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From Ethnic Exceptionalism to Multicultural Hybridism: Rethink Ethnic Culture in Migrant Entrepreneurship

Shinnie, Xiping; Domboka, Thomas; Carey, Charlotte

Birmingham City University Business School, United Kingdom

Abstract: This paper focuses on the emerging trend of ethnic minority migrant entrepreneurs breaking out of their co-ethnic markets into mainstream economies, through a critical review of the existing literature in theories of migrant entrepreneurship, with an emphasis on the importance to shift from an ethnic exceptionalism perspective to a multicultural hybridism approach to re-examine the role of ethnic culture in migrant entrepreneurship.

Key Words: Ethnic Exceptionalism, Multicultural Hybridism, Ethnic Culture, Theories of Migrant Entrepreneurship

1. Introduction

Advances in the discovery of 'creative destruction (Schumpeter, 1934)' stress the social dimensions of entrepreneurship (Shapero and Sokol, 1982), with particular attention to the emerging scene of 'transnational migrant (Fouron and Glick-Schiller, 2001)' entrepreneurs as a driving force to not only increase employment opportunities but also resolve social tensions in cities across Europe (Baycan-Levent and Nijkamp, 2009). In Britain a new wave of migrant entrepreneurs from dozens of locations across the globe has brought 'superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007)' into the theme of entrepreneurship research, demonstrating strong historical continuity within the mixed embedded mainstream business environment (Ram et al., 2008; Jones et al., 2014). In a mixed embedded context, ethnic minority migrant entrepreneurship, as 'a set of connections and regular patterns of interaction among people sharing common national background or migratory experiences'(Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990:3), encompasses both enclave entrepreneurs, increasingly fulfilling double roles in ethnic niches since many ethnic enclaves evolve into multi-ethnic neighbourhoods, and middleman minorities with increasing presences in affluent middle-class suburbs within the primary sector of mainstream economy (Zhou, 2004). In particular, there is an emerging trend of ethnic minority migrant entrepreneurs breaking out of their co-ethnic markets gaining access to mainstream industries (Ram and Hillin, 1994; Ram 1997; Ram and Jones, 2008; Ram et al., 2017). On the one hand it is predicated that breaking out of the ethnic economy into mainstream market plays a key role in the long-term developments of ethnic minority migrant businesses (Ram and Hillin, 1994; Ram 1997). On the other hand, racist exclusion has been identified as one of the main challenges that migrant entrepreneurs have to face when they break into mainstream economy (Ram and Jones, 2008; Ram et al., 2017). Therefore, during the break-out journey it is vital to carry out a close examination of the dynamics between the processes of minority cultures and the wider embedded context (Ram and Hillin, 1994; Ram et al., 2017). Recently the concept of multicultural hybridism (Arrighetti et al, 2014) is emerged, which is different to the approach of ethnic exceptionalism(Ram and Jones, 2008) in migrant entrepreneurship research, meaning that the focus of multicultural hybridism is not culturally determined features or resources of ethnic communities, but the recreations of minority cultures as entrepreneurial innovation developed by ethnic minority entrepreneurs through interactions with the mixed embedded mainstream social-cultural context (Arrighetti et al, 2014).

Therefore, this conceptual paper aims at to provide a critical review of the literature in theories of migrant entrepreneurship, with a focus on the emerging trend of ethnic minority migrant entrepreneurs breaking out of their co-ethnic markets into mainstream economies shifting from an ethnic exceptionalism to a multicultural hybridism perspective to re-examine the role of ethnic culture in migrant entrepreneurship. The structure of the paper is shown as follows. Section 1 introduces the research background. Section 2, from a cultural perspective, reviews existing theories on ethnic minority migrant entrepreneurship, with indepth discussions on shifts of perspective from ethnic exceptionalism to multicultural hybridism. Section 3 presents research design. Section 4 draws conclusions of this current research.

