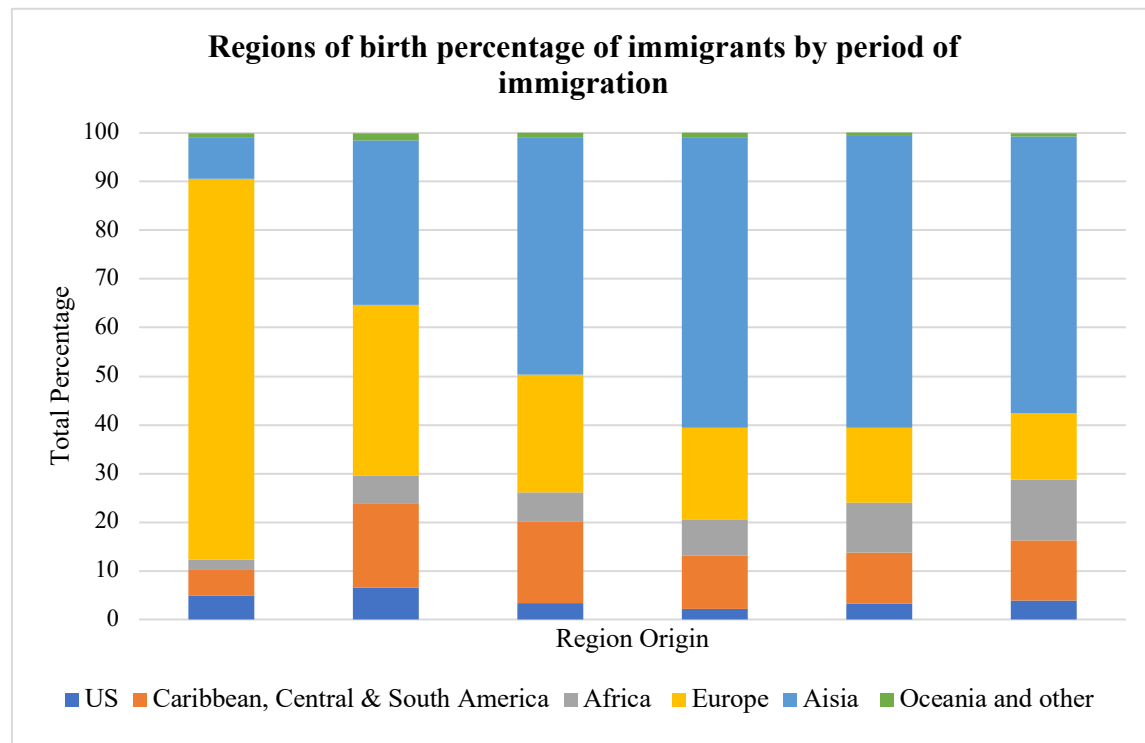
Since the 1970s, both migration patterns and their study have diversified. This diversification trend is examined in Vertovec's (2007) study of migration patterns in the United Kingdom (UK). In the 1950s and 1960s the majority of immigrants arriving to the UK were residents of Commonwealth countries or colonies. In the 1970s, most newcomers in the UK were dependants of settled immigrants, while 30 percent of newcomers still came from Commonwealth countries (Vertovec 2007). However, by 2002, immigrants from the Commonwealth area only made up 17 percent of the arriving newcomers in the UK, while EU citizens consisted of ten percent, and Middle Eastern immigrants totaled 40 percent (Vertovec 2007). Vertovec (2007) introduced the term "super-diversity" to demonstrate the changing migration patterns of Britain. This term not only emphasizes the new movements of people from a variety of new countries but also that there is an increase in diversity among immigrant's gender, age, legal status, and labour experiences. Moreover, this diversity has also created a variety of local level responses by service providers and residents (Vertovec 2007; 2019).

In line with Vertovec's (2007; 2019) work on super-diversity, there has been an increase in countries of origin among immigrants arriving to Canada (see Figure 2.1). Until policy

changes in the 1970s altered the ethnic diversity among immigrants arriving to the country,⁶ Canadian immigration was dominated by immigrants of the US and European countries. This pattern is no longer the case. Through multiculturalism policies, Canada's immigration has continued to diversify since the 1970s. For example, in 2016, the top countries of birth among immigrants arriving to Canada were ordered: Philippines, India, China, Iran, and Pakistan (Statistics Canada 2016). Immigration policies have also facilitated an increase in immigration categories and statuses. Temporary worker and international student streams, along with family reunification, and humanitarian migration flows have created a more diverse population among arriving immigrants. Newcomers that come from the same country of origin can also have different immigration statuses, practice different religions, or speak different languages. As a result, it is not adequate to measure diversity specifically through only a country of origin lens (Vertovec 2007). The superdiversity approach echoes Aldrich and Waldinger's (1990) argument for more caution in applying ethnic labels as a strategy of categorizing immigrants. Therefore, the "diversification of diversity" has the opportunity to complicate and lessen the effectiveness of immigrant entrepreneurial supports if they are designed for a specific ethnicity or immigration status (Vertovec 2007: 1025).

⁶ The 1976 Immigration Act was implemented by the Parliament of Canada in 1978. The Immigration Act created four new classes of immigrants (refugees, families, assisted relatives, and independent immigrants), and focused on attracting family reunification and high-skill immigrants from developing countries (Akbar & Devoretz (1993). As a result, the ethnic diversity of newcomers increased in Canada (Daniel 2005).

Figure 2.1 Region of birth of immigrants by period of immigration, Canada, 2011.
Source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey, 2011.



Scholars have also underscored the gendered dimensions of immigration categories and statuses, and the implications for immigrant entrepreneurship. For example, in the UK, through family migration, spouses (predominantly women) immigrating to the country doubled from 1993-2003 (Vertovec 2007). Family migration is one of the few immigration streams where women make up the majority, though the ratio is dropping. Meanwhile, the intake of asylum seekers drastically increased in the 1990s, but this is a male-dominated immigration stream. Immigrant entrepreneurship has long been considered a gendered term, especially in past decades where an entrepreneur was used to describe a risk taker who created jobs, and this often-male hero figure supported their family, while stimulating the economy (Ahl 2006; Kirzner 1978; Knight 1921; Langevang et al. 2015). Research has slowly moved past the blind

assumption that an entrepreneur is a man and now emphasizes the role of opportunity structures acting against women becoming entrepreneurs. Hanson and Blake (2009: 251) and Langevang et al. (2015: 452) call for the need to consider entrepreneurship as a “gendered geographic process” given that men have much higher rates of entrepreneurship compared to women.

Schrover et al. (2007) argue that the factors that make women (including immigrant women) less likely to be self-employed can be linked to their access to different support networks than men. Socio-cultural differences and getting caught in the informal economy (childcare or unpaid labour) widen this disparity. The fact that networks themselves are often gendered can result in women having less access to entrepreneurial paths. Hanson and Blake (2009: 142) explain that, “male entrepreneurs are more involved in organizations than female entrepreneurs,” further that there is extreme gender segregation found in the networks associated with voluntary organizations, which immigrants often rely on. Langevang et al. (2015) emphasize that entrepreneurial organizations and networks are a way that men build entrepreneurial networks, yet disadvantage women. This gender disparity is not limited to low or high-skill labour markets. As Bauder (2005: 82) writes, “in the male-dominated financial industry in the City of London, norms and conventions often exclude women.” These networking opportunities also build social capital, which is vital to the entrepreneurial success of newcomers (Wang 2012; Takahashi 2017). For these reasons, Langevang et al. (2015) view entrepreneurship as a gendered process that is embedded in institutions, which impedes women’s pursuit of entrepreneurship.

While literature in the geography discipline provides evidence that entrepreneurship is male dominated, the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) also verifies this trend on a global scale. The GEM surveyed 49 countries in 2018 and found gender inequality to be a global trend.

Only six of the 49 countries had equal rates of “Total early-stage Entrepreneurial Activity⁷” (TEA) (GEM, 2018). Indonesia, Panama, Israel, and Madagascar were the only countries to have higher entrepreneurial rates among women, of the surveyed countries. Recent geography research demonstrates this trend as seen in Lo & Teixeira’s (2015) study, where 75 percent of immigrant entrepreneurs interviewed in Kelowna, Canada were men. The GEM (2018) found that 66 percent of TEAs in Canada had a male majority, and further, that this trend was not tied to any specific sector. Moreover, Statistics Canada (2017) reported that roughly two thirds of entrepreneurs in Canada are male. While it is promising that research is beginning to recognize the role of women in entrepreneurship, along with the disadvantages many women face, scholars are calling for the need to further investigate the role of gender in immigrant entrepreneurship (Hanson & Blake 2009; Langevang et al. 2015).

2.3 Changing landscape of immigrant entrepreneurship

The previous section illustrated that many early theories of immigrant entrepreneurship (discussed above) focused on how certain cultures and ethnicities were substantially more entrepreneurial than others. However, these essentialist theories of immigrant entrepreneurship have been widely critiqued. Moreover, changing approaches to academic research on immigrant entrepreneurship provides evidence that entrepreneurship is more diverse than traditional approaches claimed. This point is linked to the fact that immigrants of all ethnicities practice

⁷ GEM defines the early stage of Total Entrepreneurial Activity as, “entrepreneurial activity that is centered on the period preceding and immediately after the actual start of a firm. Hence, it includes the phases of (i) nascent entrepreneurship when an entrepreneur is actively involved in setting up a business, and (ii) new business ownership, owning and managing a business in existence up to 42 months.”

entrepreneurship (Kloosterman & Rath 2001; Nazareno et al. 2018). For example, as recent research emphasizes, immigrant groups that had low rates of entrepreneurship in the past and were therefore considered to not come from entrepreneurial cultures (i.e., Filipinos and Mexicans) now have high rates of entrepreneurship (Hernan & Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009; Nazareno 2018).

Further, immigrants, through transnationalism, stay in contact much more with their countries and communities of origin than in the past, but their transnationalism is also diverse: shaped by class, cultural factors, community dynamics, and citizenship status, among other dimensions (Vertovec 2007). The diversity that transnationalism brings to immigration has also impacted immigrant entrepreneurs. No longer confined to the earlier explanations of “mom and pop,” small scale, low-skilled, labour intensive, locally and ethnic serving immigrant businesses (Light 1972; Waldinger 1986); immigrant entrepreneurs now operate transnational, high-tech, highly-skilled, large businesses (Nazareno et al. 2018). In 2001, Kloosterman and Rath called for more attention to be paid to the rising number of immigrant entrepreneurs in advanced economies. Immigrant entrepreneurs in advanced economies now employ a sizeable percentage of the public. In the US, more than ten percent of the population is employed by immigrant owned businesses (Nazareno et al. 2018). Further, immigrants have started some of the largest tech companies in the country, including *Yahoo*, *Intel*, *Google*, and *eBay* (Nazareno et al. 2018).

With the high rates of entrepreneurship among immigrants, it is not surprising that governments around the globe have implemented policies and regulations that seek to attract immigrant entrepreneurs, investors, and knowledge workers (Lofstrom 2015). Immigrants are over-represented as entrepreneurs in high-tech companies, biotech firms, and public venture-backed companies (Lofstrom 2015). A study conducted by Kerr (2013) argued that for the past

three decades highly-skilled entrepreneurship —among immigrants— has been on the rise and that immigration has been key to the US’ global position in innovation. Immigrant entrepreneurship has spatially expanded from a neighbourhood-scale to the global scale. As Levitt and Glick-Shiller (2004) explain, it is no longer adequate to only consider the structural and socioeconomic opportunities of a host country when examining immigrant entrepreneurs, as business is conducted globally and transnationally.

2.4 Urban geographies of migrant entrepreneurship

Geographic research is interested in the impact that spatially concentrated areas of immigrant entrepreneurship has on neighbourhoods and communities. There is a consensus that high numbers of immigrant businesses can drive urban change, but what is this change and what are the benefits or implications? Geographic research has linked place-making, symbolic transformation, and the commodification of diversity as potential positive, neutral, and negative outcomes to high concentrations of immigrant businesses.

Researchers have become increasingly interested in migrant entrepreneurship outside of major gateway cities (Amsterdam, Miami, Toronto, LA) (Glick Schiller & Çağlar 2009; Räuchle & Schmiz 2018). Emerging gateway cities, SMCs, and downscaled cities experiencing neoliberal restructuring are looking to counter their declining importance on a global scale through immigration (Glick Schiller & Çağlar 2013). For example, many policy actors encourage immigrant entrepreneurship as a way to diversify economies, revitalize neighbourhoods, create jobs, generate tax revenue, reduce vacancy rates, and increase their population (Filomeno 2015; Peck 2012; Pottie-Sherman 2017; Räuchle & Schmiz 2018). Therefore, immigrant entrepreneurs have become targets of recent immigration policies (discussed below). While there has been an increase in interest on how these strategies might benefit SMCs, there is a need for more research

looking beyond traditional gateway cities (Cooke & Kemeny 2017; Dauvergne 2016; Filomeno 2015; Grant & Thompson 2015).

The role that immigrant businesses have on “place-making” has become a focus point among scholars in the field of geography. Place-making is defined as “active engagement of humans with the places they inhabit” (Fettes & Judson 2010:124). While place-making is not tied to the mixed embeddedness theory, it does allow for immigrant entrepreneurs to become embedded into their community by engaging with local clientele and creating spaces of belonging for other newcomers (Grant & Thompson 2015). Place-making is considered to be a key concept in contemporary urban planning and architecture, subsequently becoming a focus point of geographic and social science research (Schuch & Wang 2015). According to Wang (2012: 233), “the interaction between the entrepreneur and their environments is not static, but varies across time and space, contingent on the historical political system, cultural legacy, and discriminatory practices in the labor markets.” In other words, opportunity structures are shaped temporally and spatially. Recent research in urban studies illustrates the differing experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs over time and place (Grant & Thompson 2015; Hume 2015).

Recent research in Johannesburg provides an example of immigrant entrepreneurship facilitating place-making in a country with a storied immigration past. Johannesburg, and South Africa as a whole, have suffered from xenophobic attacks against immigrants and newcomers that own businesses. In 2008, over the span of two weeks, xenophobic outbreaks resulted in the death of 41 immigrants (Grant & Thompson 2015). Economic competition has also resulted in immigrant businesses being destroyed and entrepreneurs suffering from attacks, often by unemployed, white nativist South Africans males. Further, Johannesburg bore witness to Somali entrepreneurs attacking competing businesses that were owned by other Somali families or clans

(Grant & Thompson 2015). Despite these challenges, Grant and Thompson (2015: 181) illustrate how the inner city of Johannesburg was reshaped by the high density of immigrant entrepreneurs. The high density of immigrant entrepreneurs occurred following the “white flight” of the white South Africans moving from the inner city, to other Johannesburg neighbourhoods during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. The high concentration of immigrants acts as a pull force for other minorities (refugees, economic immigrants, irregular immigrants, circular migrants, and labourers from countries such as: Nigeria, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the Ivory Coast) to settle in the neighbourhood, where they experience a sense of place, and can be somewhat shielded from xenophobic violence (Grant & Thompson 2015). However, immigrant entrepreneurs identified police harassment as a leading problem that they face. Further, violent attacks by the public, uncertain immigration status, exclusionary immigration laws, and a lack of government support were forms of exclusion experienced by immigrants (Grant & Thompson 2015). Though immigrant entrepreneurs have transformed vacant spaces into diverse bustling centers, racism and perceived economic competition have resulted in a negative public perception that often results in violence against immigrant entrepreneurs and their property.

Johannesburg is an example of immigrant entrepreneurs creating a sense of place in a hostile environment. In contrast, Hume’s (2015) study of the place-making efforts of Bosnian refugees in St. Louis (including business owners) highlights how local governments may respond positively over time to the place-making efforts of newcomers in struggling economic contexts. In response to the Bosnian War, the city of St. Louis received 11,000 refugees between 1993-2001—there are now 70,000 Bosnians and Bosnian-Americans in the city (Hume 2015). This influx in St. Louis is visible in the neighbourhood of Bevo Mill. The once rundown area has been revitalized by Bosnian entrepreneurs and residents. The Bevo Mill area is now referred to as

“Little Bosnia” and this cultural, commercial, residential, landscape is an example of Arreola’s (2012), term “culturally sustainable practice” (Hume 2015). The term is defined as “to refer to ethnic landscape place-making that persists in a community, thereby reinforcing an accepted aesthetic commonly embraced by many, if not the majority, of residents” (Arreola 2012: 160). With many of the now 70,000 Bosnians in the city’s south side, there is ample visible ethnic contributions and signage. The role of the local media and political representation has been essential to the Bosnian population developing a sense of place and being embraced by the local population (Hume 2015). Not only have Bosnian newcomers helped stabilize St. Louis’ declining population, they have been credited with revitalizing and stabilizing the city’s southside. As Hume (2015: 9) writes, “the widespread use of national colours, symbols, and language on Bosnian-owned storefronts has shaped the aesthetic of Bosnian place-making in Bevo Mill over the past two decades.”

Along similar lines, Zhuang (2017) illustrates how three Toronto neighbourhoods have been transformed through ethnic place-making. Even with a variety of different ethnic groups, the immigrant entrepreneurial presence fostered a strong sense of community and social identity in each neighbourhood. Immigrant entrepreneurs acted as ports of entry for newcomers, while creating a feeling of community. As Zhuang (2017: 34) states, “ethnic entrepreneurs contribute to the physical development of the ethnic retail strips and the manifestation of ethno-cultural identity through a variety of physical means, such as signage, window display, store facades, street space, and architectural structures.” These three Toronto neighbourhoods, which consist of East Chinatown, Gerrard India Bazaar, and Corso Italia promote ethnic pride, ethnic businesses, and create a sense of place for newcomers to feel that they belong.

These three specific examples of cities (Johannesburg, St. Louis, and Toronto) experiencing ethnic place making, benefited the communities and immigrant entrepreneurs (some substantially more than others). Political support, municipal planning, and visible ethnic contributions (signage) were identified as keys to cultivating ethnic place-making. Place-making is a social construct, as Schuch and Wang (2015: 216) state, “sense of place is developed from that social and physical construction of place.” Cultural and social capital, thus, assist in facilitating the resettlement process of newcomers and neighbourhoods that act as a hub for place-making can help accomplish that.

Immigrant entrepreneurs have the ability to symbolically transform areas through “shops and restaurants, labels and ethnically coded products, signs and symbols altogether that act as imaginations of a certain ethnicity and as representations of cultural diversity” (Parzer & Huber 2014: 1270). In short, visible symbols of diversity can spur neighbourhood change. This symbolic urban transformation of neighbourhoods through ethnic corridors and clustering of ethnic business has proven to be beneficial for cities, especially those that are not global cities (Parzer & Huber 2014; Glick Schiller & Çalgar 2010). The clustering of immigrant businesses has transformed deteriorating neighbourhoods, through reduced vacancy rates, job creation, tax revenue, and culturally symbolic businesses, into aesthetically distinct neighbourhoods that stimulate growth for their particular city (Hume 2015; Pottie-Sherman 2017; Räuchle & Schmiz 2018; Schuch & Wang 2015).

Parzer and Huber (2014) employ the term “symbolic transformation,” to acknowledge that the activities of immigrant entrepreneurs may introduce positive change in a community, but such revitalization can displace others through gentrification. Their view of symbolic transformation aligns with Evert’s (2010) point, which argues that transformation can result in

positives for the customer and city but end up hurting immigrant entrepreneurs in the long run. Symbolic transformation is not exclusively linked to neighbourhoods transitioning from marginalized to rejuvenated, in fact, the opposite can occur. Parzer and Huber (2014) describe that when middle-class neighbourhoods become marginalized, then symbolically transform through an increased number of immigrant businesses, they are not always symbolically or economically revalued. Negative perceptions towards migrant businesses and symbolic images can impede the urban regeneration of a neighbourhood.

Finally, symbolic transformation is not limited to urban regeneration efforts of political strategies, it also includes migrant businesses (unintended) contributions, public authorities, private investors, and the media (Parzer & Huber 2014). Therefore, Glick Schiller and Çağlar (2013) see migrant businesses as agents of neoliberal urban regeneration, or gentrification, even though it may not be intended. Therefore, there is a need to measure the impact of symbolic transformation on migrant businesses, as social inequality and displacement may eventually occur. Symbolic transformation is an important concept for this thesis given St. John's turbulent economy. Business closure is a common occurrence in the downtown area of St. John's, and while there is not a clustering of immigrant businesses, there is evidence of symbolic transformation. For example, the city's local Farmers Market has a high ratio of immigrant businesses and is an example of place-making in the SMC of St. John's. The once abandoned bus station has become a renovated, bustling centre that promotes community engagement. This example of symbolic transformation has enabled newcomers to feel as though they have a sense of place. At the Farmers Market newcomers operate their businesses in a culturally diverse space that sees Canadian born and immigrant owned businesses to operate side by side.

Though there has been an increase in geographic attention, the clustering of immigrant entrepreneurship was occurring well into the twentieth century. The Burgess' model for example pointed out cities were areas where minority populations settled, while the white population moved to the suburbs (Park et al. 1925). However, this trend has now reversed in some urban centres, with white residents returning to the inner cities (Takahashi 2017). A driving force that has been linked to the return of white populations is the commodification of diversity. These once predominantly ethnic neighbourhoods face potential gentrification, further they are seen as spaces of social mixing. However, Takahashi (2017) argues out that the social mixing is often not sustainable. The Canadian discourse sees the gentrification of ethnic neighbourhoods as a “positive process of class transformation” and positive social mixing (Takahashi 2017: 579). While the Canadian government does not use the term “gentrification,” scholars in the discipline of geography argue that municipal and provincial governments have embraced gentrification through neoliberal urban policies that help stimulate this transformation (Hackworth & Smith 2001; Takahashi 2017).

Positioning gentrification as a promotion of social mixing, frames it as a positive social outcome. However, scholars have debated whether the commodification of diversity is negative. Scholars argue that the gentrification and commodification of diversity further polarize socioeconomic groups, instead of fostering socially cohesive communities (Lees 2008; Takahashi 2017). These studies critique the impacts that the commodification of neighbourhoods has on the pre-existing ethnic communities. Toronto's Little Portugal neighbourhood is an example of an area that consisted of only Portuguese businesses for over three decades. Following the opening of two non-ethnic businesses (an art gallery and music bar) there has been an influx of non-Portuguese businesses in the area (Takahashi 2017). The neighbourhood has

now become an official municipal revitalization project, and there is now an influx of non-Portuguese residents moving into the neighbourhood. Takahashi's study has found that this transition has not resulted in social mixing, instead it has accomplished the opposite.

Little Portugal is an example of what Zukin (1995) refers to as commercial gentrification. When a critical mass is reached, due to such high numbers of ethnic businesses, the result is an influx of middle-class consumers and businesses discovering the area. The resulting challenges can be threefold for immigrant entrepreneurs according to Parzer and Huber (2015). First, retail spaces become too expensive to rent or buy. Secondly, migrant households become displaced by rising costs, thus displacing their ethnic clientele in the neighbourhood because of increased housing costs. Thirdly, immigrant entrepreneurs often live and work in the same area, therefore, they experience residential displacement (Parzer & Huber 2015). Therefore, urban regeneration efforts can overcome immigrant place-making. However, commodification of diversity is not entirely negative for migrant businesses. It may have positive impacts that include social mobility, positive recognition, new clientele, business opportunities, and increase social capital (Parzer & Huber 2015; Rath 2007).

2.5 Immigrant entrepreneurship in Canadian cities

It is well established that immigrants are more likely to settle in major gateway cities in order to be surrounded by those with similar ethnic backgrounds, to have greater access to services, and to be exposed to more economic opportunities (Glick Shiller & Çaglar 2010; Kerr et al. 2016). Research has demonstrated a correlation between larger immigrant population sizes, and greater immigrant business opportunities (Waldinger et al. 1990; Zhuang 2017). The disproportionately high numbers of immigrants that settle in large gateway cities act as a pull force, further attracting newcomers to settle in these large cities. These large immigrant populations promote

ethnic business, as they offer a large ethnic clientele base, and ample opportunity to build social capital, in comparison to a city that lacks an immigrant population (Portes & Jensen 1989; Wang 2012). With the high density of immigrants and ethnic businesses in gateway cities, there has been a plethora of research on the impact that this spatial density and ethnic enclaves has on neighbourhoods and communities.

In Canada, a high ratio of immigrants resides in the country's three major cities of Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver (MTV). With just over 60 percent of immigrants in Canada residing in these three cities (Statistics Canada 2016), most Canadian immigrant entrepreneurial research has also focused on these three cities (Lo & Teixeira 2015). With immigrants found to have high rates of entrepreneurship in Canada, the importance of immigrant self-employment has been well documented (Walton Roberts & Hiebert 1997). Research in the past has focused on the factors that push immigrants towards entrepreneurship in the MTV cities. Factors such as racism, skills and education not being recognized (deskilling), language barriers, and hiring discrimination are leading factors that push newcomers to be more entrepreneurial than native-born citizens (Aydemir & Skuterud 2005; Boyd & Thomas 2001; Sano et al. 2017).

Research conducted in Canada's gateway cities has also been concerned with the experiences and barriers that immigrant entrepreneurs have endured. Ley (2000) observed that immigrant entrepreneurs in Vancouver suffered from low annual incomes and struggled to adapt to Canadian rules and regulations. Meanwhile, Hiebert (2002) found that many entrepreneurs in large Canadian cities sought self-employment as a way to overcome the labour barriers that they endured. Entrepreneurship was seen as a way to climb the social ladder for immigrants (Hiebert 2002). Somewhat surprisingly, Ley (2006) found that immigrant entrepreneurs had higher annual incomes than native born entrepreneurs, and further that immigrants who were self-employed

made more money than the immigrant population's average income. However, immigrant entrepreneurs do not always succeed in their business operations, Ley (2006) surveyed 90 immigrant entrepreneurs in Vancouver and found that entrepreneurialism does not necessarily translate across national boundaries. Though the vast majority of immigrants reside in traditional gateway cities, these cities have become saturated, therefore a small shift of migration is occurring to suburbs, rural areas, downscaled cities, and SMCs (Massey 2008; Sano et al. 2017; Zhuang 2017).

Over the last few decades, interest in "new immigration destinations" has grown. In the southern US, since the 1990s, immigrant settlement has been gradually spilling out of large urban cities, including to the US south and Midwest (Winders 2012). Meanwhile, in Canada, regionalization policies have promoted the dispersal of immigrants and immigrant entrepreneurs to smaller, less prominent cities, often as a strategy to address population decline (Fang et al. 2018; Lo & Teixeira 2015; Sano et al. 2017). But how do the experiences and outcomes of immigrant entrepreneurs differ in smaller urban centers? There has been a call among the literature for more comparative research that investigates just that question (Langevang et al. 2015; Lo & Teixeira 2015). Similar to their fellow entrepreneurs in large cities, newcomers' entrepreneurial success in SMCs relies on human and social capital, while their business outcomes are shaped by economic conditions, broader societal responses, and feelings towards immigrants (Schuch & Wang 2015).

With small immigrant populations, place-making appears to be increasingly important in SMCs. Schuch and Wang's (2015) geographic study contribute to the limited literature that focuses on the process of place-making in SMCs. They demonstrate that it is important to understand the interactions between migrant businesses and social spaces, as it can result in

community development. Immigrant entrepreneurs do not have the same levels of support in SMCs, as access to social capital is scarcer. However, with smaller immigrant populations, can the local government in SMCs better communicate and react to newcomers' needs (Winders 2012)?

In Canada, there has also been emphasis among governmental policy placed on recruiting immigrants to cities outside of the MTV (Fang et al. 2018; Sano et al. 2017). SMCs that have been studied (Kelowna, BC, St. John's, NL, and Atlantic Canadian cities in general) have lower integration and retention rates among immigrants, along with those that choose to become entrepreneurs (Fang et al. 2018; Lo & Teixeira 2015; Sano et al. 2017). The lack of settlement infrastructure often acts as push force against newcomers moving or staying in SMCs (Lo & Teixeira 2015). Canadian SMCs have lower immigrant numbers, so newcomers can have a harder time becoming socially embedded within their community, compared to traditional immigrant gateways (Lo & Teixeira 2015). Complicating immigrant entrepreneurial research is the fact that immigrant businesses have been showing a recent suburban, rather than urban trend (Schuch & Wang 2015; Zhuang 2017), which further represents the diversification of immigrant entrepreneurship.

It is important to note that SMCs may also offer opportunities that do not exist in large urban gateways. In Atlantic Canada, for example, recent research shows that immigrants with post-secondary education out-earn their counterparts in MTV cities (Sano et al. 2017). Further, earning disadvantages (such as having credentials and skills not recognized) are less of a barrier in Atlantic Canada than in MTV cities. Moreover, Sano et al. (2017) found that immigrants in Atlantic Canada economically outperform those in MTV cities. In SMCs, smaller immigrant populations may result in government, University, and private start-up capital funds being less

competitive as the competition pool may be limited in size. Resulting in a better opportunity for immigrant entrepreneurs to access this capital.

While little is known about immigrants' access to start-up capital in SMCs, I will investigate the available supports and opportunities that exist in the SMC of St. John's. Given that research has only recently begun to consider the contributions that immigrant businesses have on the local community, this study will also consider what the role of immigrant businesses in community development is. Further, how do immigrant entrepreneurs shape physical, cultural, social, economic, and political landscapes in the local communities of SMCs (Schuh & Wang 2015)? These questions require much more research to develop a clear understanding of immigrant entrepreneurship in SMCs and my study will begin to address this gap.

2.6 Spatialities of migrant entrepreneurship

Recent research on migrant economies highlights the need to examine immigrant entrepreneurship across city types, including global and downscaled cities. Global gateway cities offer extensive resources to newcomers. However, SMCs and downscaled cities are severed from global networks, disadvantaged by neoliberal restructuring, and present limited opportunity structures for migrants, although municipal actors may frame migrants as key agents of urban development (Räuchle & Schmiz 2018). Research on downscaled cities has focused on former manufacturing hubs, predominantly in the US, but has yet to contextualize the mixed embeddedness approach in resource-driven, urban economies, especially in SMCs.

In the era of neoliberalism, migration theorists have examined the role of immigrants in “downscaled cities.” As Glick Schiller and Çağlar (2010: 191) state, “downscaled cities are those that are disadvantaged in terms of their insertions within the global hierarchies that have emerged through the neo-liberal restructuring of urban economies.” The term downscaled does not

correlate to a city's population size,⁸ instead it conveys where a city stands in the global hierarchy of importance, measured by political, cultural, and economic power (Glick Schiller & Çalgar 2011). Many downscaled cities across the Global North, especially in the US, have recognized that increased immigration has the potential to counter their city's declining importance on the global stage (Filomeno 2017; Pottie-Sherman 2017; Çalgar & Glick Schiller 2011). These cities that are disconnected from global cities have begun to recognize the potential of immigrant entrepreneurs. Given that migrants may create capital and labour that is not available through the native-born population, they can be seen by governments and other city actors as active agents in the revitalization of downscaled locations (Filomeno 2017; Pottie-Sherman 2017; Shiller & Çalgar 2011). Pottie-Sherman (2018), for example, examined how Cleveland, Ohio has been encouraging land banks to partner with refugee-serving organizations to engender refugee-led neighbourhood revitalization in areas with high rates of residential abandonment. A combination of vetted landlords and resettlement organizations have been pairing refugees with previously foreclosed, now renovated houses. The resulting strategy has rehabilitated formerly abandoned properties, while drawing investors and other immigrants to the area (Pottie-Sherman 2017).

It is essential that more research is conducted in SMCs to address the gap in the literature. Opportunity structures vary spatially, and research has demonstrated that immigrant businesses in SMCs experience opportunities that do not exist in MTV cities. These opportunities consist of less competitive application pools for start-up funding, less saturated business markets, and benefits from regionalization policies. However, SMCs also present different barriers to

⁸ Downscaled cities are often experiencing a downward trend in population size.

immigrant entrepreneurs; therefore, a better understanding of immigrant entrepreneurial experiences in these smaller cities is needed.

Research has increasingly demonstrated that entrepreneurship is a social activity, which is a major factor in how immigrants build their lives in their new country (Barragan et al. 2018; Rindova et al. 2009). Entrepreneurship is a social activity as business owners rely on social relations, may rely on family resources, and local knowledge to understand the opportunity structure that exists in a specific city (Eimermann & Karlsson 2018; Högberg et al. 2016). These social relationships also extend across local and international borders (Portes et al. 2002). While it is well known that entrepreneurship among immigrants is more common than Global North national averages, self-employment also plays an important role in local integration, both socially and economically (Munkejord 2017; Webster & Haandrikman 2017; Baycan-Levent & Nijkamp 2009). Therefore, it is important to better understand how social and economic relations are shaped within the spatial contexts that they are embedded within (Nordic Geographies Meeting, 2019).

2.7 Immigrant entrepreneurship & the Canadian immigration policy landscape

While Canada's immigration system is predominantly controlled by the federal government, aspects of immigration and integration management have been variously decentralized to provincial governments. An example of decentralization was the implementation of the PNPs in 1998 (Wang & Hii 2019). The program allows for provinces to nominate potential immigrants to settle in their province in order to meet regional demographic, economic, and labour needs. The PNP accounts for 15 percent of the country's immigrant intake, however it has not been without issues (Sweetman 2017). Business immigration streams attached to PNPs have been linked to corruption, for example PEI closed both of its entrepreneurial streams in 2018 (Wang & Hii

2019). Exploitation of the PNP system was exposed in PEI after it became clear that government officials were accepting perspective immigrant entrepreneur's refundable business deposit in exchange for permanent residency (PR) status. Moreover, it was established that these applicants were not actually starting a business in PEI, but instead forfeiting their deposit, often moving to a different province.

However, business class categories existed in Canada well before the creation of the PNP. In 1978, Canada introduced the country's first two immigrant entrepreneurial categories. The Independent Immigrant class added the immigration streams of "entrepreneur," and "self-employed immigrant class" to attract newcomers with business and management experience and create jobs for Canadians (CIC 2014; Knowles 2016; Li 2003; Wang & Hii 2019). In 1986, the federal government created another new business category: the "Investor Immigrant class," which was aimed at attracting economic capital in order to stimulate job and economic growth in Canada (Wang & Hii 2019; Wong 1993). Users of the Investor Immigrant class had to provide Canada with at least a five-year interest free investment loan, with the goal of supporting economic development projects (Wang & Hii 2019). The required net worth for those who immigrated through the investment class eventually rose from \$500,000 to \$1.6 million and the category became the fastest growing business category in the country (Knowles 2016; Wang & Hii 2019).

Controversies engulfed Canada's immigrant business categories from their early stages. The Entrepreneur Program, for example, did not meet the original requirement to employ five staff, as a result, the employment requirement was reduced to two employees, then eventually to one employee. Further, the Entrepreneur Program often attracted low-skill and low paying businesses that did not meet Canada's goal of promoting innovation and technology on a

globally competitive level (Reitz 2004; Wang & Hii 2019). Meanwhile, the popular Investor Immigrant category was littered with the mismanagement of funds, embezzlement, and economic benefits not reaching intended provinces (Wang & Hii 2019). Moreover, business class immigrants were held to a lower standard for language skills and the Points System, instead priority was placed on their net worth and business experience (Ley 2003). The settlement patterns of business class immigrants also disproportionately benefited the provinces of Ontario and British Columbia. Some users of these programs were considered “astronauts,” as they would move their family and themselves to Canada, but continued to conduct business abroad, while avoiding paying Canadian business taxes (GOC 2014; CIC 2014; Carmen & O’Neil 2014; Wang & Hii 2019). Given these controversies, in 2014, the federal government terminated both the Investor and Entrepreneur Immigrant programs (Wang & Hii 2019).

More recently, the government implemented the “Immigrant Start-Up Visa” (SUV) and “Immigrant Investor Venture Capital Class” in 2013 and 2015 respectively (Wang & Hii 2019). These categories were added by the federal government in order to meet Canada’s goal of increasing its global position in innovation and business development. The SUV looks to attract technology-based entrepreneurs and pair such businesses with three possible business organizations, all of which vary provincially. Users of the SUV must apply to partner with “designated Canadian venture capital fund or angel investor groups, as well as a business incubator who will review and vet their business plans and agree to provide mentorship” (Wang & Hii 2019: 8). Partnership organizations include Venture Capital and Private Equity Association; National Angel Capital Organization; and Canadian Association of Business Incubator. SUV applicants are also held to a higher language requirement and require start-up capital, along with the requirement to prove that they have adequate funds to live in Canada.

One aspect of the Canadian immigration system that is uniform across the country is its focus on economic benefits of immigration. The brief history of Canada's immigration business category class (discussed above) demonstrates how the Canadian state has looked to immigration to spur economic development through immigrant capital and entrepreneurial skills (Ley 2003). While the state is interested in the contributions of permanent residents to the Canadian economy, immigrants do not always share the same goal, as citizenship and the freedom of transnational movement is often a priority (Ley 2003; 2006). Moreover, immigration steams can also lock newcomers into jobs and sectors of the economy that do not match the immigrant's skill set, instead addressing Canada's specific labour needs. The deskilling of immigrants' education and skills in Canada has been occurring for an extended period of time (Walton-Roberts 2011) and often complicates newcomers' entrance into the labour market. Thus, resulting in a disjunct between the state's and the immigrant's interests.

As the only province in Canada to have a declining population in 2018, NL is looking to immigration to curb its population exodus and to "kick start" its economy. NL which has the third lowest immigrant retention rate among Canadian provinces (Statistics Canada 2018), along with Atlantic Canadian provinces in general that have long struggled to attract and retain newcomers (IRCC 2016; Wang & Hii 2019). With NL projected to lose up to 40,000 residents between 2016-2036, the province has implemented a plethora of immigration policies in recent years to attract and retain skilled immigrants and entrepreneurs (Fang et al. 2018). Since 2015, The Express Entry Skilled Worker Program, Atlantic Immigration Pilot, SUV, International Graduate Entrepreneur, and International Entrepreneur streams have been implemented in NL. The two recently introduced immigrant entrepreneurial PNP programs were designed to act as a pull force for immigrants to bring their entrepreneurial skills to the province. The recent influx of

immigrant entrepreneurial streams is unique for NL given that the province had zero immigration categories for perspective entrepreneurs in 2015.

In Canada, immigrants enter Canada through four broad immigration categories: business class, refugee, economic class, and family migration (Statistics Canada 2018). 25 percent of business class immigrants are self-employed and while this is the highest ratio of self-employment among immigrant categories, business class immigrants make up the smallest ratio (ten percent) of all immigrants that come to Canada (Statistics Canada 2018). Both economic class and family class immigrants have self-employment rates of 14.9 percent, while 14.4 percent of refugees are self-employed. These high rates of immigrant entrepreneurship are linked to labour market discrimination. In fact, 40 percent of recent immigrants stated they were self-employed as a result of a lack of job opportunities (Statistics Canada 2018).

In Canada we see that immigrants have lower rates of entrepreneurship than native born citizens in their initial years after arrival, however after four to eight years in the country, their entrepreneurial rates exceed native born citizens (Statistics Canada 2018). Meanwhile, immigrant businesses have less employees than Canadian born citizens on average. Finally, there is a correlation between higher levels of education and higher ratios of entrepreneurship among immigrants (Statistics Canada 2018). Higher rates of entrepreneurship among immigrants likely correlates to labour market barriers paired with enticing earning potentials of owning one's own business.

Though immigrants show high rates of entrepreneurship, they also have higher rates of entrepreneurial failure compared to their native-born counterparts, in the Global North. Immigrant entrepreneurs can face unique challenges such as policy restrictions or limited access to capital. Therefore, the role of institutions is important for immigrant businesses. These

institutions vary, dependant on the spatial and social context of the entrepreneur. For example, in South Africa, informal financial associations are relied upon by immigrant entrepreneurs to secure economic capital (Tengeh & Nkem 2017). However, in the Global North, universities have become important tools to bridge potential immigrant entrepreneurs to industry and government representatives (Chatterji et al. 2014). Through government funding, universities have been encouraged to promote the formation of start-ups that spur knowledge and technology sharing among businesses (Chatterji et al. 2014). The role of a University is not just a research and teaching institution, instead, the University enhances the capacity for economic and social development on a regional, but also global scale (Etzkowitz & Zhuo 2017). Further, international student enrollment is on the rise among Global North universities and this thesis will argue that increased international student intake is contributing to an increase in immigrant entrepreneurs in NL.

The role of institutions is especially important in St. John's and NL. In Canadian SMCs, research has shown that universities can act as an integration tool (Walton Roberts 2011), helping immigrants meet other newcomers, while developing relationships with local students as well. This finding is important to this study as seventeen percent of Memorial University's students are international, and these 3200 international students have helped foster an ethnic community in St. John's (Memorial University Internationalization Office 2019). The University works to introduce newcomers to representatives from educational institutions, businesses, governments, and local foundations. Entrepreneurially, the University hosts several entrepreneurial training programs and is also connected to entrepreneurial resources. While universities claim to create innovation and entrepreneurship among international students, no one has evaluated how and if entrepreneurship is actually facilitated among newcomers in the

University. Therefore, there is not a comprehensive understanding of what role universities play in the establishment of immigrant entrepreneurs in Canadian cities. This thesis will provide an analysis of the role that Memorial University is currently filling for immigrant entrepreneurs.

2.8 Immigration and Newfoundland & Labrador

The NL region's European migration history dates back to seasonal fishing in the 15th century (Reid 2016). This seasonal migration was dominated by French and English colonial powers that exploited the region's fur trade and fisheries (Reid 2016). However, in the 17th century, European settlement became more regular and the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 saw France forfeit its land claims (Placentia) in the NL region (Reid 2016). The treaty facilitated the region to eventually become a British dominion in 1907. Intense migration occurred between 1800-1830, which consisted almost completely of white immigrants. In the early 19th century, there was an influx of white colonists from England and Ireland, which increased Newfoundland's⁹ permanent population while also displacing Indigenous peoples (Reid 2016). The allure of the cod fisheries, seal hunting, ship building, and sparsely populated land drew English, Irish, and Scottish immigrants to relocate from their over populated countries of origin (Heritage NL 2012).

In the early stages of the 20th century, Chinese and Lebanese immigrants braved widespread discrimination in NL to permanently settle there. Though they experienced both official and unofficial discrimination, Chinese and Lebanese immigrants became permanent residents and opened up laundromats and restaurants (Heritage NL 2012). An example of official discrimination was the fact that Chinese women were not allowed to immigrate to NL until 1949

⁹ The provincial name Newfoundland and Labrador only dates back to 2001 when Labrador was officially added to the province's name. Further, Newfoundland did not join the Canadian Confederation until 1949, prior to that date the region was a British Dominion.

(Heritage NL 2012). The province's immigration picture has diversified since the 20th century. Memorial University has drawn more diverse immigrants in the past decades, though the province's population is largely comprised of descendants from the English and Irish settlers in the 19th century (Heritage NL 2012).

NL no longer has the allure of economic prosperity to draw immigrants to the province. The lack of economic opportunity has negatively impacted the retention of refugees and immigrants provincially (Fang et al. 2018). Furthermore, NL had a 36 percent retention rate among refugees (lowest in Canada) in 2015 (Statistics Canada 2018). Fang et al. (2018) examine the issues that NL has retaining refugees, which include a lack of employment, racism (workplace and public), credentials not being recognized, and a lack of adequate language blocking their access to employment and social capital. Fang et al. (2018) also emphasize that there is a need to ensure that immigrant service providers in the province have financial security. Service providers consistently operate budget-to-budget and this financial insecurity hinders their services (ibid). Therefore, this thesis will investigate if immigrant services and supports are meeting the needs of immigrant entrepreneurs.

NL provides an important case study for immigrant entrepreneurship, as the province has been largely absent from immigration research. With an immigrant population of just 2.4 percent (Statistics Canada 2018), the province has a small immigrant population. While immigration is seen as a tool for economic development, Fang et al. (2018) point out that the province faces an employment problem. This employment problem acts as a push force against retaining immigrants, further complicating the demographic concerns of Canada's easternmost province.