2. A Cultural Recount on Theories of Migrant Entrepreneurship

Ethnic minority migrant entrepreneurship is constructed on the basis of social-cultural patterns of interaction among different ethnic groups (Volery, 2007). Focusing on cultural patterns of different ethnic groups, ethnic enclave hypothesis and middleman minority theory have developed (Butler and Herring, 1991). Evolved from the ethnic enclave hypothesis and middleman minority theory, on the basis of interactive model, the concept of mixed embeddedness is constructed, linking migrant entrepreneurs with economic opportunities in social-cultural institutional structures (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001). From both the perspectives of gender and identity, an emerging trend to apply the analytic framework of intersectionality to ethnic minority entrepreneurship research has appeared. This has explored the intersect of entrepreneurial identity with gender and ethnicity within the socialcultural context of migration (Chasserio et al., 2014; Dy et al., 2016). Recently the concept of multicultural hybridism is emerged, which defines migrant entrepreneurs intended to break out of their co-ethnic markets into mainstream economies as in process of construction a multiculturally hybrid organizational structure in their firms, with an increasing organizational diversity, stressing the shift of perspectives from distinction between migrant and native businesses to integration of migrant enterprises into multicultural societies by means of organisational hybridity and diversity (Arrighetti et al, 2014)..

The cultural approach to migrant entrepreneurship has long been criticised as falling into the trap of ethnic exceptionalism, focusing on the link between cultural resources exclusively belong to the strongly bonded diasporic migrant communities and the business success of migrant entrepreneurs, which recent studies show that many of the values and patterns associated with specific ethnic cultures in fact are strongly connected with class culture rather than ethnic culture of the entrepreneur (Ram and Jones, 2008). However, given that from Weber (1930) to Hofstede (1980) the association between culture and entrepreneurship have continued to generate scholarly interests for decades (Weber, 1999; Hofstede, 2001; Hofstede et al., 2010; Hofstede, 2011), arguably the break-out context requires to change from an ethnic exceptionalism to a multicultural hybridism perspective to re-evaluate the role of ethnic culture within migrant entrepreneurship. From a multicultural hybridism perspective, it is implicated that ethnic culture is not only the meeting point of gendered, ethnical and entrepreneurial identities of migrant entrepreneurs but also a continued development process of migrant entrepreneurship as a fusion between minority cultures and the mainstream multicultural context.

Therefore, in the following five subsections, from a cultural perspective, literatures on ethnic enclave economy hypothesis, middleman minority theory, the concept of mixed embeddedness, the analytic framework of intersectionality and the notion of multicultural hybridism are critically viewed.

2.1.1 Spatial Clustering: Ethnic Enclave Economy Hypothesis

For early Chicago School scholars, ethnic enclave was defined as racially segregated urban space to residentially isolate ethnic minority immigrant groups, interchangeable with ghettos and immigrant colonies (Park, 1915; Wirth, 1928). Later on, with the increasing number of

immigrants in the 1960s, Franklin Wilson and Alejandro Portes's seminal article (1980) on Cuban immigrant enclave in Miami brought forward the ethnic enclave economy hypothesis with lasting influence in understanding ethnic enterprise (Waldinger, 1993). Ethnic enclave economy derived from dual labour market theory, which is a product of institutional economics with a focus on spatial structure (Averitt, 1968). From the perspective of spatial structure, a number of studies have construed the concept of ethnic enclave as the darker side of multiculturalism in a context of racism with economic disadvantaged ethnic minorities located in places where economic disadvantage is most likely to be reproduced (Barrett et al., 1996; Webner 2001; Stein, 2017). Meanwhile a number of studies have interpreted the concept of ethnic enclave constructively as a recreation of ethnic culture in the host country exemplified by ethnic enterprises functioning as an visible cultural space and multicultural tourist acctraction of plural city (Portes 1995; Ram et al., 2000; Webner 2001; Bernteic et al., 2003; Woosnam et al., 2018). Therefore, emphasizing the spatial element ethnic enclave is interpreted as binary concept to not only single out 'communities' stressing the culture and ethnicity of the group but also examine the enclave as an administrative unit emphasizing its racial integration function (Waldinger 1993; Light et al., 1994; Laguerre, 2010).