The provincial capital city of St. John's holds a unique dual position as both a metropole and margin city in NL (Lepawsky et al. 2010). St. John's is home to over 40 percent of the

provincial population, enjoys a close proximity to offshore oil reserves, and hosts the province's one major University and provincial and federal government offices (Lepawsky et al. 2010). Further, St. John's is the one major city in NL and the Avalon region is the only region in the province to experience population growth over the past five years, however that population growth has been slowing (Statistics Canada 2019). However, from a national standpoint, St. John's is a city on the margins. A small population, little political power, and spatial isolation has limited its influence. This margin status has negatively impacted St. John's and NL's ability to attract and retain foreign talent (Lepawsky et al. 2010; Pottie-Sherman & Lynch 2019).

NL has been tied to a boom and bust economy since the 19th century, when the region saw immigration rise with the economic potential of the cod fisheries (Heritage NL 2012). With the collapse of the cod fishery in 1986, the federal government imposed a cod moratorium in 1992 (Blake 2015). This collapse of the cod fishery cost 30,000 individuals their jobs, displacing 12 percent of the province's workforce (Blake 2015). In response to the cod moratorium the province shifted economic focus to its offshore oil reserves. In 2007, 30 percent of the province's GDP was generated by the oil industry (Lepawsky et al. 2010). With the recent decline in global oil prices, the province's economy has again entered a bust period. In response the province has looked to its summer tourism sector for an economic boost.

In St. John's, immigrant entrepreneurs find themselves operating their business amongst a predominantly homogenous white population. Much of the NL's population have family ties that stretch back to the European settlers who arrived in the province in the early 1800s, which has resulted in a close-knit community (Heritage NL 2012). Therefore, social capital is increasingly important in St. John's and newcomers must rely heavily on the city's small existing immigrant population and immigrant serving organizations. While research reviewed throughout

this chapter emphasizes the important role of social and human capital, networking, and local knowledge, the role of these factors in St. John's remains unclear?

2.9 Summary

Globally, international migration has grown rapidly in recent years, reaching 258 million in 2017, up from 173 million in 2000 (United Nations 2017). Also, on the rise across the globe is the international competition to attract skilled immigrants (Hawthorne 2018). These trends are also present in Canada, but with such a high proportion of the country's immigrants residing in the MTV cities, the country is trying to increase immigrant numbers in SMCs and rural areas through regionalization policies. While the majority of immigrants will continue to reside in the MTV cities for the foreseeable future, it is essential that the gap in knowledge surrounding immigrant entrepreneurs in SMCs is addressed. As the government continues to promote immigration outside of traditional gateway cities, it is crucial to develop an understanding of what services and policies are proving to be the most beneficial for the long-term integration and retention of immigrant entrepreneurs. Further, it is important to understand what impact immigrant entrepreneurs have on the communities in which they reside in, no matter their size.

This thesis will provide a valuable case study to the limited literature that investigates immigrant entrepreneurship in SMCs. Moreover, it will fill the gap in literature regarding the way in which universities facilitate high-skill entrepreneurship among newcomers. The facilitation of innovation by universities has been widely investigated, yet research has not yet adequately investigated how universities support entrepreneurship, while simultaneously providing important integration services to newcomers. The timeliness of this project is twofold. First, NL has implemented new immigration intake targets from 2017 to 2022 but has also long struggled with low retention rates. Second, since 2015, NL has implemented the SUV, the

Atlantic Immigration Pilot, and added two entrepreneurial streams and a skilled worker program to its PNP. With provinces recent emphasis on immigration and entrepreneurship it is essential to develop a contemporary understanding of how St. John's and NL's immigration services are aiding the needs of newcomers who are operating their business in the region.

Chapter 3: “St. John’s does not market diversity:” opportunities and challenges facing immigrant entrepreneurs in St. John’s, Newfoundland & Labrador, Canada

Article by: Nelson Graham & Yolande Pottie-Sherman

Target journal: *The Canadian Geographer*

Co-authorship Statement:

Nelson Graham and Yolande Pottie-Sherman designed this study. Nelson Graham collected the data and wrote the first draft of this manuscript in consultation with Yolande Pottie-Sherman.

The manuscript was then revised by both authors.

Abstract:

This paper adopts a rescaling approach concerned with the relationship between a city’s migrant economy and its global ties, challenging the argument that immigrant entrepreneurship is only fostered in global cities. We focus on Newfoundland and Labrador’s capital city of St. John’s, a city of 206,000. As the only major city on the island of Newfoundland, but as a peripheral city in Canada, St. John’s occupies a dual position as both a ‘metropole’ and ‘margin.’ With an ailing economy and a provincial population projected to drop by eight percent over the next twenty years, both Newfoundland and Labrador and St. John’s are looking to increase immigrant numbers and promote immigrant entrepreneurship. However, this paper identifies four reoccurring themes that are acting as barriers to immigrant entrepreneurs in St. John’s. Firstly, diversity is not represented municipally or provincially. Secondly, immigrant entrepreneurs experience difficulty hiring enough qualified labour to meet their businesses’ growth potential. Thirdly, immigrant entrepreneurs raised concerns that there is a lack knowledge of what local supports exist. Fourthly, not having the ability to access in-person government assistance is

problematic and frustrating for newcomers. The four identified themes offer a glimpse into the challenges that immigrant entrepreneurs are facing in North America's eastern most city.

3.1 Introduction

Recent research on migrant economies highlights the need to examine immigrant entrepreneurship across varying city types, including both global and downscaled cities (Çaglar & Glick-Schiller 2018; Lo & Teixeira 2015; Schuch & Wang 2015). The former set of cities are large, typically major immigrant gateways (i.e., Amsterdam, Miami, Toronto), and offer substantial resources to newcomers (Räuchle & Schmitz 2018). The latter are disconnected from global networks, disadvantaged by neoliberal rescaling, and present limited opportunity structures for migrants (i.e., Cleveland, Rostock-Germany) although municipal actors may frame migrants as key agents of urban development (Glick-Schiller & Çaglar 2009; Filomeno 2015; Pottie-Sherman 2018). Research on downscaled cities has to date, focused on former manufacturing hubs, but has yet to examine the opportunity structures immigrant entrepreneurs are presented with in resource-driven urban economies.

This paper adopts a rescaling approach concerned with the relationship between a city's migrant economy and its global ties, challenging the notion that immigrant entrepreneurship is germane only to global cities. We focus on St. John's, a north Atlantic city of 206,000 (see Figure 3.1), in the Canadian province of Newfoundland and Labrador (NL), which we argue, presents an ideal case for advancing the mixed embeddedness thesis. This thesis understands migrant enterprise as shaped by the economic, social, and institutional fabric of the host country as well as that of the diaspora countries (Kloosterman 2010; Bagwell 2018; Rath & Kloosterman 2002).

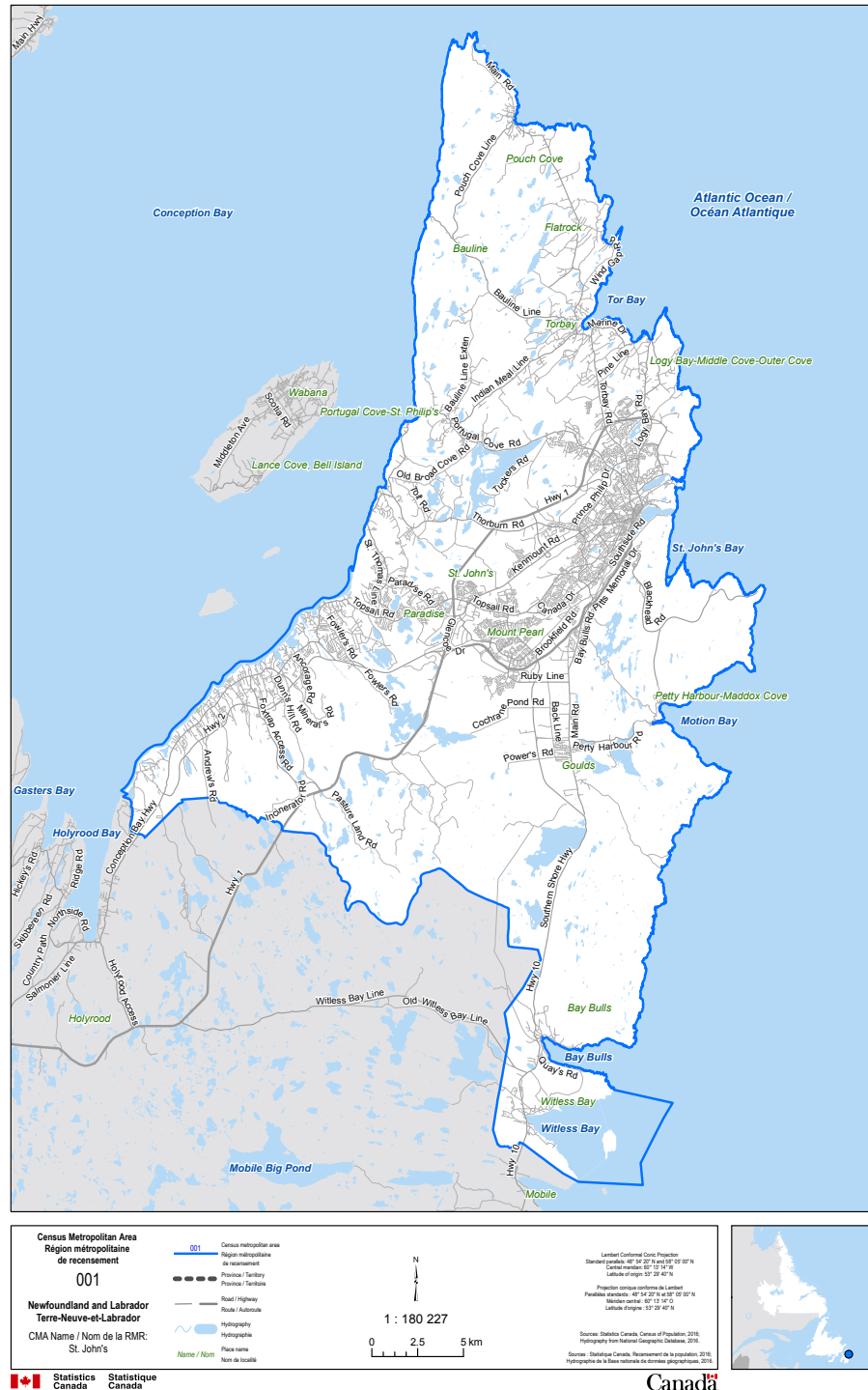
As the only major city on the island of Newfoundland but as a peripheral city in Canada, St. John's occupies a dual position as both "metropole" and "margin" (Lepawsky et al. 2010). Its offshore oil revenue-driven economy intimately ties it to booms and busts in global oil prices (Locke 2011) which presents distinct challenges for its immigrants. With an ailing economy and a provincial population projected to drop by eight percent over the next twenty years, both the province and the municipality are looking to increase immigration and promote migrant enterprise –immigrants currently make up 2.4 percent of the province's 555,000-person population in contrast with the Canadian average of 21.9 percent (Statistics Canada 2016).

Our objective is to contribute to scholarship on mixed embeddedness and rescaling by examining how immigrant entrepreneurs in St. John's navigate the distinct opportunity structures described above. We ask: how are these opportunity structures (metropole/margin, boom/bust, pro/low immigrant destination (high or low rates of immigrants moving to a city)) influence their business success, integration, and retention? Are local immigrant organizations equipped to help immigrant entrepreneurs bypass related barriers? The study findings are based primarily on 28 semi-structured in-depth interviews, 20 with immigrant entrepreneurs in St. John's, and eight with key informants (municipal and provincial government officials and representatives from relevant local organizations serving immigrant entrepreneurs).

Our findings illustrate four recurring challenges impeding immigrant entrepreneurial success in St. John's. First, despite three levels of government promoting migrant enterprise, immigrant entrepreneurs feel their labour is undervalued. Second, St. John's limited labour pool acts as a barrier to the growth of migrant enterprises, particularly in the technology sector. Third, though immigrant serving services and organizations existed in St. John's, key informants and entrepreneurs identified a lack of knowledge among newcomers concerning what resources were

available. Finally, the lack of an in-person immigration officer in St. John's results in immigrant entrepreneurs being frustrated by an overly complicated, lengthy, and impersonal immigration and entrepreneurial start-up experience.

Figure 3.1 The CMA of St. John's NL.
Source: NL Statistics Agency, 2016.



3.2 Immigrant entrepreneurship in downscaled cities

Traditionally, immigrant entrepreneurship research has focused on the experiences and business outcomes of immigrants in global cities, ignoring smaller, downscaled cities (Glick Schiller & Çağlar 2018). Research has demonstrated that immigrant-owned businesses can stimulate economic growth, create jobs, revitalize and symbolically transform neighbourhoods, and improve immigrant retention (Parzer & Huber 2014; Schuch & Wang 2015). Moreover, immigrants, though they have higher rates of business failure, are more likely to become entrepreneurs than their native-born counterparts in advanced urban economies (Cooke & Kemeny 2017; Dauvergne 2016; Filomeno 2015; Räuchle & Schmiz 2018). Immigrant entrepreneurs are no longer tied to the low-skill sector and middleman businesses (Bonacich 1973; Wang & Hernandez 2018). They are now involved in a variety of economic sectors, which has increased government interest in advanced economies (Bagwell 2018). There has recently been a call among scholars to investigate non-global cities while considering the role that downscaled cities play in immigrant entrepreneurial activities (Glick-Schiller 2012; Grant 2013; Grant & Thompson 2015).

The mixed embeddedness thesis offers one starting point for understanding migrant enterprise in downscaled cities (Koosterman et al. 1999; Kloosterman 2010; Rath & Kloosterman 2002). This thesis posits that the opportunity structures for immigrant entrepreneurship (Aldrich & Waldinger 1990) are impacted by social, economic, and institutional contexts, along with the individual resources available to migrants. Recent contributions to this field of migrant entrepreneurial studies have linked mixed embeddedness and rescaling approaches (Glick-Schiller and Çağlar 2018). The rescaling approach analyzes immigration beyond a national scale, instead considering three separate concepts (Räuchle &

Schmiz 2018), the global city (Friedman 1986; Sassen 1991), scale (Brenner 2004; Swyngedouw 1992), and neoliberal urban development (Brenner & Theodore 2002; Harvey 1989). This approach places cities within an urban hierarchy, with global cities at the top and small to medium-sized (SMCs) or downscaled cities that are not as connected to the global market, near the bottom (Glick Schiller & Çağlar 2009). Together, the mixed embeddedness and rescaling theses help to understand the successes and failures of immigrant entrepreneurs in specific cities. Not only are migrant enterprises embedded within host country policies and regulations, but also within the particular “demographic and economic profiles of specific places” (Glick-Schiller & Çağlar 2018: 96).

Opportunity structures vary for immigrant entrepreneurs, between global gateway cities and smaller downscaled cities. Global gateway cities benefit from large immigrant populations, which attract further immigration, often from smaller cities. This benefit is especially the case in Canada, where roughly two thirds of immigrants reside in the three cities of Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver (Statistics Canada 2016). In global gateway cities, established ethnic communities, culturally diverse populations, established immigrant associations and services, and public resources offer newcomers social and economic capital, which often do not exist in SMCs and downscaled cities (Räuchle & Schmiz 2018; Sano et al. 2017). The allure of global gateway cities resonates among entrepreneurs as well. Ethnically clustered neighbourhoods like Toronto’s East Chinatown offer immigrant entrepreneurs social and cultural integration services (Buzzelli 2001; Hume 2015; Kaplan & Chacko 2015; Takahashi, 2017; Teixeira 2006; Zhuang 2017), while simultaneously providing local knowledge, a sustainable client base, and labour force (Lo & Teixeira 2015). Cities with large immigrant populations also offer immigrant entrepreneurs increased formal and informal entrepreneurial options (Ley 2006; Light 2000) that

would not exist in a smaller city. Moreover, ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods present entrepreneurs the opportunity to sell specialty goods or services that tap into a niche cultural market that may be lacking in smaller, downscaled, or low-immigrant destinations (Lo & Teixeira 2015; Zhuang 2017).

Lacking access to social and economic capital, many downscaled cities across the Global North have recognized that increased immigration has the potential to counter their city's declining global importance (Filomeno, 2017; Pottie-Sherman, 2017; Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2011). Yet, downscaled cities have difficulty attracting and retaining immigrants. While recent research has shown that immigrant entrepreneurs can economically benefit from operating in SMCs (Sano et al. 2017), entrepreneurs lack the access to specialty markets and services that large immigrant populations offer in global gateway cities. Moreover, social capital is often harder to access in SMCs, since immigrant communities are less developed, which results in immigrant entrepreneurs experiencing more difficulty in acquiring knowledge regarding local markets and business strategies (Lo & Teixeira 2015).

In North America and Europe, policy makers and journalists have promoted small businesses and immigration as a tool that rejuvenates stagnant economies, transforms neighbourhoods, and helps cities become more relevant on the global stage (Everts 2010; Filomeno 2017; Glick Schiller & Çağlar 2018; Hume 2015; Parzer & Huber 2014; Pottie-Sherman 2018). Policies in the Global North have looked to utilize immigrant entrepreneurs as saviours for failing cities, creators of urban revitalization and jobs, all the while integrating themselves in a neoliberal setting (Glick Schiller & Çağlar 2018). In a neoliberal era, immigrant entrepreneurs represent an enticing option to off-load integration services from the federal level

to the municipal (Coleman 2007; Parks 2014; Pottie-Sherman 2017; Ramakrishnan & Wong 2010; Varsanyi 2010).

Scholars have become critical of the celebration of immigrant entrepreneurs as agents of downscaled city rejuvenation. In this neoliberal era, the displacement of populations is a common side effect of the strategies that are being implemented. The high density of immigrant businesses can result in increased consumer consumption, the return of the middle class to previously abandoned neighbourhoods, increased real-estate value, and the generation of capital through taxation. Parzer & Huber (2014) provide an example of immigrant businesses rejuvenating a neighbourhood, triggering gentrification, subsequently displacing some of the same immigrant entrepreneurs because of unaffordable rent. Therefore, Glick Schiller & Çağlar (2018) call for scholars to critically engage with the celebration of immigrant entrepreneurs by developers and municipal leaders, as well as for multi-scalar analyses of city-making.

Our study contributes to the literature surrounding immigrant entrepreneurs in SMCs and downscaled cities. As Glick Schiller & Çağlar (2018) state, it is important for academics to understand how different, “non-global” cities, influence entrepreneurial outcomes. There is a lack of research on the dynamics of small business creation in SMCs, also how macro and micro-scale influences across multiple cities with similar demographic characteristics differ. Considering the distinctive opportunity structures that exist in different cities, a geographical approach will be useful to help understand this complex urban issue. To understand how different types of cities impact this topic, there is a need for more in-depth and in person studies that focus on the experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs (Eimermann & Karlsson 2018; Hanson & Blake 2009; Morgan et al. 2018; Nathan & Lee 2013; Schuch & Wang 2015).

3.3 St. John’s: ‘metropole/margin’

St. John's is a unique case study in immigrant entrepreneurship. It occupies a dual position as both "metropole" and "margin" (Lepawsky et al. 2010). As the provincial capital of the Canadian province of NL and as only major city on the island of Newfoundland, St. John's functions as a regional metropolis. Home to over 40 percent of the province's population, St. John's possesses a disproportionate amount of provincial power because it hosts the largest University in Atlantic Canada, the provincial and regional federal government headquarters, and has reaped most of the benefits of oil-fuelled growth (Lepawsky et al. 2010). Hence, while rural NL faces population decline, the city of St. John's (and surrounding area) continue to grow (see Table 3.1) (Lepawsky et al. 2010; Statistics Canada 2016). On the national stage, however, St. John's continues to occupy a marginal position as a small, isolated, and peripheral city. More broadly, the province has a long history of seeing itself (and being treated) as an 'outsider' within Canada, having been variously embroiled in conflict with the federal government since entering Canadian Confederation in 1949 (Blake 2015).¹⁰ This peripheral position has impacted the city's ability to attract and retain talent (Lepawsky et al. 2010; Pottie-Sherman and Lynch 2019) making it a downscaled city. Though we argue that St. John's is a downscaled city, we recognize that the city is uniquely positioned compared to most downscaled cities given its long history and spatial isolation.

¹⁰ Some of the many issues between NL and Canada include: the Churchill Falls contract, disagreements about offshore oil reserve ownership, the belief that Canada has repeatedly exploited Newfoundland, resettlement programs, and only being granted a consultative role regarding the cod moratorium (Blake 2015; Fang et al. 2018). The Churchill Falls Hydroelectricity contract of 1969 is still a decisive and prominent issue in the province. In short, the contract signed between Newfoundland's Churchill Falls Labrador Corporation and Quebec ensured that the power from the hydro project would be sold exclusively to the province of Quebec from 1972 to 2041 (Blake 2015). As a result, in 2010 Quebec profited 1.7 billion dollars, while Newfoundland received 63 million dollars, due to the pre-set price on power that was signed in 1969 (Blake 2015).

NL has been tied to a boom and bust resource-based economy for decades, and has experienced two major busts in the last thirty years. The collapse of the northern cod fishery and subsequent moratorium in 1992 devastated NL’s economy, displacing 12 percent of the province’s workforce (Blake 2015; Wright 2001). The development of offshore oil fields by the late 1990s, however, shifted NL from a “have not” to a “have” province. At the peak of the offshore oil boom, oil revenues accounted for 30 percent of the province’s GDP (Lepawsky et al. 2010). With the recent decline in global oil prices, however, the province’s economy has again entered a bust. At the end of 2018, provincial debt reached a staggering \$14.7 billion – the highest ever – and unemployment rose to 15.5 percent, nine percent higher than the national average (Government of Canada 2018).