However, the ethnic enclave economy hypothesis is criticised for being unable to separate effects of cultural and structural elements on ethnic entrepreneurship (Butler and Herring, 1991). It has also been widely discussed that the concept of ethnic enclave has evolved through time with changing faces of the enclave, which has been witnessed by the modernisation and internationalisation of Chinatown in major cities across the world (Barabantseva, 2016; Wong, 2017). The evolution of ethnic enclave requires enhanced understandings towards the role of both local and transnational social ties with intersections of diverse cultural background, migrant mobilities, opportunity structures and internal inequalities constituting the dynamics of migrant social capital (Molina et al., 2015). It is noted that when translational entrepreneurship is linked with existing enclave economy, it has shown significant positive impact of transnationalism towards the ethnic communities of migrant entrepreneurs. By utilising international capital, labor and consumer markets beyond the host economy, transnationalism creates opportunities for the ethnic enclave to further strengthen the ground of social capital with enclave economy, facilitating deeper integration with local mainstream economy to boost the ethnic enclave. (Zhou, 2004) It is suggested to construct the concept of 'transclave', addressing the spatial character towards the internationalisation of ethnic enclave in transnational context (Kim, 2018). Meanwhile a growing number of researches have drawn their attention to link spatial clustering with social network (Webner, 2001; Greve and Salaff, 2005; Zhang et al., 2016). It is argued that since enclaved economy and its social ties not only shape the ethnic niches but also integrate into mainstream economy of the host countries, it is possible to examine spatial clustering through social network analysis (Greve and Salaff, 2005). It is further proposed that the focus in examination of modern ethnic enclave economy lies in the interpretation of relationship between the development of social capital and the generation of spatial cluster, which initiate within and expands beyond the enclave economy (Webner, 2001). It is worth noting that social capital is a core concept of middleman minorities theory theories (Greene 2015; Bhachu, 2017; Ode and Veenman, 2017), which shows the dynamic relation between ethnic

enclave and middleman minorities. Detailed analyses of dynamisms between ethnic enclave and middleman minorities are included in the next section.

2.1.2 Transnational Capital: A Theory of Middleman Minorities

Middleman minorities theory was first developed by Blalock in 1967 as an economic model to explain the economic development of ethnic minority groups such as Chinese in Southeast Asia, the Jewish community in Europe and Indians in East Africa, with the traits of middleman include family, regional, dialect and ethnic ties used for preferential economic treatment. Historically, middleman minorities were considered as travellers, with ambition to earn quick profit in order to reinvest their profits back in their home country. (Bonacich, 1973). Ethnic solidarity as ethnic commercial strength, potentially building up stronger capabilities over time, to compensate initial disadvantage in a racist market environment, which includes capital from communal resource-pooling, low-cost labour from within family and community and customer loyalty of fellow group members (Barrett et al., 1996). Therefore, they more often than not created their businesses in deprived inner-city enclaves, deserted by mainstream businesses. However, recently middleman minorities have expanded their businesses to wealthy metropolitan areas and middle-class countrysides appearing in both secondary and primary sectors of host country mainstream economy. It is also noted currently as many ethnic enclaves evolved into multi-ethnic neighbourhoods, many middleman businesses often bear double roles as both middleman minorities and enclave enterprises, demonstrating the close link between theories of ethnic enclave and middleman minorities. (Zhou, 2004)