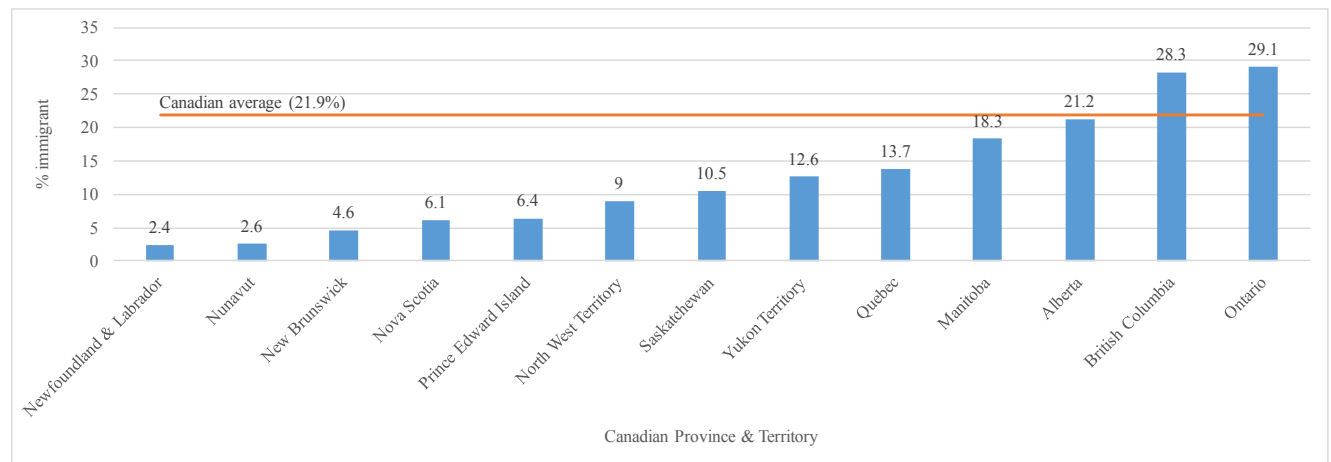
Table 3.1. St. John’s CMA and NL population information.
Data Source: Statistics Canada, 2019.

	St. John’s CMA	NL	Canada
Total population	203,305	512,250	35,150,000
Immigrant %	4.0%	2.4%	21.9%
Population change from 2013-2018	+ 6,241	- 1,759	+ 1,900,556

In Canada – a country that will accept one million new immigrants from 2018 to 2020 – St. John’s occupies a distinct status as a low-immigrant destination. Despite hosting two thirds of province’s immigrant population, only four percent of the city’s population was born outside of Canada in 2016. Immigrants comprise only 2.4 percent of the province’s 550,000-person population, the lowest share of all Canadian provinces and territories (Statistics Canada, 2016; see Figure 3.2). The province’s distinctive immigration picture can also be seen in NL’s 2.3 percent visible minority population, in contrast to the 22.3 percent Canadian average (Statistics Canada, 2016). Of the immigrants and refugees who arrive in the province, many do not stay

(Fang et al. 2018). For example, among immigrants who arrived in 2011, 51 percent were still living in NL five years later (Statistics Canada 2016).

Figure 3.2. Immigrant share by Canadian province & territory, 2016.
Data source: Statistics Canada, 2016.



To mitigate these challenges, the NL government has identified immigration as a key dimension of its “Way Forward,” vowing to double immigration numbers by 2022 (Government of NL 2016). To accomplish this goal, the Government of NL has introduced a series of changes to the Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Nominee Program (NLPNP),¹¹ including targeted immigration streams for International Entrepreneurs and International Graduate Entrepreneurs. The former stream is open to applicants who wish to start or purchase a business in the province, while the latter is for international students graduating from the province’s only University (Memorial University) or technical college (College of the North Atlantic) who wish to start businesses and reside in NL. These changes followed on the heels of the federal government’s

¹¹ Beginning in the mid-1980s, most Canadian Provinces and territories have negotiated separate immigration agreements with the Canadian federal government, allowing them to introduce subnational immigration streams targeted to their local labour needs (Paquet 2019).

2017 introduction of the Start-Up Visa (SUV) Program. Under this program, the Memorial University hosted Genesis Centre is one of 29 designated local “Business Incubators” that can act as visa sponsors for immigrant entrepreneurs. The Genesis Program is open to immigrant entrepreneurs who meet criteria established by the Genesis Centre, including completing an “Accelerator” program. Table 3.2 summarizes the evolution of NL’s immigration program.

Table 3.2. Evolution of Newfoundland & Labrador's Immigration programs and their key characteristics, 1999 to 2018.

Program name	Years	Government unit(s) involved	Details
NL Provincial Nominee Program (NLPNP)	1999-	Federal & Provincial	•An economic immigration program designed to support and attract skilled immigrants, along with their families, so that they can live and work permanently in NL.
NLPNP International Graduate	2008-	Federal & Provincial	•Designed for recent graduates with a Post Graduate Work Permit and a job or job offer from a NL business.
NLPNP Skilled Worker	2007-	Federal & Provincial	•Designed for international workers and prospective immigrants that possess skills that are beneficial to the NL labour market. Successful applicants must have a guaranteed job offer or be working for a NL employer with a valid work permit.
NLPNP Express Entry Skilled Worker	2015-	Federal & Provincial	•Designed to enable a path to permanent residence for individuals with intend to reside permanently in NL. Applicants are required to be accepted into the IRCC express entry pool. This category is intended to help meet NL's 2015-2025 population growth strategy.
Start-up Visa Program (SUV)	2017-	Federal with local partner	•Created to target immigrant entrepreneurs, specifically those with the potential to create innovative businesses in Canada, with the potential to compete on a global scale.
Atlantic Immigration Pilot (AIP)	2017-	Federal & Atlantic Provinces	•Three-year program, employer driven and is designed to address the employment, skills, and labour market needs of the four Atlantic Provinces.
NLPNP International Entrepreneur	2018-	Federal & Provincial	•A part of the business immigration stream of the NLPNP. Designed for experienced entrepreneurs or those with a history of business management who want to start or purchase their a business in NL.
NLPNP International Graduate Entrepreneur	2018-	Federal & Provincial	•For graduates of Memorial University or the College of the North Atlantic. For individuals that have started or purchased a local business. Entrepreneurs must carry out day-to-day business operations for at least one complete year.

The province has begun to increase its annual immigrant intake with the goal of reaching 1,700 new immigrants annually by 2022 – a 75 percent increase from 2017 (Newfoundland and Labrador 2017). Among recent arrivals, the top five source countries were the Philippines, Syria, China, the United States, and India (Statistics Canada 2016) reflecting broader immigration trends in Canada including the resettlement of Syrian refugees.

This paper contributes to the growing body of literature on migrant economies that combines mixed embeddedness and rescaling approaches. We examine how immigrant entrepreneurs in St. John's navigate the opportunity structure of a unique, dual-positioned city. We are concerned with the role that these opportunity structures (metropole/margin, boom/bust, pro/low immigrant destination) have on immigrant entrepreneur's business success, and if they impact their integration and retention. Further, does St. John's' position in the urban hierarchy hinder or enable local immigrant organizations' ability to serve newcomers?

3.4 Methods

Our analysis is based primarily on 28 in-depth, in-person interviews with key informants and immigrant entrepreneurs. We interviewed eight key informants, including municipal and provincial government officials, representatives from local immigrant serving organizations, and Memorial University. These 60-minute interviews were semi-structured and focused on existing support structures for self-employment in St. John's. Based on these key informant interviews, we designed an interview guide for the twenty-immigrant business owner-participants. In order to capture the greatest diversity of experiences possible within our sample, we interviewed ten individuals that owned businesses in the low-skill sector and ten entrepreneurs in the high-skilled sector. These semi-structured interviews varied from 40-90 minutes. Immigrant entrepreneurial interviews focused on opportunities and challenges faced. All interviews were recorded and later

transcribed. To analyze the transcriptions, we coded all data with *Dedoose* software, which then was used to identify reoccurring themes. Table 3.3 summarizes the characteristics of the immigrant business owners who participated in our study. Notably, half of the migrant enterprises included in our sample were users of the Genesis Centre.

Table 3.3 Characteristics of Immigrant Entrepreneurs (N=20).

Gender	Region of origin	Age	Industry	Immigration category	# of employees	Genesis user
Male (14)	Asia (11)	20-24 (3)	Scientific/technical (10)	International student (11)	1-4 (11)	Yes (10)
Female (6)	Europe (4)	25-29 (4)	Retail (6)	Refugee (4)	5-9 (6)	No (10)
	Africa (3)	30-34 (4)	Food (4)	Skilled worker (2)	28-32 (2)	
	South America (2)	35-39 (5)		Temporary foreign worker (2)	10-14 (1)	
		40-44 (2)		Tourist visa (1)		
		55-59 (2)				

3.5 Case Study: St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador

Our findings illustrate the recurring challenges to immigrant entrepreneurial success in St. John's. Despite three levels of government promoting immigrant entrepreneurship as a silver bullet for economic development, many challenges remain. In what follows, we examine four recurring themes among immigrant business owners, policy officials, and service providers in St. John's. These include: a reluctance to promote international migrants as part of St. John's' and NL's global image; a "glass ceiling" that disables highly-skilled businesses' ability to hire enough adequate labour, impacting company's growth potential and leading to outsourcing operations to major cities; issues with the knowledge mobilization of what immigrant services exist; and finally, immigrants being frustrated by a lengthy and complicated immigration process that is exacerbated by NL not having an immigration representative available for in-person assistance. It is worth noting that the key informants in this study identified several areas of opportunities that immigrant entrepreneurs did not, which demonstrates a disjunct between service providers and users.

Diversity as a marketing tool

Like many other downscaled cities, St. John's is actively pursuing strategies to compete with major immigrant gateways (i.e., in Canada: Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal) in order to attract and retain immigrants, as immigrants often move to cities with large ethnic populations. Unfortunately, neither the city nor the province have promoted immigration and immigrants as part of St. John's' global image.

Immigrant entrepreneurs in St. John's, especially those involved in the accommodation and food services industry, feel that their work is undervalued by the municipal and provincial governments. More than half of participants expressed that their role as taxpayers and job creators for immigrants and native-born Newfoundlanders remains unrecognized, despite integrating themselves into the cultural fabric of the city. One participant offered the following bleak assessment of their time as an entrepreneur in St. John's:

I receive no appreciation from the city or the government as a valued member of the tax paying population, *[I] work 24/7 with no acknowledgement from government* for what I do, owning a business in St. John's is the worst decision I ever made. I should have just continued to work multiple minimum wage jobs and survive that way. The governments [municipal, provincial, and federal] need to do better job addressing the misconceptions of Canadians and get it [the information] out there how much we [immigrants] contribute to the economy. [our emphasis]

According to several participants, the province has yet to embrace immigration-related cultural diversity as an asset for sorely needed economic diversification. One participant likened this tendency to more than a century of "burning" of "potential," explaining "we need more businesses that are pulling revenue from outside, not just small local shops. Yes, those are great, but what we're doing is we're recycling money, it is just changing hands and we aren't bringing in new revenue, diversification does that!" This "burning of potential" identified by immigrant

participants demonstrates how the province is not recognizing the economic and social benefits of cultural diversity within the local entrepreneurial community. Cultural diversity among businesses can generate global and diverse ideas and business connections that may not be recognized and available among the local population.

Since the 1990s, the provincial government has embraced tourism as a strategy of economic diversification alongside offshore oil extraction (Stoddart & Sodero 2015). The former strategy has included the production of a series of popular TV advertisements depicting Newfoundland coastlines, outport communities, Irish heritage, and Viking mysteries. These and other “media images of the coastal Newfoundland environment circulate through advertisements, travel journalism, and news coverage of the province” (ibid: 446). This branding is important for immigrant entrepreneurs in St. John’s, since positive local media coverage and political activism on municipal and provincial levels both play an important role in the public’s perception and embrace of newcomers (Chacko & Cheung 2006; Hume 2015). Further, a lack of political and symbolic representation of ethnic diversity can negatively affect inclusionary efforts, immigrant support systems, and municipal development programs (Räuchle & Schmiz 2018).

Several business owners in our study noted the conspicuous absence of immigrants from these provincial tourism campaigns. Seven of eight key informants stated that they did not think that NL had used diversity as a marketing tool, despite optimism that the province was “transitioning” toward a more inclusive image. As one participant put it bluntly, “we are teaching people the importance of having a global perspective, but at the moment we are not [using diversity] on a marketing scale. Provincial ads are very white.” The province’s tourism ads focus on the history of cod fisheries, local heritage and culture, and the local way of life that has shaped the region over the past centuries, neglecting the large number of ethnic contributions

that are present in NL (see Figure 3.3). While the province has embarked on a pro-immigration messaging campaign, a recent video promotes a white Irish immigrant as “best kind” (a Newfoundland term of endearment) drawing into question its commitment to diversity.

Figure 3.3 NL Tourism commercials, 2016-“Crayons” (left) and 2018- “A Tangled Tale” (right).



Räuchle & Schmitz's (2018) demonstrate that in cities where diversity is less engrained, the population is less likely to consume and embrace ethnic goods and services. In the words of one business owner, “getting locals in through the front door is [one major] difficulty.” This representational focus is doubly problematic for ethnic entrepreneurs in cities with smaller immigrant populations, as they also lack the ethnic populations that may be drawn to specific goods and services. Research demonstrates that the clustering of immigrant entrepreneurs can generate urban revitalization, symbolic transformation, and economic development (Parzer & Huber 2016; Kloosterman et al. 1999; Pottie-Sherman 2017). The clustering of businesses, paired with the promotion of diversity, has beneficial potential for immigrant entrepreneurs, as it can help build awareness of an immigrant community and create social capital. St. John's' small immigrant population has limited opportunities for immigrant entrepreneurs to access specialty markets and ethnic niche products that exist in immigrant gateway cities, such as ethnic food

products and garments. The majority of immigrant business owners recognized that, while immigrant communities are present in the city, they are spatially dispersed and that the low retention rate hinders the development of communities.

Despite these challenges, a number of participants emphasized the important role that the St. John's Farmers Market is playing in fostering an immigrant community in the city. The recently renovated and converted bus terminal, now Farmers Market, hosts a significant number of immigrant entrepreneurs as vendors. Nearly half of the 65 indoor vendors in any given week were born outside of Canada, representing more than twenty countries. The market building is also used by different immigrant groups for other community events, including by the Muslim Association for Friday prayer services. As one organizer explained: "having a multicultural perspective has brought in not only folks that have originated from here who have been coming in to experience new things. But other people that share the same culture feel they have a presence here and they are welcome here." The market endorses cultural diversity and has helped connect immigrant entrepreneurs with international students from the local University, a relationship evidenced by the following reflections by other observers not affiliated with the market:

The new Farmers Market is a great example [of diversity], many of our international students actually get volunteer work there and volunteer hours and have some of their first work experiences at the Farmers Market which is great, it is a really great opportunity for them to as well be integrated with a group of people that is, that is more innovative that is more entrepreneurial themselves.

The St. John's Farmers Market is great, and it is getting better. When I go to the Farmer's Market I feel like I am in a big city, there are seamstresses, vendors, cooks, farmers, and crafts, you know? A few years ago, there were a lot more international food vendors arriving, and I think the city's pallet is growing and people are wanting to try new foods and it is great to see in the community. Little things like that make others want to know more, makes them more curious than they were, and they want to try different food.

Notably, despite complaints about their inclusion into City and Provincial branding campaigns, all but one of the immigrant entrepreneurs we interviewed see St. John's as a welcoming community.

Scaling up: The 'glass ceiling'

The federal government, in partnership with the province, has allocated funds to help highly-skilled companies secure start-up capital. For several of the tech entrepreneurs we interviewed for this study, these funds had been instrumental. Almost all of the high-skilled entrepreneurs in this study had received either government or private venture funding, from sources such as the Business Development Bank of Canada, Newfoundland's Business Investment Fund, the National Research Council, and Killick Capital. Some participants explained that their location in a remote province with a small population was an advantage in terms of securing funding. As one business owner put it, "the pro is, well, the federal government distributes a pot of money to research and development, and way less people dip into the pot here than over in Toronto."

Some companies, however, have secured start-up funding only to quickly outgrow the capacity of the local talent pool. A recurring theme with immigrant entrepreneurs in our study concerned local labour market as a constraint on growth. One participant likened this constraint to a "glass ceiling" created by the lack of skilled, qualified labour in the province. In the words of another business owner, "it is really hard to find people that know how to do what we do, and do a quality job [...] This is has been a huge repeated barrier." This barrier was much more of an issue for highly-skilled companies, though low-skilled companies were not immune, including retail and personal care sectors.

In other words, rather than 'stealing jobs' (i.e., a common anti-immigrant narrative), immigrant entrepreneurs in St. John's are creating them, but face pressure to relocate because of labour

shortages. This limitation pushes companies to outsource components of their work to large cities like Toronto, rather than keeping needed jobs in the province.

Talent is a big barrier, yeah the biggest barrier that we face is the glass ceiling. How do you get those really experienced people that you need for your company at the later stage? You really have to go to Toronto and the mainland. We'll stay here, but I wouldn't say that every company wishes to stay here. I guess, when you start the company, there's nothing wrong with Newfoundland when you start the company and get your first 10, 20, 100 customers, but it really becomes a problem as soon as your company starts to scaleup. Yeah, so there's a ceiling in how much you can grow your company with people who have no experience in this industry.

Though employment shortages present barriers for many industries in Atlantic Canada, the risk of losing highly-skilled companies through outsourcing operations to larger urban centers is exceptionally pressing for St. John's. Spatial isolation results in increased shipping costs, delays, and higher food costs compared to other areas in Canada. As one low-skill sector entrepreneur reiterated:

I am still planning to [stay in St. John's], this is such a nice place to raise a family, but for business, I will, I will try my best to remain or keep my headquarters of the company here, to repay Newfoundland. But like I keep saying, going back to logistics, for those reasons I have to move, it is the logistics part, you know?

However, highly-skilled services such as architecture, engineering, specialized design, computer systems design, management, scientific and technical consulting services, scientific research and development services, advertising, and public relations services often do not require the movement of tangible products. Eliminating the high costs and delays that are attached to shipping products long distances, to and from the mainland, while simultaneously globalizing and diversify its economy could be key in St. John's overcoming its spatial isolation.

The landscape of government funding is also not a level playing field for high and low-skilled sectors in NL, but rather, prioritizes the former. A majority of low-skill sector entrepreneurs stressed that they had to work multiple minimum wage jobs for several years in

order to save enough money just to start their business. While immigrant entrepreneurs are no longer tied to low-skill sector businesses (Bagwell 2018; Dheer 2018; Glick Schiller 2012; Wang 2012) low-skilled businesses are still valuable job creators and tax contributors that inject capital into the economy, while often offering symbolic symbols of diversity.

Immigrant entrepreneurs lack knowledge of existing supports

Key informants and immigrant entrepreneurs alike emphasized the lack of newcomer knowledge concerning the services that were available in St. John's, particularly where entrepreneurial resources were located. Support services for immigrant entrepreneurs included a variety of organizations that offered language lessons, connector programs designed to introduce newcomers to local entrepreneurs, and a bilingual service map app. Even with these supports, and several others, the entrepreneurs in our study were generally confused how to access the services, even when they knew they existed.

Despite existing services, our participants had more often learned the rules and regulations of starting and operating a business in their new country and city themselves, which proved very costly for some. As one entrepreneur stated,

The fire department came in to inspect my shop. They said my ventilation was not good enough and they referred me to company and it cost 25,000 dollars. I didn't know who else to talk to... what am I to do other than pay... [I] didn't know the rules.

Others had family and friends to guide them through the steps to entrepreneurship. Several participants expressed frustration about the absence of resources that they required, although the services they sought were often available. As one participant explained, "we see a lot of business failure here and I think that is due to lack of supports, where if you were in a big city this wouldn't be the case."

Key informants also recognized the prevalent perception that services for immigrant entrepreneurs do not exist. An individual that was subcontracted by the government, in a department that is responsible for offering business services explained,

I guess it is the lack of awareness or lack of marketing or getting people to know that we are here, that we can be that first step to start a business and even the local community doesn't know we are here sometimes. That is definitely one of our main challenges, and reaching out to them [immigrant entrepreneurs] too, you know, it is, I guess a challenge for all new business people but especially for a newcomer that isn't aware of knowledge that we take for granted, it makes it harder for them you know?

Social capital proved essential in the start-up phase of many of the low-skilled businesses interviewed. Several interviewees emphasized that they would have been unable to succeed in navigating Canadian business regulations without their social ties. As one participant explained,

Couldn't have done it without my sister. She was so helpful with everything. She taught me everything I needed to know. Without family I would have been lost to the system. The resources that are offered by the ANC [Association for New Canadians] are good, but they are really slow and limited. The issue there is if you don't have a clear set plan you can get lost in the system. English is not enough of a resource to be taught. There are so many hoops to jump through as a newcomer, even with a college degree this was really challenging to navigate through.

While confirming the importance of social capital to migrant enterprise, this statement also speaks to the potential economic significance of family-reunification dynamics to immigrant entrepreneurs.

Lack of in-person assistance

Because of NL's focus on retaining international students via the NLPNP, the University is acting as an important hub for immigrant entrepreneurs requiring assistance with the immigration process. For the eleven participants that had initially moved to St. John's as international students, the University network plays an important role in eliminating confusion surrounding the immigration and start-up process. As one interviewee stated, networking is crucial because "immigrant entrepreneurs don't have that strong family base that locals would have, right?" They

continued, explaining “So, MUN is the best resource that any immigrant founder, entrepreneur, or student would have. So, if you don’t go to MUN, or once you get out of MUN’s network, you’re just going to dry up, basically.” This statement underscores the role of higher education institutions in fostering social capital necessary for entrepreneurship among newcomers in a low-immigrant destination, who otherwise lack connections. MUN and the local Farmers Market both offer valuable networking services for immigrant entrepreneurs. However, they differ in that MUN caters to perspective entrepreneurs in the high-skill sector, while the latter does so for those interested in low-skill businesses.

In contrast, however, for business owners not connected to the University, NL’s immigration process was daunting. These participants repeatedly identified a long, expensive, and complicated immigration process that was made worse upon arrival because they did not have access to an in-person government representative in St. John’s. The following quotation illustrates the frustrations experienced by many of the business owners we interviewed:

The overall Canadian immigration system is not user friendly, slow, time consuming and an automated system. I spend hours and hours waiting on phone. [The] city, province, country has been very frustrating to deal with, time consuming. This is the same with the Canadian immigration service, in NL there is no in-person service. Can you believe that, [expletive], I call, wait on phone for hours and hours? Sometimes I can’t understand people that are helping, and they will just tell to call back later. I wait all day to talk to someone, they won’t answer my questions and they just hang-up... This is my life and they won’t help!

During our interview, this participant had been on hold with the immigration department for over three hours, enquiring about their citizenship status. There was extreme frustration during our conversation because of this phone call. When the immigration officer answered their call, the conversation was only minutes long, their question had not been answered, and the officer hung up the phone on them. Other entrepreneurs shared similar frustrations, stating that their path to entrepreneurship was complicated by not being able to have a conversation face-to-face with

government representatives. One entrepreneur said, “You know, I just want to walk into a government office to ask questions, not wait on hold, not receive a call back, right?” Several immigrant entrepreneurs (not involved with the University) identified the start-up phase of their businesses as being expensive, confusing, and time consuming, which was worsened by often not being able to speak to a government representative about their concerns and questions. Finally, four immigrant entrepreneurs noted that the provincial government was absent during their immigration and entrepreneurial process.

3.6 Concluding Discussion

Our research illustrates that symbolic transformations matter to the sense of belonging of immigrant entrepreneurs and may play an important “meso-level” role (Kloosterman 2010) in retaining migrant enterprises in St. John’s. The immigrant entrepreneurs in our study felt that the local and provincial governments did not recognize their economic and social contributions, while also not conveying these contributions to the general public. They do not feel represented by provincial and municipal branding, which has focused on NL’s ‘natural’ scenery, rural communities, and Irish heritage, at the expense of recognizing its (slowly) growing cultural diversity. Though St. John’s and NL lack examples of visible cultural diversity, the St. John’s Farmers Market provides a positive example of how symbolic transformation can contribute to newcomers feeling as though their contributions are recognized and valued. The Farmers Market enables immigrant entrepreneurs to operate in a diverse atmosphere, where their entrepreneurship has facilitated the symbolic transformation of an abandoned bus station into a thriving community market.

As we show, a rush to encourage the migrant start-up ecosystem in St. John’s – through the Genesis incubator, the NLPNP International Entrepreneur, and International Graduate

Entrepreneur streams – is clearly enabling migrant enterprise. These supports provide crucial start-up funding, and mitigate the limited co-ethnic social capital present in a low-immigrant destination like St. John's, by creating links between entrepreneurs, business mentors, and potential investors. Yet, the local talent pool continues to impede the success of tech startups – the limited labour pool is the reflection of decades of out-migration, economic bust, and isolation from the mainland. We also caution against government funding ignoring low-skilled businesses, as they contribute to the economy in a variety of ways. These contributions include but are not limited to: decreasing unemployment levels for those without high levels of education, diversifying the local economy, and could lessen the amount of vacant buildings in St. John's downtown core.

Our research underscores the major role that MUN is playing in migrant enterprise and in NL's immigration system more broadly. The refinements to the NLPNP, alongside the introduction of the federal Start-Up Visa, have positioned the province's University and College as the central immigration gateways. With NL planning to increase immigrant intake to 1,700 individuals annually it will be essential, for those that do not have the luxury of MUN's Internationalization Office's services, to have access to in-person immigration assistance. If an immigration office was opened in St. John's (that offers in-person services) the complications and misunderstandings that were described by our participants could be eased, if not avoided.

This research is crucial to the understanding of urban development and economic resiliency as it contributes to the limited number of case studies looking at immigration in peripheral cities. It is also relevant for other downscaled contexts, who may be looking to Canada, and to Atlantic Canada more specifically, for an immigration model. For example, an editorial in *The Roanoke Times* recently asked: 'what can Appalachia learn from Atlantic

Canada?,' referring to its growth-oriented pro-immigration strategies and their potential to curb population decline and slow economic growth in Virginia's coal counties. If Atlantic Canada's immigration strategies are to be used as a model for other struggling regions, it is crucial to better understand the opportunities and challenges faced by immigrants, including entrepreneurs in its small cities and communities.

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Chapter 4: Immigrant entrepreneurship and the role of the University

Article by: Nelson Graham

Target journal: Migration Studies

Abstract:

Traditionally immigrant entrepreneurial research has focused on large immigrant gateway cities. Further, these large cities are argued to have increased immigrant and business supports and services. However, small to mid-sized cities (SMCs) have been widely ignored by the existing literature. Answering the call among the literature to further explore immigration in SMCs, this paper argues that St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador (NL), offers a unique and enticing case study given its entrepreneurial ecosystem. Moreover, I identify that the local University (Memorial University of NL) is a key cog in the entrepreneurial funnel that exists in the city. Therefore, the objective of this paper is threefold. Firstly, to take stock of the current services and supports available to immigrant entrepreneurs, secondly, to identify if these supports are adequately meeting the needs of these newcomers, and thirdly, to determine who is falling through the cracks of these available supports. This paper argues that there is a need to further investigate the role that local universities are playing in the facilitation of not just immigrant entrepreneurship, but entrepreneurship in general. In this case study, the University provided immigrant newcomers with a holistic support system. The University offers, social, human, and economic capital, while also providing integration and immigration services to the campus' international students seeking business ownership.

4.1 Introduction

This article is concerned with the key policy issue of how to encourage and support immigrant entrepreneurship in SMCs. This question is essential to understand as many governments, private

sector actors, institutions, and business incubators are currently focused on facilitating entrepreneurialism, among immigrants and non-immigrants, in SMCs (de Lange 2018; Stam & Bosma 2015). Though immigrant entrepreneurship is a policy goal on federal, provincial, and municipal levels in Canada, academic research has yet to address this topic, especially in regard to the way that universities facilitate entrepreneurship among newcomers (Lo & Teixeira 2015).

The dominant approach to understanding immigrant entrepreneurship is the mixed embeddedness thesis, which understands immigrant entrepreneurship as a phenomenon shaped by economic, social, and institutional factors (Bagwell 2018; Kloosterman 2010; Rath & Kloosterman 2002). Yet, few studies have applied the mixed embeddedness thesis to SMCs. Further, there is a need to apply this thesis to immigrant entrepreneurship research in SMCs, where recent research in geography emphasizes that immigrant entrepreneurs face different barriers than those in large, traditional gateway cities (Lo & Teixeira 2015). Immigrant entrepreneurs in SMCs face reduced levels of social capital as smaller cities often lack large immigrant populations. Further, local level entrepreneurial supports may be less resourced in SMCs, resulting in immigrant entrepreneurs experiencing difficulty navigating local rules and regulations (Lo & Teixeira 2015). Research also demonstrates that universities are important engines of economic growth in Canadian cities and that they have the ability to increase cities' positions in the urban hierarchy (Bramwell et al. 2008; Florida 2005; Walton Roberts 2011). Additionally, universities have become key providers of settlement supports for immigrants, specifically in second-tier cities (Walton Roberts 2011; Wolfe 2005; Gertler et al. 2002). However, to date, research has not sufficiently explored the support ecosystem for immigrant entrepreneurs in SMCs, which includes universities, immigrant serving institutions, municipal governments, and local investors.

The state shows its desire to facilitate immigrant entrepreneurship in St. John's and NL, where the province's *Way Forward* (2017) states that the province is working with the federal government to enable increased immigrant entrepreneurship. Further, the province has also framed immigrant entrepreneurs as actors for economic diversification as seen in its recent policies. The implementation of the Atlantic Immigration Pilot, addition of two entrepreneurial streams to NL's Provincial Nominee Program (NLPNP), and the provincial *Way Forward* (2017) strategy demonstrate a desire to attract newcomers and businesses. While NL faces a shrinking population, a youth exodus movement, and a stagnant economy, immigrant entrepreneurial policies and strategies aim to remedy provincial demographic and economic complications. The implementation of two entrepreneurial streams to the NLPNP are designed to attract global talent, spur economic development, create jobs, and retain newcomers (Newfoundland and Labrador 2018). Moreover, these policies are important to meet the province's goal to nearly double its annual immigration intake from 2017-2022 (Statistics Canada 2016). However, NL—and SMCs in general—have long struggled with the retention of newcomers (Lo & Teixeira, 2015; Sano et al. 2017). Further, both St. John's and NL have immigrant populations well below the national average (see Table 4.1). However, Memorial University's increasing number of international students (MUN) is helping alleviate some of these low retention and immigration numbers. In 2018, the University had 3067 international students enroll in either full-time or part-time studies (MUN Factbook 2018). With NL's unemployment rate reaching 15.5 percent in 2018 (nine percent higher than the national average) job creation is in dire need for the region. Furthermore, this study will demonstrate that many international students are utilizing MUN's resources to become entrepreneurs, which could play a key role in easing the province's unemployment concerns. International students also fit into the government's two step migration

system that favours temporary migrants who lack settlement services and labour rights. Such immigrants are considered to be self-sustained; therefore, not requiring government integration services. The two-step system places the integration onus on immigrants (international students and Temporary Foreign Workers) themselves while they attempt to prove their labour market success in order to be granted permanent residency (PR).

Given this information, this paper has the following objectives: 1) examine MUN's and other local service provider's current resources that are available to newcomers who plan to become entrepreneurs; 2) determine whether these resources are adequately serving the current immigrant entrepreneurial community; 3) consider whether any immigrant entrepreneurs fall outside the current entrepreneurial support system in St. John's. The findings from this paper are drawn from eight key informant interviews and 20 immigrant entrepreneur interviews. Of the 20 immigrant entrepreneurs, ten owned businesses the low-skill sector and ten owned high-skill sector businesses. The equal distribution of high and low-skill entrepreneurs among this project's participants was designed to develop an understanding of if immigrant entrepreneurs in different sectors of the economy experienced the same opportunities and barriers.

This paper aims to contribute to the growing call among literature for more qualitative studies that examine the experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs in SMCs (Lo & Teixeira 2015; Sano et al. 2017). Therefore, in this paper my argument is threefold. First, I argue that actors wishing to support immigrant entrepreneurs in SMCs must recognize that entrepreneurship is not a solitary act. In fact, successful immigrant entrepreneurial support requires ongoing and adequate access to holistic settlement supports. Immigrant entrepreneurs require economic and social capital, and acquiring these forms of capital is a not solitary endeavor. Second, the local University has increasingly become a linchpin in the path to entrepreneurship among newcomers

in St. John's. The University has facilitated an entrepreneurial funnel for high-skill businesses while simultaneously fulfilling many of the integration and retention needs of immigrants. Third and finally, some current (and potential) immigrant entrepreneurs are not being serviced by the current entrepreneurial services in St. John's. Governments and local level support systems must recognize the resourcefulness of all streams of immigrants, not just those designated by the government as 'entrepreneurial.' Since there are different kinds of immigrants there are also different kinds of immigrant entrepreneurs (in both the high and low-skill sector). While formal entrepreneur streams do enable immigrant business owners, it is essential to acknowledge the latent potential of other kinds of migrants and to design support services accordingly.

Table 4.1. Population of St. John's, NL, and Canada; along with immigrant percentages.
Source: Statistics Canada, 2016.

	St. John's	NL	Canada	Entrepreneurship %
Total population	203,305	512,250	35,150,000	15 (Canadian born)
Immigrant %	4.0%	2.4%	21.9%	19 (Immigrants)

4.2 Immigrant serving organizations in SMCs

It is well established in the literature that immigrants are highly entrepreneurial, though they face increased levels of business failure when compared to native born citizens (Cooke & Kemeny 2017; Filomeno 2015; Leung & Ostrovsky 2018; Ley 2006; Volery 2007). Higher levels of entrepreneurial failure among immigrants have been linked to a variety of barriers, such as having difficulty adjusting to host countries' regulations and not being adequately supported by municipal resources (Lo & Teixeira 2015). While immigrant entrepreneurial supports are broken into awareness, engagement, skills development, application, execution, and financial backing, these supports are more prominent and complete in larger urban centres (Cukier et al. 2017; Lo & Teixeira 2015). Many supports exist in traditional gateway cities such as: large immigrant

communities; government representatives and resources; business associations; financial institutions; and incubator programs (Lo & Teixeira 2015). SMCs often have fewer resources and are paired with smaller immigrant communities. The result is less available social capital, which is problematic as existing research points to social capital as a contributor to high rates and the success of entrepreneurship among immigrants (Glick Schiller & Çağlar 2009; Kwon et al. 2013; Räuchle & Schmiz 2018). But, what supports exist for immigrant entrepreneurs and which have the greatest long-term financial success? Adopting the mixed embeddedness approach, this study considers the available supports, opportunities, and challenges presented to immigrant entrepreneurs, while considering how such factors and supports vary geographically in SMCs (Koosterman et al. 1999; Kloosterman 2010; Rath and Kloosterman 2002; Lo & Teixeira 2015). This project is timely as scholars in the discipline of geography emphasize the need to investigate immigrant entrepreneurship in SMCs. Walton Roberts (2011) states, immigration to SMCs have been slowly increasing and government policies, such as regionalization (Fang et al. 2018; Lo & Teixeira 2015), are increasing the importance to understand immigrant entrepreneurship in non-traditional gateway cities. Given these immigration patterns, it is increasingly important for researchers to consider which supports are best assisting immigrant entrepreneurs in SMCs.

Many scholars view social capital as essential to entrepreneurial success for newcomers; however, the literature no longer links this capital merely to ethnic and family ties.¹² Support

¹² Traditionally, researchers linked specific cultures as being more entrepreneurial than others, arguing that by utilizing group solidarity newcomers experienced a competitive edge over non-ethnic business owners in certain industries (Bonachich 1975; Light 1972; 1979). Scholars linked certain cultures (Korean and Japanese) to being more entrepreneurial than others through ethnicities' specific cultural and psychological traits (Pütz 2003; Waldinger et al. 1990).

systems for immigrant entrepreneurs vary greatly across location in terms of the assets available to each newcomer (Koosterman et al. 1999; Kloosterman 2010; Rath and Kloosterman 2002). For example, in South Africa, immigrant entrepreneurs often use informal financial organizations to secure adequate levels of start-up capital (Tengeh & Nkem 2017). In Sweden, the government and private venture capital firms support immigrant entrepreneurial services (Högberg et al. 2016). Högberg et al. (2016) demonstrate that immigrant entrepreneurial supports in Sweden are divided into separate approaches, the immigrant prefix (labels newcomers in order to determine their eligibility for support) and the ethnicity approach (identifies newcomers' ethnicity while support organizations serve specific ethnicities) (Högberg et al. 2016; Kloosterman and Rath, 2001; Ram et al. 2003). Supports offered by organizations in Sweden include business advisors, networking support, language and finance training, along with general social and societal awareness services (Högberg et al. 2016). Considering the mixed embeddedness approach, it is not surprising that different countries and regions develop differing strategies for immigrant entrepreneurs. Högberg et al. (2016), however, caution against the special design of immigrant entrepreneurial support systems and policies, warning that identifying individuals as immigrant entrepreneurs, or by their specific ethnicity can result in the perpetuation of social hierarchies. In much of the Global North, immigrant settlement services have become increasingly privatised through neoliberal measures (Bhuyan et al. 2015; Dobrowolsky 2011; Flynn & Bauder 2015; Pottie-Sherman 2018). The privatisation of immigrant settlement services, combined with state's expansion of temporary migration streams, has resulted in an increased importance for employers and institutions (schools and universities) to provide newcomers with settlement and entrepreneurial supports (Bhuyan et al. 2015; Walton Roberts 2011). The Obama Administration introduced the "Startup America" initiative, which urged universities to endorse the formation of

start-ups, in the high-skill sector, that create knowledge and technology sharing among businesses (Chatterji et al., 2014: 157). Universities are no longer simply research and teaching institutions, they now facilitate local to global level capacity for economic and social development (Etzkowitz & Zhuo, 2017; Walton Roberts 2011).

Designing support systems or immigration policies specifically around immigrant entrepreneurs, or newcomer's ethnicity is challenged by the superdiversity (the increased diversification within immigration) of immigrant entrepreneurs (Vertovec 2007; Högberg et al. 2016). In an era of neoliberal measures, countries in the Global North compete with each other to attract the 'ideal' self-sustained, high-skilled immigrant—who are often international students and entrepreneurs. In fact, Vinokur's (2006) study pointed out that 90 percent of high-skill immigrants moved to OECD countries. Global North countries such as Australia and Canada have both (past and presently) had immigration policies designed to attract immigrant entrepreneurs (Dheer 2018; Collins 2003). However, immigrant entrepreneurial policies do not always equate to success as recently seen in Prince Edward Island (PEI). In PEI, the PNP's immigrant entrepreneurial policy was taken advantage of by prospective entrepreneurs paying a refundable deposit in exchange for their PR. However, a large number of applicants did not intend to start a business in the province and were instead willing to forfeit their deposit and live elsewhere in Canada after receiving their PR. Meanwhile, Kontos (2003) also demonstrates that policies can create a gender bias among applicants. These policies can be especially problematic when the level of diversity among immigrants is not considered (Rosales 2013).

In Canada, while there are immigration categories designed specifically for entrepreneurs, immigrant entrepreneurs may enter Canada via four different immigration categories that include: business class, refugee, family migration, and the economic class

(Statistics Canada 2018). Of these categories, a quarter of all business class immigrants are self-employed, the highest ratio of self-employment among immigrant categories. However, business class immigrants make up the smallest ratio of the total immigrants that come to Canada, consequently, they only make up ten percent of total immigrant businesses in Canada (Statistics Canada 2018). Economic and family class immigrants have self-employment rates of 14.9 percent, while 14.4 percent of refugees are self-employed (Statistics Canada 2018). These statistics demonstrate Kontos' (2003) and Rosales' (2013) arguments that diversity challenges the purpose and effectiveness of immigration policies designed solely to attract entrepreneurs. This study also emphasizes the role of diversity among newcomers that become entrepreneurs.

The diversity of support systems required to adequately support immigrant entrepreneurs also varies dependant on the city and region, subsequently geography matters (Lo & Teixeira 2015). In both large, traditional gateway cities and SMCs, newcomers' entrepreneurial success relies on the combination of support services and human and social capital (Räuchle & Schmitz 2018). However, newcomers' business outcomes are arguably shaped more by community responsiveness in SMCs (Schuch & Wang 2015). With smaller immigrant populations in SMCs, immigrants' role in place-making through their economic activity is potentially more profound, along with their need for adequate support systems (Walton Roberts 2011; Schuch & Wang 2015).

The role of immigrant serving organizations and institutions in the formation of immigrant businesses is yet to be comprehensively explored in academia, more specifically by the discipline of geography (Högberg et al. 2016; Blackburn & Ram, 2006; Down 2012). However, there is a need to examine this topic as past research demonstrates that local level knowledge and that support from the local community is essential for newcomers'

entrepreneurial success (Durose 2009; Mole 2002). With regionalization government strategies looking to disperse newcomers to non-traditional gateway cities (Fang et al. 2018; Sano et al. 2017) and immigration policies prioritizing entrepreneurship (Dheer 2018), there is a need for geographic literature to better understand what immigrant entrepreneurial supports exist in SMCs.

While research has examined how universities attract high-skill immigrants (Kerr 2013), there is still a need to research how universities foster immigrant entrepreneurship (Högberg et al. 2016). Facilitated by government policies (Hawthorne 2010; Scott et al. 2015; Walton Roberts 2011), universities are seeing their enrollment numbers for international students increase at a rapid pace (Cho & Yu 2015; Madge & Raghuram 2015; Seaman et al. 2018). The government now views international students as ideal immigrants, since they are often high-skilled, young, speak English, and have their integration, retention, and adaptation needs serviced by their University (Cho & Yu 2015; Madge & Raghuram 2015; Seaman et al. 2018 Walton Roberts, 2008). In SMCs that do not have a large existing immigrant population the role of support that the University fulfills for newcomers is heightened (Walton Roberts 2011). However, how does the University foster immigrant entrepreneurship? This question is not yet understood in academia or in the discipline of geography. It is essential to investigate which support structures facilitate and fill the needs of immigrant entrepreneurs, while a global push to manage and foster entrepreneurship among newcomers occurs. This paper will contribute to this gap in the literature by looking at how immigrant serving organizations, especially the University, support immigrant entrepreneurs in the SMC of St. John's.

4.3 St. John's: a tale of two cities

St. John's is a unique Canadian SMC, given that it is spatially isolated and disconnected from the mainland. However, St. John's is also the provincial capital, the only main city in the province, home to the province's one major University, and hosts provincial and federal government offices. As Table 4.1 demonstrates, the province has a small immigrant population; however, for more than a decade the province has seen a steady increase in international student enrollment at MUN. The influx of international students currently contributes to the diversification of St. John's, while also presenting the province with a possible remedy to its decades long retention problem. International students often spend years in their host country at their University. As a result, they may be well integrated into their host community and desire to remain following graduation. With the recent entrepreneurial streams added to the NLPNP, paired with the Start-Up Visa (SUV), international students now have a path to remain in NL and become entrepreneurs.

St. John's and NL have storied pasts relating to immigration, but immigrant entrepreneurship has also long shaped the region; however, it is important to discuss the impacts that colonial settlement has had on the island of Newfoundland. The common narrative of settlement in NL focuses on the discovery of the island by John Cabot, in 1497 (Manning 2018). As a result, a powerful bond was fostered between European settlers and the island of Newfoundland, which still exists today (Manning 2018). However, NL history predominantly glosses over the brutal European settlement that wiped out the indigenous peoples. With permanent European settlement occurring shortly after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 the elimination of indigenous peoples began (Manning 2018). Through the introduction of diseases, invasion of indigenous land, and the deprivation of food supplies, the indigenous Beothuk population was essentially eliminated from the island. As Manning (2018: 11) states,

“Nevertheless, the official position of the colonial government is clear in an 1837 report to the central British government, which reported, ‘In the colony of Newfoundland it may therefore be stated that we have exterminated the natives’. The supposed elimination of the Beothuk served to cement settler sovereignty over the island.” Though some ancestors of the Beothuk do still reside in NL the province’s demographic is predominately European.