More recently with the background of transnationalism and globalization, classic middleman minorities, like the Jews and Chinese, with additions of transmigrant elites have utilized their bi-lingual and bi-cultural skills to establish transnational social capital as commercial advantage, resulting in the rapid growth in international trade. Transnational middleman minorities retain deep social, cultural and economic ties of their home country, regardless of social and economic environment of their host country. (Vertovec, 2001; Light, 2011) Middleman minorities have been taking advantage of ethnic resources in languages, networks and skills to trade between their host and origin countries, exhibiting three characteristics, namely concentration in trade of intermediary economic role, host hostility and ethnic solidarity. Development of cross nation social capital through bilingualism and biculturalism, migrants has created a new form of small business in many industries during transnational trading process. (Wong and Ng, 2002; Min, 2013) Recently by mastering key resources, the classic middleman minorities evolved into transnational entrepreneurs as part of globalization process contributing to the economic and cultural integration of migrants with the host country (Honig and Drori, 2010). Central to transnational movement of middleman minority is the concept of transnational capital, which is in forms of multiculturalism through transnational diasporic network. (Henry et al., 2002) As discussed in last section, the strong links between ethnic enclave entrepreneurs and middleman minorities require a close examination between spatial clustering and transnational capital, in order to construct a dynamic interpretation of ethnic entrepreneurs' mixed embedded breakout context at both local and global levels. The examination of mixed embedded

breakout context by linking spatial clustering with transnational capital focuses on the external structure. Therefore, in the next section the attention is drawn to the internal factors of breakout intention with the analytic framework of intersectionality.

2.1.3 Breakout Strategy: An Analytic Framework of Intersectionality

Recently there is an emergent trend to draw attention to the internal factors of migrant entrepreneurship adopting the concept of intersectionality to deepen understanding towards the entrepreneurial intention of migrant entrepreneurship. Intersectionality refers to the notion that subjectivity is constructed through bidirectional actors of race, gender, class and sexuality originated in the field of women's studies (McCall, 2005). Originating in Black feminism(Crenshaw, 1991; Davis, 1981; hooks, 1981), the concept of intersectionality has been brought into entrepreneurship research by scholars studying the intersections of race, class and gender (Harvey, 2005), gender and ethnicity (Verdujin and Essers, 2013) as well as gender, ethnicity and religion (Essers and Benschop, 2009; Essers et al., 2010). The analytic framework of intersectionality has been widely employed to investigate digital entrepreneurship (L Wing-Fai, 2016; Dy et al., 2017; Kraus, 2019). Meanwhile a growing number of studies have adopted the framework of intersectionality to analyse the interlocking systems of power impact between different social stratification on ethnic and entrepreneurial identities (Chasserio, 2014; Barrett and Vershinina, 2017; Korede, 2018).

However, the fundamental problem on application of intersectionality in entrepreneurship research lies in its incapacity to provide suggestions to resolve the conflicts on intersectionality of different dimensions of identities. Therefore, recently there is an emerging trend of researchers to integrate the intersectionality framework to mixed embeddedness theory in order to develop a dynamic theoretical framework between cultural economic resources and contextualised opportunity structure in migrant entrepreneurship research (Forson, 2007; Sato, 2013; Wang and Warn, 2017). It is also advisable to integrate the analytic framework of intersectionality with theories of ethnic enclave and middleman minorities. It is further observed that entrepreneurial intention is deeply rooted in gendered, ethnical and entrepreneurial identities of migrant entrepreneurs, which facilitates its function as the meeting point of gender, ethnicity and entrepreneurship on examination of the dynamic development process of migrant entrepreneurship. Given the context of migrant entrepreneurs breaking out of their co-ethnical market into the mainstream economy, it is argued that the breakout strategies adopted by entrepreneurs have become the focal point of research. By examinations of breakout strategies adopted by migrant entrepreneurs, it is intended to unlock the intersections between entrepreneurial identity and diasporic ethnic culture as the internal process of migrant entrepreneurs breaking out of their ethnic niche into mainstream economy.