The intense influx of Irish and Scottish immigrants that settled in the province between 1800-1830 is evident today, as the majority of the province’s residents are ancestors of the white European settlers (Heritage NL 2012). However, non-white immigrants have been practicing entrepreneurship in St. John’s for more than a century. During the early 20th century, Chinese and Lebanese immigrants were some of the first non-white immigrants to become entrepreneurs in St. John’s. While they faced rampant discrimination,¹³ Chinese immigrants opened laundromats, restaurants, and grocery stores (Heritage NL 2012). Lebanese entrepreneurs ran retail shops, photography stores, hotels, and movie theaters. More recent examples of the longstanding role that immigrant entrepreneurship has had on the region may also be hidden beneath various waves of urban development. Lewis Ferman and Co. recently had their company’s wooden sign uncovered beneath a Subway franchise’s sign during renovations, nearly 40 years after the family moved to Toronto. As a *CBC* (2018) article demonstrated, the Ferman’s were Polish immigrants that moved to NL after surviving the Holocaust, where they opened a women’s clothing store. The Ferman’s not only owned a local business in St. John’s but they also contributed to the community by providing unofficial translation services to hospital patients

¹³ Visible minorities faced official (government) and unofficial (public) discrimination in NL during the early 20th century. It was not until 1949 that Chinese women were able to immigrate to NL (Heritage NL 2012).

and new residents, while also contributing to the local Beth-El congregation (CBC 2018). While immigrant entrepreneurs do still own laundromats and restaurants in NL, government policies, advanced capitalism, economic transformations, and local economic needs have resulted in a preference being placed on high-skilled immigrant entrepreneurs. The prioritization of high-skill immigration has resulted in MUN playing a major role in St. John's settlement and entrepreneurial support system.

Along with the prioritization of high-skill immigrants, the province is also set to double its immigration intake by 2022, as stated in the province's *Way Forward* (2017) strategy. But with immigrant entrepreneurs coming from all immigration streams (see Table 4.2), the support structures and organizations outside of the University ecosystem will carry much of the load for newcomers that seek entrepreneurship. In St. John's, immigrant entrepreneurs (primarily involved in the low-skill sector) rely on local initiatives and immigrant serving mechanisms such as the Refugee and Immigrant Advisory Council (RIAC), Local Immigration Partnership (LIP), Association of New Canadian's (ANC) Axis Division, St. John's Department of Business, Tourism, Culture, and Rural Development. However, how will these organizations cope with a sharp increase of newcomers (with immigration numbers set to double), while operating in harsh economic circumstances?

This paper contributes to the growing body of migrant economy literature that utilizes the mixed embeddedness approach in SMCs. At a time when immigration is increasing (Statistics Canada 2016) and government priority is given to potential entrepreneurs (Desiderio 2014), it is essential to understand the existing support systems available in SMCs. This paper will address the gap in the literature that analyzes what support systems exist and the strategies these supports implement in the SMC of St. John's. Moreover, this paper will also consider how universities in

SMCs foster immigrant entrepreneurship. With a sharp increase in international students in Canada, this paper will provide a useful case study to help understand the centrality of the University in the integration, retention, and creation of immigrant entrepreneurs.

Table 4.2. Characteristics of Immigrant Entrepreneurs (N=20).

Gender	Region of origin	Age	Industry	Immigration category	# of employees	Genesis user
Male (14)	Asia (11)	20-24 (3)	Scientific/technical (10)	International student (11)	1-4 (11)	Yes (10)
Female (6)	Europe (4)	25-29 (4)	Retail (6)	Refugee (4)	5-9 (6)	No (10)
	Africa (3)	30-34 (4)	Food (4)	Skilled worker (2)	30-34 (2)	
	South America (2)	35-39 (5)		Temporary foreign worker (2)	10-14 (1)	
		40-44 (2)		Tourist visa (1)		
		55-59 (2)				

4.4 Methods

This project's analysis is sourced from 28 in-person, in-depth interviews, which consisted of eight key informants and 20 immigrant entrepreneur participants (see Table 4.2). This project's interview process began by speaking to all eight key informants. These individuals represented municipal and provincial government officials, MUN's internationalization office, NGOs, and representatives from local immigrant serving organizations. I used these 60-minute key informant interviews to understand what support structures and strategies were active in St. John's and NL. Based on the key informant interviews, an interview guide was then developed for the 20 immigrant entrepreneur interviews. Immigrant entrepreneur interviews were semi structured and varied in length from 40-90 minutes, dependant on the participant's interest. In order to capture a diverse participant pool, ten immigrant entrepreneurs involved in the high-skill sector and ten immigrant entrepreneurs in the low-skill sector were interviewed. Interviews with immigrant entrepreneurs focused on their path to entrepreneurship, supports used, opportunities and challenges faced, along with their overall experience owning a business in St. John's. All 28 interviews were recorded and later transcribed verbatim. Following transcription, interviews

were all coded using *Dedoose* software, which was used to identify the reoccurring themes in this paper. Aside from these 28 interviews, there were four additional informal interviews held. These were non-recorded interviews with three members of the immigrant serving sector and one additional, informal conversation held with a low-skill immigrant entrepreneur. These additional conversations occurred following the data collection phase of this project and were used to corroborate themes identified in this project, regarding immigrant entrepreneurial support systems.

Aside from formal interviews these research findings are also drawn from my observations of St. John's, and informal conversations with residents over the span of May 2018 to May 2019.

4.5 Case Study: St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador

Despite federal, provincial, and municipal governments emphasizing the need for increased immigration, and especially for newcomers with entrepreneurial aspirations, the resources and support system available for those involved in the high-skill sector vary greatly from those in the low-skill sector. This paper will highlight the role that traditional support structures such as: immigrant serving organizations, non for profits, and government funded organizations fulfill for immigrant entrepreneurs. Then this paper will turn its focus to the central role the University and its partner programs are playing for immigrant entrepreneurs. Finally, the importance of governments and policies to recognize the diversity among entrepreneurs will be discussed in order to understand which individuals are underserved by the existing services.

4.6 Traditional support structures

Similar to many SMCs in Canada and around the Global North, St. John's has demographically benefited from regionalization policies that have resulted in newcomers arriving to NL. The

regionalization policies' impact is represented by the increase of PR admissions in NL, which increased from 616 in 2008, to 1305 in 2018 (Statistics Canada 2019). Further, policies at both the provincial and federal level have eased the path to entrepreneurship for newcomers in St. John's and NL. However, participants in this project identified support systems and St. John's entrepreneurial environment as being very different for those owning businesses in the low-skill sector than those operating in the high-skill sector. This paper argues that St. John's is a tale of two different cities for immigrant business owners.

For decades immigration services have been funded by the Canadian government and primarily offered integration, language, and employment services (Bhuyan et al. 2017). Neoliberal measures have shifted government priority to immigrants that are seen as self-sustained, settled, or ideal. This agenda envisions that immigrants arriving through the Foreign Skilled Worker Program or Canadian Experience Class (international students, entrepreneurs, and temporary foreign workers) can settle easily into Canadian society (Bhuyan et al. 2017). The neoliberalization of immigrant settlement services has also entailed the offloading of immigration services from the macro (government) level to the micro (individuals, universities, municipality, and employers) level (Flynn & Bauder 2015). The government identifies the privatization (or neoliberalization) of the immigrant settlement services as a positive economic move, but how is such an approach playing out in the everyday lives of newcomers (micro level) that are seeking entrepreneurship specifically?

The province's *Way Forward* (2017) strategy emphasizes coupling the province's sharp increase in immigration numbers with enhanced support for settlement organizations. However, immigrant entrepreneurs and key informants alike did not identify such goals being fulfilled in the first two years of the province's five-year strategy. Though many immigrant entrepreneurial

supports exist for newcomers operating businesses (see Appendix 6), those that could not utilize the University's resources identified gaps in support services, resulting in barriers that impeded their entrepreneurial pursuit. The major support missing for immigrant entrepreneurs outside of the University ecosystem was a "one-stop shop" where newcomers could inquire about topics ranging from general business to immigration questions. One immigrant entrepreneur was asked if the current entrepreneurship and immigrant supports available were adequate, their response was, "No, again [we] need in-person service, someone to sit down with and talk through problems people have opening businesses and give [them] step by step help." Though resources in St. John's cover a wide range of business services, participants repeatedly emphasized not having enough personalized, in-person assistance during the business start-up phase. When asked if there were any missing supports to their path to entrepreneurship, one participant stated, "guidance would have been really helpful. It is easy to get lost in the system."

Aside from a one-stop resource, immigrant entrepreneurs outside of the University identified a prominent barrier and lack of support regarding rules and regulations of entrepreneurship in Canada and NL specifically. A common narrative discussed by low-skill sector entrepreneurs was that tax and regulation phases of opening and operating a business had been frustrating, expensive, time consuming, and lonely. As one restaurant owner stated,

Everything related to the permit, tax, and regulations for that [starting a business], it needs to be revised. For example, if someone is going to rent a place the city should come in before that and say "okay, you are going to rent this for a bakery? You cannot do that unless you get these papers filled out and things [upgrades] done to the building" and they [the city] should have a list of contactors to provide them [entrepreneurs] with.

Immigrant entrepreneurs having to teach themselves or rely on family and friends to learn taxation and regulations is another example of a privatized immigration system. As a result,

unnecessary expenses and stressors among interviewed entrepreneurs operating in an already harsh economic climate, was emphasized.

Immigrant entrepreneurs highlighted the fact that a “few months of language training and being picked up at the airport” was an inadequate integration strategy. While the main player in immigration services, the ANC, is providing settlement services to a significant number of newcomers, participants argued that this was “not enough”. One participant who had used ANC stated, “there is a need for service support and ANC is not enough. It is not that we are saying their services are bad, it is just that they are not enough, and they have to know that. There are more people than their services can handle.”

This stance was a common narrative for participants who had no access to the University’s resources. Participants argued that the current resources available are spread too thin and that being left behind and forgotten by the system is very easy without a clear business plan. The ANC is responsible for settling hundreds of newcomers every year in NL, however their resources can only be stretched so far, and the organization’s primary services offered are settlement assistance, not entrepreneurship.

Many participants in this study also received assistance from RIAC, an organization whose mandate is to,

Provide the support necessary for refugees and immigrants who make our beautiful province their home so they may live as active participants in our communities. We call them members of our organization, as they not only come to receive our free services, but they also contribute strongly to the delivery of our mandate. In that sense, we do not have clients; their needs are our mandate. (RIAC 2019)

The grassroots organization helps newcomers with everything from general immigration questions, ESL lessons, business information, social networking, and assistance with taxation and regulation. RIAC has existed in St. John’s for more than 30 years, yet the organization

operates on an ever-tightening budget, which increasingly strains their services. Often considered a duplication service of ANC (a common tension across the Canadian settlement sector), the organization relies on donations and profits made from social enterprises. However, the findings from this study illustrate the important role that RIAC is playing with respect to immigrant entrepreneurs who may enter Canada through temporary pathways and whose lack of PR status limits their access to federally-funded services. For example, one low-skill business in St. John's is an example of an immigrant entrepreneur that 'fell through the cracks' of the existing services. This specific immigrant entrepreneur moved to St. John's with their spouse who was an international student. Subsequently, the entrepreneur relied on RIAC's services as their immigration status disqualified them from seeking other entrepreneurial supports.

While RIAC has received support from the Department of Advanced Education and Skills, in 2018 the organization had 70 percent of its funding cut. As a result, funding for RIAC's four subsidized positions was reduced to funding for one fulltime position and a quarter of a second position. The current economic conditions that RIAC is operating in contradicts the the *Way Forward's* (2017) goal to better support immigrant serving organizations. Further, the most recent edition of the *Way Forward* (2019) looks to "Expand eligibility for provincially-funded settlement and language services to migrant workers," a service that RIAC fulfils, yet their funding continues to decrease. One entrepreneur that relied on RIAC for everything from immigration questions, language lessons, to incorporating their business responded when asked if RIAC receives proper support. "No, no, no. RIAC is not supported properly. They do not get any [funding] for their services. Like for language no funding, for mentoring no funding, for business help no funding," they explained, continuing "The services here, I mean at RIAC are great, but they could be way better if they just got a bit of funding too." Not having their PR, this

entrepreneur stated that RIAC was the only organization that would provide integration and entrepreneurship assistance upon arrival. Assisting over 1,000 people annually (RIAC representative, interview Aug 30, 2018), RIAC's will struggle to help newcomers if sufficient funding is not made available. As a result, newcomer's without their PR could have their entrepreneurial rates diminish. Further, participants in this study identified the current support structure as not fulfilling current immigrant entrepreneurship needs in particular. One participant stated,

There is a big problem if one organization gets all the money, they cannot help everyone. I only used ANC. They picked me up at airport, educated [me] at beginning but only helped for first few months then it was do it yourself. The resources that are offered by the ANC are good, but they are really slow and limited. The issue there is if you do not have a clear set [business] plan you can get lost in the system. English is not enough of a resource to be taught. There are so many hoops to jump through as a newcomer, even with a college degree this was really challenging to navigate through. If it were just me that came here on my own [without my family] I think that I would have become lost in the system.

The participant went on to argue that the province is not ready for more newcomers, given its support structure, "I think that, no, because with the people that are already here the services are not enough. So, if they want to double [immigration intake], the people here are not supported enough. So, what about all the new people when they come?"

These findings challenge the pervasive neoliberal view of immigrant entrepreneurs as self-sufficient economic actors who generate their own economic and social integration supports and therefore do not need government assistance. Further, this paper agrees with the mixed embeddedness model's argument that successful immigrant entrepreneurship requires support on multiple scales. Moreover, not only are institutional scales important, so are temporal scales. Newcomers rely on sustained settlement and business assistance past the initial months of arrival. If governments plan to offload services to local level organizations, those organizations

must be adequately funded. This study argues that there is a correlation to only providing newcomers with initial settlement and entrepreneurial services, and low business success and retention rates. As one participant said,

There needs to be a better support system for not only opening businesses here but also keeping them open. It is really hard for newcomers who are visibly different to open and sustain a business because there is little interest in them during the start-up phase. There needs to be supports after they have opened!

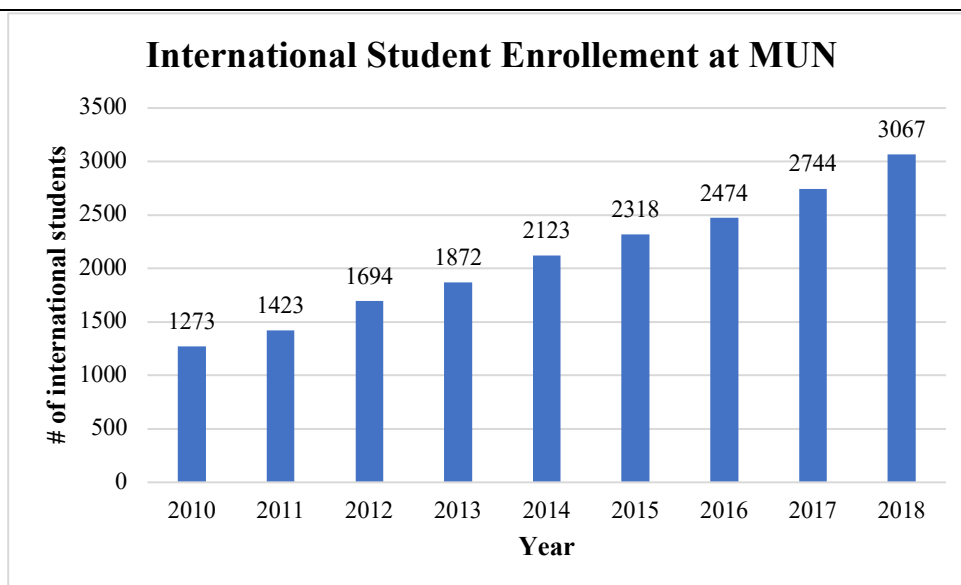
Along similar lines, another participant compared owning a business to running a marathon, “a person cannot just run a marathon by training to run 100 meters and the business resources and supports available in St. John’s only train you for the first 100 meters.” The interviewee went on to explain that given St. John’s market and economy, resources need to be available for milestone accomplishments –hiring 15 employees or generating a certain amount of annual capital. Just as training to run five, ten, 15, or 20 kilometers will assist one in completing a marathon, milestone resources can sustain an entrepreneur to continue to grow and develop their businesses. “But where are those resources and how does one access them?” asked the interviewee. A promising remedy to the issue of newcomers finding available supports is the recently released service map created by St. John’s LIP. The website *mynewstjohns.ca* looks to remedy some of the issues surrounding the confusion and access regarding entrepreneurial resources that exist in the city.¹⁴

¹⁴ The mynewstjohns.ca website had only been launched for a few months during the data collection phase for this project and participants had not yet used the resource.

4.7 The centrality of the University

Similar to universities across the globe, MUN has been increasing its annual intake of international students (see Figure 4.1). The increase in international students is paired with increased entrepreneurial resources and connections available through MUN. The University offers or is connected to a variety of entrepreneurial incubators and training programs, some of which have prioritized international students. The entrepreneurial resources that are apart, or hosted by, the University include MUN's Centre for Entrepreneurship (MCE), MUN's Entrepreneurship Training Program (ETP), MUN's Centre for Social Enterprise (CSE), MUN's Internationalization Office, and Genesis' evolution and enterprise programs. Moreover, MUN is connected to several entrepreneurial resources including, but not limited to, Futurpreneur, Propel ICT, and the YMCA. The plethora of entrepreneurial resources offered by or connected to the University demonstrates the many ways that NL's main University is enabling entrepreneurship, especially among immigrants.

Figure 4.1. Number of full-time or part-time international students enrolled at Memorial from 2010-2018.
Source: MUN Factbook, 2018.



Of the 20 immigrant entrepreneurs interviewed in this project, eleven were international students. These eleven interviewed entrepreneurs that arrived as international students, identified a much easier and complete business support system than those who relied on traditional supports. One immigrant entrepreneur that owned a high-skill business emphasized the importance of the University stating,

Social capital is one big thing that is missing [outside of the university]. The reason why it [social capital] is so important is immigrant entrepreneurs do not have that strong family base that locals would have right? So MUN is the best resource that any immigrant founder, entrepreneur, or student could have. So, once you get out of MUN your network is just going to dry up [if you do not have one].

Moreover, barriers such as taxation, regulations, and not having a one stop shop for entrepreneurs' questions, which were so common among users of traditional support systems, did not exist among those involved with the University and its resources. Participants emphasized the entrepreneurial funnel that is laid out by MUN, where there is somewhat of a template that helps users develop their ideas into a tangible business. While all of the resources that are listed above are not a part of the University (Futurpreneur, Propel ICT, and YMCA), they are all connected to an entrepreneurship ecosystem that has seen great success in recent years.

At the top of the entrepreneurial funnel for newcomers is MUN and its internationalization office. The University provides these newcomers with a social network, language skills, integration practices, increased human capital, and connection to a plethora of resources that make up this local high-skill entrepreneurial ecosystem. Immigrant entrepreneurs interviewed in this project emphasized social capital and exposure to entrepreneurial opportunities as leading factors in their eventual pursuit of owning their own business. One interviewee was blunt in their response when asked if social capital was important to their

success, “It’s a very small place... It’s mostly who you know, networking is very, very important... I believe that your network is your net worth here.” Aside from the social networking, international students have access to several on campus entrepreneur resources, including MUN’s MCE, CSE, ETP, which cover a wide range of entrepreneurial training and services.

The ETP provides good insight into the high numbers of immigrant entrepreneurship fostered within the University. The program is broken into two separate phases, Discover and Develop. The Discover portion is based around discovering an idea, understanding the fundamental skills of entrepreneurship in Canada, and is offered online (as of 2017) and in-person. Meanwhile the Develop phase is an in-person program that works towards developing an actual business plan and starting a business. Marketing, social networking, clientele, and commercialization are core areas of focus for the program. The ETP helped immigrant entrepreneurs in this study overcome challenges surrounding rules, regulations, and social networking that had been so prominent among low-skill sector entrepreneurs. The ETP has grown steadily in size, especially now that the Discover program is offered online. Table 4.3 demonstrates that the ETP has always had an extremely high concentration of international students. As the table demonstrates through the amount of countries that are represented by the participants in ETP, the program has consisted mainly of international students. This table also supports the common narrative in the literature that immigrants are more likely to become entrepreneurs than Canadian born citizens.

Table 4.3. Enrollment in MUN's Entrepreneurship Training Program (ETP).
Source: MUN ETP, 2018.

Year	Total # of students Enrolled	% of students enrolled in ETP that are international students	Number of countries represented among students in ETP
2018/19	159	76%	31
2017/18	52	86%	22
2016/17	36	90%	17
2015/16	30	90%	12
2014/15	28	86%	12
2013/14	16	81%	10
2012/13	13	100%	13

Meanwhile, the MCE and CSE also foster entrepreneurship, but more through a support system than ETP. The MCE provides guidance, resources, and a support network for the entrepreneurial community enrolled at MUN. The CSE also provides a valuable support system but caters more towards social enterprises that create social innovation within the province. These resources available at MUN provide not only expert entrepreneurial resources, but also create a community for these newcomers to learn from, further they offer an opportunity to integrate into their new host country. Immigrant entrepreneurs outside the University emphasized the importance of local knowledge, social networks, and guidance—all of which MUN's programs assist perspective entrepreneurs with.

Beyond on campus resources, MUN's entrepreneurial ecosystem connects newcomers to resources such as the Propel ICT, Genesis's Evolution program, Furturepreneur, and the YMCA. These programs continue to develop individual's entrepreneurial skills, network, market validation, and connections to economic start-up capital. One participant referenced the large role that Propel ICT played in their start-up phase,

There was an accelerator we went to, which was Propel ICT accelerator. They do have a branch now [in St. John's]. [At the time] we went to the branch up in Moncton, I think,

and that was supported by the government, to fly us there to attend that program. Overall, there was a very good network of people alongside the ETP program and the Genesis Centre that really provided a lot of emotional support that if you want to do this, there's a lot of people around you that want to help. I think that was the biggest factor.

Another participant referenced the entrepreneurial funnel that stemmed from their time at MUN, “[we] started from MCE, then moved to Genesis’ [Evolution program], then worked with Propel [ICT], then worked with Genesis again [through the Enterprise program]. But Propel ICT would be the one we leveraged a lot because that really helped us get funding.”

Such resources enable perspective entrepreneurs, but especially newcomers, to develop an understanding for not only the local, but Canadian, and global market. Understanding how to access funding, social networks, and clientele was emphasized as pivotal to the success of several immigrant entrepreneurs that leveraged Propel ICT.

The Genesis Centre is broken into two separate programs, Evolution and Enterprise. Genesis is hosted by MUN, but is a separate entity and has proven to be a major player for highly successful immigrant entrepreneurs in the tech industry. It is worth noting that Genesis is the only designated organization for the SUV in entire province. Genesis’ Evolution program is a less rigid workshop program than the later stage Enterprise program. All an individual requires to be accepted into the eight week long intensive program is an idea for a tech company. Over 250 companies have enrolled in the program and immigrant founders have consisted of 30 percent of companies that have completed the program. The Enterprise program is considered to be a business incubator. The three-year program provides reduced, to free rent and allows entrepreneurs to work in an environment that fosters innovation, social networking, and a supportive environment. Immigrant entrepreneurship has been thriving in the Genesis’ Enterprise program, of the 20 companies currently enrolled in the incubator eight are founded by an immigrant. Meanwhile, just five years ago, only eight percent of the total companies were

immigrant founded. One participant responded to the question of what resource was most helpful by saying, “I would say the Genesis Centre, that provided us with the office [and that] was a big factor.” The ability to tap into reduced, even free, rent in the development stages of entrepreneurship enabled several interviewees to push forward with their entrepreneurial plans, even though they had little to no income.

4.8 The resourcefulness of immigrant entrepreneurs

Governments and entrepreneurial services must recognize the diversity and resourcefulness that immigrants employ in order to become entrepreneurs. This project provides evidence of such diversity through the 20 participants who used varying immigration categories to arrive in Canada and eventually become entrepreneurs (see Table 4.2). If immigrant’s diversity is not considered within the funded entrepreneurial support system, individuals without their PR are at risk of being unable to access services (or at least the same level of resources) as other entrepreneurs. As a result, if one’s immigration status hinders their available entrepreneurial services, immigrant entrepreneur’s retention could lower, while business failure could rise.

This study argues that family members of international students are an example of newcomers being unable to access the bounty of resources that are available through MUN. In response they rely on St. John’s traditional settlement services. Unfortunately for these individuals, they find themselves competing for the widely used services and cannot always access the resources that exist, due to their citizenship status. From an entrepreneurial standpoint, low-skill immigrant entrepreneurs voiced frustration with limited federal, provincial, and municipal support, while high-skill entrepreneurs did not. Several participants emphasized the local purchasing power of low-skill businesses, but that the government does not work to support such businesses. As one participant stated, “the government does not care about small, low-skill

companies and they create jobs, they support everyday economy, and buy local, why is there no support for that?”

Though immigrant entrepreneurs stemming from MUN were well supported, international students that wished to pursue low-skill entrepreneurship did not experience the same level of support once they graduated. With several of the resources discussed above requiring individuals to pursue high-skill businesses, not accommodation and retail, participants identified that their ability to access capital was obstructed. In short, low-skill entrepreneurs that do not have a set business plan, or adequate levels of start-up capital are at risk of being unable to access entrepreneurial supports. As for international students, their spouses, and those not interested in pursuing tech companies can see limitations to their access of available services. Finally, international students who do not have a set business plan while enrolled at MUN risk their social networks drying up upon graduation, subsequently losing their access to the University’s resources.

4.9 Concluding Discussion

This paper demonstrates that there is significant value in integration and entrepreneurial services that go beyond the initial months after arrival. The University offers newcomers sustained resources that include integration, social networking, emotional support, and entrepreneurial development that has had a massive impact on the entrepreneurial landscape in St. John’s. This paper’s findings challenge the common narrative that settled immigrants require little support after arrival.

The steady increase of immigrant intake in the province of NL shows promising signs of alleviating economic and demographic concerns. However, adequate government representation and financial support for the existing settlement services in St. John’s is essential for the proper

integration, retention, and creation of immigrant entrepreneurship. With government budget cuts being made to MUN (in 2019 there was a 1.6-million-dollar budget cut from the year prior) the University's services may become strained in the near future. With the University playing a critical role for immigrant entrepreneurs in NL, it is essential that the discussed entrepreneurial funnel stays intact to enable successful businesses among newcomers and Canadian born citizens alike. Without MUN this immigrant entrepreneurial support system would not exist, as one participant stated,

[My] interest in entrepreneurship came from my time at MUN. Support at MUN is good for entrepreneurs, they have ETP and [host] Genesis... MUN had been, and continues to be, a very huge resource for us because of the Genesis part...I have never reached out to any organizations outside of MUN, I've never reached out to anyone, except, I guess, [ICT] Propel.

Both St. John's and NL have been making positive strides towards enabling immigrant entrepreneurship; however, it is important that the government and city do not ignore the contribution that low-skill sector businesses make. High-skill participants emphasized the positive role the government played in their business creation. These high-skill entrepreneurs also emphasized the importance of available government funded start-up funds. Unfortunately, a sharp contrast existed for those in the low-skill sector. Moreover, this paper emphasizes the role that local organizations, such as RIAC and ANC, play in all stages of immigration and entrepreneurship. Further, such organizations require adequate funding and if such organizations cannot support newcomers, the already low retention rates may continue to worsen for Canada's eastern most province that has set aggressive immigration targets. Finally, it is important to not overlook the needs of immigrant entrepreneurs' families. The families of immigrant entrepreneurs (international student's spouses) require adequate supports as well. If the families of immigrant entrepreneurs receive inadequate supports, retention rates of entrepreneurs could be

negatively impacted through family members wishing to relocate to better resourced and supported urban centres.

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Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 Summary

This project examined immigrant entrepreneurship in St. John's through qualitative, in-depth interviews that included 20 immigrant entrepreneur and eight key informant interviews. The central finding of the study is that immigrant business owners in St. John's face very different opportunities and barriers depending on their sector of operation. Immigrant entrepreneurs in the low-skill sector identified several factors such as: inadequate supports, rules and regulations, and the local economy as major barriers hindering their business success. Meanwhile, high-skill entrepreneurs emphasize that the supports at their disposal were more than adequate, the local economy did not act as a barrier, and that the predominant obstacle that they struggled to overcome was a lack of qualified labour in NL, which hindered their business' growth potential.

In the first manuscript, I explore the dynamics of how symbolic transformation contributes to immigrant entrepreneurs' sense of place in SMCs. The manuscript focuses on how immigrant entrepreneurs in St. John's do not feel as though the public or government value their contributions, further that they wish there were more visible symbols of the contributions that different ethnicities provide the region with. The key takeaway of manuscript one is that diversity is not marketed by the municipal and provincial government, that a lack of qualified labour is hindering the growth potential of high-skill businesses, and that newcomers do not feel as though their contributions are valued. This manuscript contributes to the literature by examining urban development and economic resiliency as the case study focuses on immigrant entrepreneurship in a peripheral city. Further, this study is also relevant for other downscaled

contexts to examine the role that immigrant entrepreneurship plays in improving SMCs' rank in the urban hierarchy.

In manuscript two, I explore the dynamics of immigrant entrepreneurial supports in the medium sized city of St. John's. The manuscript focuses on the different entrepreneurial resources available to immigrant entrepreneurs who have varying immigration statuses and operate in different sectors of the economy. The key takeaway for this chapter is twofold. First, Memorial University is an essential player for immigrants to pursue entrepreneurship in the high-skill sector. Not only does this institution offer entrepreneurial training programs and supports on campus, the University is connected to valuable funding opportunities and programs (ICT Propel, Genesis, Futurpreneur, and YMCA) that facilitate entrepreneurship among immigrants. Second, I argue that entrepreneurial supports and government immigration streams need to recognize the diversity of immigration categories that produce immigrant business owners. Immigrant entrepreneurs without their PR face substantial limitations to the supports they can utilize in the early stages of their entrepreneurial pursuit. Further, this project demonstrates that immigrants who become entrepreneurs do not stem from one specific immigration category. This manuscript contributes to the literature as it analyzes immigrant entrepreneurial supports in an SMC, while also investigating the role that universities fill in immigrant settlement and entrepreneurial services.

5.2 Discussion

This project highlights that complete and sustained immigrant entrepreneurial supports are even more important in St. John's than other Canadian SMCs. This is because of St. John's and NL's rich cultural history that has created a close-knit, storied community. The history of the region's culture and society are so engrained into the local community that the term "come from away" is

commonly applied to those born outside of NL. Further, this thesis argues that social networking is essential in the initial stages of entrepreneurship for visible newcomers in the St. John's region.

Though social capital was essential to all immigrant entrepreneurs, this thesis argues that the need for social capital did vary between low and high-skill entrepreneurs. Low-skill immigrant entrepreneurs emphasized that social capital was needed to build a clientele base as they experienced difficulty getting locals into their business during the initial stages of entrepreneurship. High-skill entrepreneurs on the other hand emphasized that social capital was essential in a mentorship role. Social networking provided these high-skill businesses with important industry contacts, which then acted as a gateway to accessing funding and international clientele. However, it is worth noting that high-skill entrepreneurs predominately pursued international not domestic clientele, therefore, it is not surprising that the function of social capital differed between skill sectors.

Given the importance placed on social networking among this project's participants, I call for the need of future studies to investigate NL-born entrepreneurs in St. John's. With NL's economic and demographic tribulations, it would be informative to understand how barriers and opportunities differ between immigrant and NL-born entrepreneurs. A study investigating non-immigrant entrepreneurs would provide valuable insights into how social capital, local knowledge, family ties, immigrant entrepreneurial supports, and the migrant economy have shaped St. John's entrepreneurial landscape. Some key informants cautioned against immigrant entrepreneurs being given special treatment (additional resources), as they stated that all entrepreneurs face economic hardship when operating in the St. John's economy. While this is true, newcomers also are exposed to barriers that native born citizens are not. According to one

key informant, immigrants are pushed into entrepreneurship by barriers that are at times inflicted on them by local employers, even though these employers may not even be aware of their wrongdoing. As a key informant stated,

Employers do not even realize that they are putting barriers up, if they cannot pronounce the name [of the job applicant]. The names that you can pronounce are getting hired way faster just because the employer just does not know how to say the name, we are all humans, so we choose what is easiest.

Given these hidden barriers it is important for entrepreneurial supports to consider how immigrant entrepreneurs face increased barriers, which is why further research on St. John's business environment would be valuable.

This study also calls for research to address the issue of entrepreneurship as a survival strategy versus as a quality that can be cultivated or incubated. A fine line exists between encouraging entrepreneurship as an economic strategy (that offsets labour market limitations and discrimination) compared to encouraging it as an integration strategy (that offloads integration supports to the immigrant, the employer, and their family).

Participants of this study provided examples of entrepreneurship as a strategy used to survive economically, while others received ample support and have used business ownership as a way to thrive. For example, the founder of one low-skill company started their business out of necessity, as their foreign education was not recognized in Canada. Opening their own business provided an opportunity to offset their lack of opportunity that existed in the labour market since their credentials had been deskilled. Deskilling commonly occurs in Canada (Man 2004) and is when an immigrant's human capital is not recognized in their host country, whether that be their foreign education or labour skills. Another individual that owned a low-skill company stated that they receive no business help from the city and that they work 24 hours a day, seven days a week just to survive. In contrast, immigrant entrepreneurs involved in the high-skill sector provided an

example of entrepreneurship being cultivated and incubated. As discussed extensively in chapter four, the University's resources and its partner programs cultivate entrepreneurship among immigrants through a holistic and supportive approach. The programs and resources available to immigrant entrepreneurs involved in the tech industry have allowed many of the interviewed participants in this study to thrive, not just survive.

Therefore, this paper encourages federal, provincial, and municipal governments to promote a comprehensive approach to immigrant entrepreneurial supports. While this study found that a holistic approach was common for entrepreneurs in the high-skill sector, the same could not be said for those operating in the low-skill sector. It is important for the contributions of low-skill entrepreneurs not to be overlooked by immigrant entrepreneurial supports and immigration policies. Low-skill businesses often buy locally, while creating jobs that do not require high levels of education. With NL's unemployment rates hovering around 15 percent, low-skill businesses can be leveraged as a tool in lowering the highest provincial or territorial unemployment rate in Canada, but only if these businesses can survive.

Meanwhile, immigrant entrepreneurs operating in the well supported and funded, high-skill sector often suffered from an apparent glass ceiling, not being able to hire enough qualified labour. Subsequently, high-skill entrepreneurs identified their company's growth potential being obstructed by a lack of a qualified labour pool. With the 2017 implementation of the Atlantic Immigration Pilot (AIP), designed to remedy this issue of a shortage of skilled labour, this study calls upon future research to examine the effectiveness of the AIP. The immigrant entrepreneurs involved in this study had not utilized the AIP, but in 2019 the pilot was renewed for an additional two years. Therefore, it is important to identify if this strategy is adequately easing the labour shortage faced by high-skill business. If high-skill companies are forced to outsource or

move operations out of the province because their growth potential exceeds the local labour supply, NL will continue to face issues retaining newcomers. One entrepreneur worried that their desire to continue to live in NL and give back to the community was in jeopardy given the logistical barriers of the province. The entrepreneur was looking to move distribution to a different province given the cost of shipping products to and from NL. Therefore, further research needs to examine the effectiveness of the AIP in meeting the labour demands of high-skill entrepreneurs, in order to ensure the province can improve its low retention numbers.

5.3 Future research

This study has underscored the need for multiyear, comparative analysis of Canadian SMCs. Waterloo, Ontario and Victoria, British Columbia offer two potential sites of comparison. How do opportunity structures in similar sized Canadian cities shape the successes and failures of immigrant entrepreneurs? Given that Waterloo and Victoria are both in close proximity to the major immigrant gateway cities of Toronto and Vancouver, there is a relative lack of academic literature examining each SMC. Further, Waterloo and Victoria both host universities, LIP programs, have similar population sizes, and increasing immigrant populations (Statistics Canada 2016) but also have key differences. Waterloo has a plethora of manufacturing businesses, several universities, and a densely populated surrounding region, while Victoria is a provincial capital, with a tourism industry, and is somewhat isolated on Vancouver Island. There is also a need to understand how all three levels of government either enable or hinder immigrant entrepreneur's business success in two separate Canadian provinces. Given the major finding of chapter four, that Memorial University is filling an indispensable role in the facilitation of immigrant entrepreneurship in St. John's, more research is needed that investigates what the role of universities is in SMCs. Moreover, are Waterloo and Victoria's universities facilitating entrepreneurship among newcomers, and if so, how do their strategies differ?

Another potential avenue for the comparison concerns the roles, strategies, and effectiveness of each cities' federally funded LIPs. Inter-urban comparison of LIPs in Victoria, Waterloo, and St. John's would allow for valuable insight to be gained regarding which best practices are being used and how each cities' LIP adjusts to the variables of their host city. Also, what are the reoccurring barriers and opportunities that immigrant entrepreneurs face in Waterloo and Victoria? And finally, how might the spatial positioning of each specific SMC impact these entrepreneurs?

Immigration is a global topic and Canada is currently implementing an immigration strategy that will see the country receive more than one million newcomers between 2018 to 2021 (Government of Canada 2018). Immigration involves human beings that have chosen to leave their country of origin, often for reasons of security. It is essential to mobilize knowledge around which strategies have the most positive impact on the immigrant entrepreneurial users. By identifying and developing best practices, not only do local communities benefit from a more successful immigration process, the human beings that are choosing to start a new life in a different country are better equipped for success.

5.4 Final thoughts

"My store is not open anymore but it was not a failed business." This quote comes from one of two interviewed immigrant entrepreneurs that closed their St. John's based business for financial reasons. More importantly, this quote encompasses a cultural dissonance of how different societies measure, or consider what success and failure is. Multiple immigrant entrepreneurs raised the question of, what does business success and business failure even mean? While two of the 20 entrepreneurs in this study had seen their businesses close down for financial reasons; neither entrepreneur believed that they had experienced business failure. Both interviewees

stated that they thought that Canadian and US societies conceptualized failure differently than their two Middle Eastern countries of origin.

There is no shortage of literature that analyzes business failure. A variety of definitions and contributing factors exist among academic literature that seek to explain the causal factors of entrepreneurial failure. Some factors that have been linked to business failure include: decisions made by the entrepreneur, external environmental factors (economy), and the role that geography plays in entrepreneurship (Maté-Sánchez-Val et al. 2018; Raspe & van Oort 2011). Some study's categorize business failure as any enterprise that endures financial capital loss for three years straight (Maté-Sánchez-Val et al. 2018). Others believe a company filing for bankruptcy or permanently closing qualifies as business failure (Raspe & van Oort 2011).

While this thesis considered the impact of external factors, along with the role that St. John's geography had on business performance, immigrant entrepreneurial participants emphasized that failure and success is not as simple as business performance. Instead interviewees placed great emphasis on the positives and lessons taken from their business tenure, even if that business did not exist anymore. Moreover, these so called 'failed' businesses were instead seen as successes by immigrant entrepreneurs. Immigrant entrepreneurs highlighted that their closed businesses had provided invaluable lessons about their host country's society, business practices, facilitated social networks, and provided important entrepreneurial information to apply to future business practices.

This unexpected narrative and sense of optimism among immigrant entrepreneurs provides an interesting lesson of how we in the Global North frame business failure, especially within academic research. It also demonstrates how the injection of diversity into a society generates new ideas, ways of thinking, and optimism, even with something as mundane as

success and failure. While anti-immigrant narratives emphasize the risk of losing one's culture and way of life, immigrant entrepreneurial contributions that include innovation, human and economic capital, new ideas, and urban renewal cannot be ignored. Immigrant entrepreneurs in this study emphasized a desire for governments, media, and academics to improve their role in highlighting the contributions offered through a diversifying Canadian population. Newcomers create a more vibrant society that is a part of Canada's national identity. Immigrant entrepreneurs expressed concern surrounding the lack of knowledge and representation of their financial and societal contributions in St. John's. I hope that this thesis helps promote some of the countless contributions that NL's immigrant population has contributed to the province of NL.

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Appendix 1: Recruitment script for immigrant entrepreneurs

My name is Nelson Graham, and I am a student in the Geography Department at Memorial University of Newfoundland. I am conducting a research project called “The experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs in St. John’s, NL: Opportunities & challenges” for my master’s degree under the supervision of Dr. Yolande Pottie-Sherman. The purpose of the study is to examine the overall experience as an immigrant business owner, further what factors are acting as opportunities or barriers to immigrant entrepreneurs in the CMA of St. John’s.

I am contacting you to invite you to participate in an in-person interview, in which you will be asked about your experience as an immigrant entrepreneur operating a business in the CMA of St. John’s. I am particularly interested in questions surrounding how government policies and local immigrant organizations have serviced [and continue to service] the needs and interests during the start-up phase and ongoing process of immigrant entrepreneurship. Further, how you feel about owning a business in Newfoundland and Labrador, if this experience is different than what you expected, and how the community as a whole has shaped your experiences. Further, do you identify certain areas of municipal/provincial/national immigration policies and organizations as best serving immigrant entrepreneurs? Participation in this study will require 40-70 minutes of your time and will be held at either your business location, or if you feel at all uncomfortable being interviewed in your place of employment, this interview can be conducted in an alternative, public location, such as the public library. Further, this interview can be conducted outside of regular working hours to best fit your schedule. All immigrant entrepreneurs will receive an honorarium of \$50.00 at the end of the interview session. Should you choose to withdraw from this study during the interview, the honorarium will be proportionate to your participation. It is important to note that participation in this study is not a government or organizational requirement; furthermore, participation or non-participation will not be reported to other local immigrant/service organizations.

If you are interested in participating in this study, please contact me via my email or phone to arrange a meeting time and location that best caters to your schedule.

If you have any questions about me or my project, please contact me by email at nagraham@mun, or by phone at (250) 826-4879.

If you know any other local immigrant entrepreneurs who may be interested in participating in this study, please give them a copy of this information.

Thank-you in advance for your time in considering my request,

Nelson Graham

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research and found to be in compliance with Memorial University’s ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research, such as your rights as a participant, you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr.chair@mun.ca or by telephone at 709-864-2861.

Appendix 2: Recruitment script for key informants

My name is Nelson Graham, and I am a student in the Geography Department at Memorial University of Newfoundland. I am conducting a research project called “The experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs in St. John’s, NL: Opportunities & challenges” for my master’s degree under the supervision of Dr. Yolande Pottie-Sherman. The purpose of the study is to examine the overall experience as an immigrant business owner, further what factors are acting as opportunities or barriers to immigrant entrepreneurs in the CMA of St. John’s.

I am contacting you to invite you to participate in an in-person interview, in which you will be asked about the services or policies that yourself and your employer offer or work with, in regards to local immigrant entrepreneurs and what areas of concern or progress that you identify impacting these newcomers in the CMA of St. John’s. I am particularly interested in questions surrounding how government policies and local immigrant organizations have serviced (and continue to service) the needs and interests during the start-up phase and ongoing process of immigrant entrepreneurship. Further, what areas of immigration policies and organizations do you identify as best serving these newcomers, along with how you feel about current Newfoundland immigration programs and policies? Finally, do you identify St. John’s as being a welcoming community, have you witnessed significant shifts in government approaches to immigration? Participation in this study will require 40-70 minutes of your time and will be held at your office, or if you feel at all uncomfortable being interviewed in your place of employment, this interview can be conducted in an alternative, public location, such as the public library. Further, this interview can be conducted outside of regular working hours to best fit your schedule. It is important to note that participation in this study is completely voluntary and is not a government or organizational requirement; furthermore, participation or non-participation will not be reported to other local immigrant/service organizations.

If you are interested in participating in this study, please contact me via email or phone to arrange a meeting time and location that best caters to your schedule.

If you have any questions about me or my project, please contact me by email at nagraham@mun, or by phone at (250) 826-4879.

Thank-you in advance for your time in considering my request,

Nelson Graham

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research and found to be in compliance with Memorial University’s ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research, such as your rights as a participant, you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr.chair@mun.ca or by telephone at 709-864-2861.

Appendix 3: Informed Consent Form

Title: The experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs in St. John's, NL: Opportunities & challenges

Researcher(s): Nelson Graham, Department of Geography at Memorial University, email: nagraham@mun.ca and phone: (250) 826-4879

Supervisor(s): Dr. Yolande Pottie-Sherman, Department of Geography at Memorial University, email: ypottiesherm@mun.ca phone: (709) 864-8984

You are invited to take part in a research project entitled "The experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs in St. John's, NL: Opportunities & challenges"

This form is part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. It also describes your right to withdraw from the study. In order to decide whether you wish to participate in this research study, you should understand enough about its risks and benefits to be able to make an informed decision. This is the informed consent process. Take time to read this carefully and to understand the information given to you. Please contact the researcher, Nelson Graham, if you have any questions about the study or would like more information before you consent.

It is entirely up to you to decide whether to take part in this research. If you choose not to take part in this research or if you decide to withdraw from the research once it has started, there will be no negative consequences for you, now or in the future. Participation is not a condition of enrolment in any programs or services offered in St. John's or its census metropolitan area. Further, participants can skip any questions that they do not want to answer during the interview.

Introduction:

My name is Nelson Graham and I am a master's student in the Department of Geography at Memorial University. As part of my master's I am conducting research, which is funded by SSHRC, under the supervision of Dr. Yolande Pottie-Sherman.

Purpose of Study:

The purpose of this study is to examine the factors that are acting as barriers or opportunities to immigrant entrepreneurs in the St. John's area, while also examining how provincial government policies are serving the needs of these newcomers, along with local immigrant organizations. Further, how are these opportunities and barriers shaping immigrants' overall experience in the city? The objective of this study is to identify reoccurring themes that are either hindering or helping immigrant entrepreneurs, in hopes to increase integration and retention rates of newcomers in NL. More so, it also aims to create a more inclusive environment for newcomers that settle in the census metropolitan area of St. John's. If barriers are identified in this research, possible solutions can be presented to government and immigrant organizations operating in St. John's to further develop their policies and services to bypass such barriers. If opportunities are identified in this research, strategies can be instigated to further advance positive factors in order to advance these opportunities that have proved to be helpful to immigrant entrepreneurs.

What You Will Do in this Study:

As a participant in this study you will be asked about your experiences being employed by a service providing organization or as a government official in the immigration sector. Questions will include, what factors do you see as barriers or opportunities acting against or in the interests of newcomers in St. John's, do you see government policies acting as barriers or opportunities, and what role do you (and your employer) see immigration playing in the long-term interests of St. John's? Finally, I will ask you about your involvement in designing and implementing policies that are designed to cater towards newcomers, specifically those who chose to own their own business.

Length of Time:

Participation in this study is in the form of one interview, which will require 40-70 minutes of your time.

Withdrawal from the Study:

Please note that this study is completely voluntary, and you may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study without any form of consequences. At any point before, during, or after an interview takes place you may request to end your participation in this study, without any type negative consequences. At this request, the interview will either be cancelled, ended immediately (where the recording device will be turned off), and if you decide to withdraw your participation after an interview has already been conducted, data will be excluded from the study's results. Participants can request the withdraw of their data from this study via email or telephone call after their interview has been completed. The removal of the interview transcript and any data from the participation in this study can be requested to be removed from the study after an interview has occurred. This request to be removed after participation can occur until May 30, 2019, due to the fact data collection will be complete and will be analyzed at this point.

Possible Benefits:

Participants in this research may benefit by having their positive or negative experiences help identify reoccurring barriers and opportunities that immigrant entrepreneurs, operating in St. John's CMA face. Further findings from interviews will be presented to the organizations such as local immigrant organizations and government officials in hopes to create a more successful, well informed immigrant integration process for newcomers in the St. John's CMA.

Possible Risks:

This research poses a minimal level of risk to participants. Potential social and/or stress may arise from newcomers discussing immigration, relocation, and employment. Should social or emotional stress arise during or after the interview, participants are encouraged to seek assistance via the Mental Health Crisis Line, 24-hour Toll Free - 1-888-737-4668
Newfoundland Hope Counselling Centre- 1-709-579-8547 or by visiting ementalhealth.ca

Confidentiality:

The ethical duty of confidentiality includes safeguarding participants' identities, personal information, and data from unauthorized access, use, or disclosure.

The identity of all participants will be kept confidential. Documents will be identified by code number and all hardcopy files will be locked in a filing cabinet, on campus at Memorial University. Digital data records that are kept on a hard drive will be password protected. Interview transcripts uploaded into a qualitative coding software will be anonymous, using a code number. The names of the participants will not appear in any publications that stem from this research, nor will they be associated with any information provided by the informant. This being said, as participants for this research are selected from a small population, it is possible that you may be identifiable to other people on the basis of what you have said.

Anonymity:

Participants will be asked to consent to direct quotations from their interviews. If permission is denied, no direct quotes will be used and absolutely no negative consequences will arise from wishing not to be quoted. Further as stated above, your name will be replaced with a numbered code. Every reasonable effort will be made to ensure your anonymity. You will not be identified in publications without your explicit permission. However, given the small number of key informants that are involved in immigration organizations and government positions in St. John's there could be limits to your anonymity. Given your specific knowledge regarding certain topics, along with your past experiences, you could be identifiable among individuals that you know or have previous relationships with. As in, if you have a unique story that you have shared with a local organization or entrepreneur, which you then discuss in this study, an individual could recognize your response once this project is published. Moreover, financial, social, or employment risks could arise through negative responses towards other participants, government policies, or organizations which could negatively impact potential relationships. If this is the case, every possible step will be taken to aggregate responses so that individuals are not directly identifiable.

Recording of Data:

The interview will be recorded with your permission. You may request to stop the recording at any point during the interview. The recordings will be used to transcribe the text verbatim. If a translator is required, they will sign a confidentiality agreement.

Use, Access, Ownership, and Storage of Data:

As per University policy, data will be kept for a minimum of five years as required by Memorial University's policy on Integrity in Scholarly Research. Consent forms will be stored in a locked filing cabinet, separately from the data. Data records will be kept on a password protected hard drive. Hardcopies of these documents will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in my supervisor's office at Memorial University. Myself, a translator (only for interviews that require translations), and my supervisor will have access to the raw interview data (audio recordings). The translator that has access to the raw data will only have access to the required audio recording during the transcription process. The data will be on a password protected hard drive and will be erased from the translator's hard drive once the transcriptions are complete. I will transcribe the data and will have access to the audio recordings. After the five-year retention period, I will shred paper copies of the interview transcripts and will delete the audio recordings and digital data.

Reporting of Results:

This data will be published in my master's thesis and will be used in conference presentations and may be used in future journal articles. In these dissemination venues, I may use direct quotations from interview participants (if permission is given) but will not use personally identifying information.

Sharing of Results with Participants:

Participants can access a 1-page summary of the research findings, which will be available to all participants via www.munacespace.com and for those without internet access I will inform participants that I can personally drop off a printed copy of the 1-page summary at their place of business, once the study is complete. Upon completion, my thesis will also be available at Memorial University's Queen Elizabeth II library, and can be accessed online at: <http://collections.mun.ca/cdm/search/collection/theses>.

Questions:

You are welcome to ask questions before, during, or after your participation in this research. If you would like more information about this study, please contact: Nelson Graham at 1-250-826-4879 or via email at nagraham@mun.ca. My supervisor Dr. Yolande Pottie-Sherman may also be contacted at 1-709-864-8984 or via email at ypottiesherm@mun.ca

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research and found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research, such as the way you have been treated or your rights as a participant, you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca or by telephone at 709-864-2861.

Consent:

Your signature on this form means that:

You have read the information about the research.

You have been able to ask questions about this study.

You are satisfied with the answers to all your questions.

You understand what the study is about and what you will be doing.

You understand that you are free to withdraw participation in the study without having to give a reason, and that doing so will not affect you now or in the future.

You understand that if you choose to end participation during data collection, any data collected from you up to that point will be destroyed.

You understand that if you choose to withdraw after data collection has ended, your data can be removed from the study up to May 30, 2019.

I agree to be audio-recorded

☐ Yes ☐ No

I agree to the use of direct quotations

☐ Yes ☐ No

By signing this form, you do not give up your legal rights and do not release the researchers from their professional responsibilities.

Your Signature Confirms:

☐ I have read what this study is about and understood the risks and benefits. I have had adequate time to think about this and had the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered.

☐ I agree to participate in the research project understanding the risks and contributions of my participation, that my participation is voluntary, and that I may end my participation.

☐ A copy of this Informed Consent Form has been given to me for my records.

Signature of Participant

Date

Researcher's Signature:

I have explained this study to the best of my ability. I invited questions and gave answers. I believe that the participant fully understands what is involved in being in the study, any potential risks of the study and that he or she has freely chosen to be in the study.

Signature of Principal Investigator

Date

Appendix 4: Interview guide for key informants

Categories:	Questions:
Background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is your job title/position in St. John's and Newfoundland (NL)? - What do you do in this role? - How does your role relate to immigration? - What led you to pursue this position?
Immigrant Friendly Practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you describe what types of activities your department engages in, relating to immigrant friendly practices? - How is this engagement accomplished? Can you identify what practices have had the greatest success in accomplishing these immigrant friendly practices? - Do you have any specific strategies that are designed to help immigrant entrepreneurs? - Do you think St. John's is an immigrant friendly city? - Do you think St. John's and NL have adequate integration strategies for immigrants? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If so, can you identify any? - If not, why not?
Benefits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What opportunities do you see immigrant entrepreneurs creating for St. John's and NL? - What role does your department see immigrant entrepreneurs playing in the local economy? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is this limited to specific neighbourhoods of the city? - How do you or your employer see immigration factoring into the province's declining population projections? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Are you developing strategies around these projections? Do you have any strategies on how to increase retention rates? - Do you think immigrants benefit economically from residing in a small city, like St. John's in comparison to a large city like Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver? - What is the biggest upside of immigration for St. John's and NL? - What is the most effective immigration strategy, in place, for St. John's and NL?
Challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What are the biggest challenges your department faces in regard to providing assistance to immigrants? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do these challenges differ for immigrant entrepreneurs? - Do you feel as though your department is overcoming the challenges that it is facing? Have these challenges grown or eased in the past 5 years? - Are these challenges unique to St. John's and NL, or are they experienced across Canada? - What is its greatest barrier that St. John's faces, in regard to the integration or retention of immigrants?
Immigration Policies and Approaches	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What immigration policies/protocols do you engage with in your role? - Have there been any major changes to immigration policies or strategies during your tenure here? If so, how? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you identify these changes as influencing immigrant integration and retention rates? If so, how?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Does your department collaborate with other immigration departments/organizations when developing immigration strategies? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If not, do you think you should? - If so, would you say this is effective? - Does your department collaborate with immigrants/refugees/immigrant entrepreneurs on how their immigration experience was? - Do you think immigrant business owners are adequately supported? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If so, how? - Do you think that NL should have similar immigration strategies as other Atlantic provinces, or do you think the province requires an unique approach given its population, average age, economy, spatial isolation? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is the most unique challenge that St. John's and NL face when attempting to integrate and retain newcomers?
Government Involvement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - During your time employed with your department, have you noticed government policies becoming less/similar/more involved with immigrant's initial months after arrival? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you identify a shift in government priority towards a certain type of immigrant (refugee, skilled workers, family reunification, etc)? If so, what is this shift? - What body of government (federal/provincial/municipal) do you or your employer collaborate with, in regard to immigration? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Has this always been the case or has a shift occurred from another body of government? - Do you collaborate with the IRCC? - What are your thoughts on the effectiveness of the Atlantic Pilot Project? Provincial Nominee Program? Are they adequately serving NL's immigration strategy? - What are your thoughts on other Atlantic provincial immigrant entrepreneurial programs? - Do you think NL would benefit from implementing an immigrant entrepreneurial program? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why or why not? - Do you relate NL's current immigration policies to selective migration (prioritizing skilled immigrant)? - Would you say that there is government/organizational knowledge of the success/failure rates of immigrant entrepreneurs? - In your role, what concerns do you have, if any, about the province's current immigration policies, integration, and retention practices? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What constraints exist to addressing these concerns? How do you overcome these constraints?
Regulations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you identify any regulations in St. John's as standing in the way of more immigrants becoming entrepreneurs?
Inclusion/Exclusion in St. John's	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Would you say that there is an immigrant community in St. John's? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If so, how is this fostered? - If not, is this problematic to the integration and retention of newcomers? - If an immigrant was looking for advice on how to start a business, where would you direct them?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Would you say that there are any reoccurring inclusion/exclusion factors acting with/against immigrants in St. John's and NL? - How would you say the local economy factors into the immigration strategy of St. John's and NL? - What sector of the economy would you say offers the best employment opportunity for newcomers?
Diversity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you think diversity is used as a marketing tool for the city of St. John's? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If not, why not? - If so, how is diversity marketed? - Do you think immigrant entrepreneurs have/can contribute to urban revitalization by increasing diversity within the city? - Do you know of any urban revitalization efforts occurring in St. John's? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If so, do you think immigration fits into this strategy? - If not, do you think St. John's would benefit from urban revitalization efforts? - Does your department relate a diversifying population to a more productive employment pool for the city?
Ending Questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why would you say immigrants should choose St. John's and NL as a location to permanently immigrate to? - Is there anything that you would like to discuss that we have not talked about?

Appendix 5: Interview guide for immigrant entrepreneurs

Categories:	Questions:
Background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How long have you lived here for? - Did you know anyone in St. John's or Newfoundland before you moved here? - Did you come with family? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -If not, are they planning on joining you? - Where did you move from? Where were you born? What did your parents do for work? - Did family members help establish your business upon arrival? - Can you tell me about your educational background? - Can you tell me about your employment history? - What ethnic and cultural origins do you identify with? - Is there a reason why you chose to live in the specific neighbourhood that you live in?
General Business Questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you tell me more about your business? - Where did you get the idea for this business? - How long have you been operating? - What products/services do you sell? Where do you get these products from? - Where are you located? Do you own/rent this location? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Can you tell me about if the neighbourhood has transitioned since your business started? If so, in what ways? -If renting, has rent increased/decreased? -If owning, has property value increased/decreased - Do you have any business partners? Are you the sole owner? Is this the first business you have ever owned? - How many employees do you employ? Tell me about them, are they newcomers, family/friends, Newfoundlanders?
Starting a Business in NL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why did you decide to start your business? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Was this in response to anything (job market/language barriers/ racism, or was this a lifelong dream?) - What were the first steps you took to start this business? - Where did you go for help when starting your business? Family/friends? Financial advisors? Local organizations (ANC, LIP, RIAC)? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -What services did they provide? - How many months did the process of starting your business take from start to finish? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you know how much this process cost you? How about your overall immigration costs? - Has your business changed since you started it? - Does your business strategy involve using your (or any specific ethnic or cultural origins) cultural origins as a marketing strategy? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If so, can you tell me about these strategies? Has the city played a role in this?

Clientele Questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tell me about your clientele/customers, describe your typical customer? - Is your clientele mainly local (born and raised in Newfoundland)? Tourists? Newcomers? People who have moved here from other provinces? Do you have international clientele? - Tell me about your overall interactions with customers who are local? - Have you noticed a change in your clientele over the years? - Do you consider yourself an immigrant entrepreneur?
Support System	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What kinds of help have you received as a business owner in St. John's, more generally, Newfoundland and Labrador? - Can you tell me about the supports that are available for immigrants who want to start their own business? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Do you use any of these supports/services? - Are they easy to locate/access/use? - Can you tell me about if you think you received adequate help working through administrative requirements (taxation, licensing, financing, immigration regulation) during your business' start-up? - Who/what organization was the most helpful for these requirements? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -What did they help you with specifically? - Did you use the services of ANC, RIAC, or LIP? If not, did you know of these organizations existed? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -What specific services did you use at this organization? -What was your overall experience like? -Was there anything missing from available supports that could have helped you along the way?
Experience owning a business	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you tell me what your experience has been like owning a business here?
Benefits/ Challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is good about owning your own business in St. John's? What are the benefits? - Do opportunities exist here that might not exist in other places? - Are there any opportunities that you have encountered that you did not anticipate? - Is your business expanding? If so, why? Of not, why? - What is the biggest challenges that you have encountered starting a business here? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Are these reoccurring or were they more prominent during the start-up phase? - Did you anticipate these challenges, or did you encounter challenges that you didn't expect? - How do you cope with these challenges? - Has the state of the local economy affected your business success?
Regulations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tell me about you experience working with St. John's/NL/Canada while starting and continuing to operate your business? - Do you feel like current rules and regulations in the city of St. John's/Province/Canada have helped/hurt your business? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Are there any specific rules/regulations you can think of?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Are there any changes that you would suggest need to be made to better help immigrant entrepreneurs?
Inclusive/Exclusion in St. John's	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you think St. John's is a welcoming community to immigrants and refugees? If so how, if not why not? - Do you have a sense of belonging in St. John's? If so, was this immediately after moving here, or gradual? If not, why not? - Do you consider small cities, like St. John's as an easier/harder place to own your own business when compared to large cities like Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver? Why/why not? - What do you like about living here? What do you not? - Do you feel like there is an immigrant community in St. John's? - If a fellow immigrant asked about your overall immigration experience in St. John's what would you tell them? Positive/Negative? Would you recommend immigrating to St. John's to them?
Immigration Process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tell me about your immigration process? How did you apply to immigrate to Canada? - Is there one main factor that made you chose to immigrate (social, economic, safety)? - What was your immigration status upon arrival? Is it different now? - Have you heard of the provinces Provincial Nominee Program or Atlantic Pilot Project? - What do you know about NL's immigration strategy? Do you like the plan for the province to increase immigration numbers in upcoming years?
Ending Questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Has anything surprised you since moving to St. John's? - Do you plan on staying in St. John's long-term? If so, why? If not, why not? Is there somewhere else that you would like to move to, if so, why? - How old are you? - Is there anything that you would like to discuss that we have not talked about?

Appendix 6: List of entrepreneurial services for immigrants in St. John's

Axis Career Services	Individuals must be eligible to work in Canada, have a SIN number. No age restrictions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ Offers Business Development Support Services programs that provide current information and practical advice for newcomer entrepreneurs interested in starting and/or growing their own business in NL. In addition to receiving individualized counselling from an Entrepreneurial Coordinator, participants receive targeted assistance with business plan development and are able to access one-on-one mentoring, skills development workshops and seminars, as well as networking opportunities within the business community and professional development organizations
Biz Pal	No age or citizenship requirements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ Online service that helps perspective or current entrepreneurs navigate the business permitting and licensing process
Board of Trade Connector Program	Program is open to anyone with a business plan. No age or citizenship requirements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ Connector program facilitates connections between newcomers and individuals involved in the business community or industry they are interested in. The national connector program does focus on high growth high wage industries however each program is different to suit community/member needs
Department of Tourism, culture, industry, and innovation	Anyone that is considering opening up a business in the St. John's area. No age or citizenship requirements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ Offers market information for anyone interested in opening a small business or anyone that already owns a small business. Services include information regarding necessary skills and experience required during the start-up phase of businesses. This resource also helps develop an understanding of what the local business environment consists of, along with common challenges that similar businesses face in St. John's
Employment and Enterprise Services (YMCA)	Organization did not respond if user restrictions exist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ Offers business development services for entrepreneurs in the start-up phase. Individuals receive step-by-step business planning and personalized consultations
Genesis Evolution and Enterprise Programs	Open to individuals that fulfill Genesis' requirements. No age and citizenship requirements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ Evolution program is a pre-incubator 8 week long program. This intensive program is designed to assist individuals with the early stages of their technology business idea.

		<p>Perspective entrepreneurs engage with possible clients, mentors, and advisors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enterprise program is a 3-year incubator program, not limited to immigrants, but aims to bring high-skill immigrant entrepreneurs and their families to Canada to build innovative, global scale businesses that create jobs. The program requires individuals to have a prepared business plan that must meet the programs requirements
Memorial Centre for Entrepreneurship	Student, faculty, or staff of MUN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Campus wide center that helps promote and develop entrepreneurial ideas. Helps with social networking and development phases of entrepreneurship while in the start-up phase
Memorial Entrepreneurship Training Program	Open to graduate students of MUN. No age or citizenship restrictions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Program is broken down into two categories, Discover and Develop. The program develops perspective entrepreneurs' social network while building skills and knowledge necessary to own a business in NL
Memorial Internationalization Office	Any international student enrolled at MUN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provide assistance to current international students. Services include health insurance, immigration status, career options, along with providing students with information about the university's entrepreneurial programs
NL organization for Women Entrepreneurs	Any woman residing in NL. No age or citizenship restrictions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NLOWE provides business counselling services that are free of charge and available to any woman in Newfoundland and Labrador who currently owns or is interested in starting a business. Business Advisors are located in every region of the province and will travel to meet with clients at a convenient time and location
Propel ICT	Open to individuals that are willing to operate a tech business in Atlantic Canada. No age or citizenship restrictions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Propel is a program for founders of information and communication technology companies in Atlantic Canada and newcomers are a target audience for the program. Any newcomer can participate regardless of ethnicity or citizenship status as long as they have a business idea, are permitted to work in Canada, and have either established an ICT company in Atlantic Canada or hope to by going through the program. Offers 12 month long Incite program. This intensive program helps with product validation, sales strategy, mentorship, and raising of capital

RDEE Francophone	Organization did not respond if user restrictions exist	▸ Non for profit that helps NL's Francophone communities with both employment and entrepreneurship
RIAC	Anyone that walks through the front door has access to services. Any stage of entrepreneurship. No age or citizenship restrictions	▸ Open to anyone no matter what their immigration/citizenship status is. Individuals can use RIAC's services for anything from an office space, to ESL lessons, taxation and regulation assistance, to developing a business plan. All services are free
Women in Resource Development Corporation	Organization did not respond if user restrictions exist	▸ Helps prepare women for careers in trades and technology