2.1.4 Opportunity Structure: The Concept of Mixed Embeddedness

To link external structure with internal factor of migrant entrepreneurship, social embeddedness has become a useful framework in migrant entrepreneurship research (Granovetter, 1985; Waldinger, 1986). The concept of mixed embeddedness is a model aiming at linking ethnic resources to the opportunity structure, stressing the influence of

economic structure within social-cultural context of local economy (Volery, 2007). It is considered as the greatest theoretical advance in the field of migrant entrepreneurship research (Ram et al., 2017). According to Kloomsterman, the socio-economic positions of migrant entrepreneurs as well as their prospects of upward social mobility are understood by their embeddedness not only in social networks but also their embeddedness in the socioeconomic and politico-institutional environment of the country of settlement. Therefore, mixed embeddedness encompasses both sides of embeddedness to analyse processes of insertion of immigrant entrepreneurs. (Kloosterman, van der Leun and Rath, 1999). There are large numbers of empirical studies which have adopted the concept of mixed embeddedness, particularly the examination on new generation of migrant entrepreneurs suggesting that historical continuity prevails over novelty (Ram et al., 2008; Jones et al., 2014; Bagwell, 2018; Szkudlarek and Wu, 2018; Roos, 2019). Further, attention has been drawn to frameworks of opportunity structure proposing a three-level strategy to examine the underlying dynamic of opportunity structure at national, regional and community levels (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001; Langevang et al., 2015; Kloosterman et al., 2016; Lassalle and McElwee, 2016; Bisignano and El-Anis, 2018). Recently on the one hand, a number of researches have focused on the integration of spatial dimension (Hatziprokopiou et al., 2016; Taylor and Leonard, 2017; Kloomsterman and Rath, 2018; ; Storti, 2018; Vlasov and Bonnedahl, 2018), super-diversity (Kloosterman et al., 2016; Vershinina and Rodgers, 2017; Barberis and Solano, 2018; Rodgers and Williams, 2019) and transnationalism (Stoyanov, 2017; Bagwell, 2018; Solano, 2018; Wahlbeck, 2018; Colic-Peisker and Deng, 2019) into mixed embedded theory. On the other hand, there are emerging trend to integrate the mixed embeddedness theory with the analytic frame work of intersectionality to further develop the concept of mixed embeddedness with considerations of gender and cultural resources (Forson, 2007; Sato, 2013; Wang and Warn, 2017; Barberis and Solano, 2018).

However, it is argued that mixed embeddedness approach lacks historical cultural consideration with a narrow focus on the lower end of the market (Peters, 2002), viewing migrant entrepreneurship in a static social-cultural context rather than a dynamic transnational multicultural environment. Therefore, currently mixed embeddedness is mainly adopted in researches of start-ups, and the mixed embeddedness theory needs to be further updated by integrating core elements of ethnic enclave, middleman minorities and intersectionality theories to follow current trend of migrant businesses breaking into the mainstream market with a deepened understanding towards the role of ethic culture in the breakout process. Meanwhile there are researchers drawn their attentions to the trend of migrant businesses entering mainstream economies, in which multicultural hybridism has emerged, a concept different to the traditional ethnic exceptionalism perspective focusing on features of hybridity and diversity of ethnic minority migrant enterprises under the multicultural social context (Arrighetti et al, 2014). From a constructionist perspective, it is proposed that multicultural hybridism refers to the integration and fusion between ethnic minority cultures and mixed embedded multicultural context, which is not constructed on the static standpoint viewing ethnic culture as the static determinist factor of migrant entrepreneurship but developed as a dynamic measurement used to examine the multi-faced natures of ethnic minority migrant businesses. Therefore, in the next section, breakout experiences of migrant entrepreneurs are reviewed in detail from the perspective of multicultural hybridism, focusing on the dynamism and integration of the three core elements derived from the four migrant entrepreneurship theories.

2.2 Rethink the Role of Ethnic Culture in Breakout Process

The field of migrant entrepreneurship first came into being in America under the influence of seminal researches carried out by Bonacich (1973, 1975, 1978) and Light (1972, 1979, 1980), which views cultural processes as a pivotal component in the development of migrant entrepreneurship theories (Barrett et al., 1996). The pivotal role of ethnic culture is interpreted as the construction process to form an ethnic entrepreneurial identity, on the basis that ethnicity is a negotiated pattern of structures both within and beyond ethnic communities. It focuses on the context for migrants to utilise entrepreneurship as a means to relocate in a society with an unfamiliar language and an alien culture, instead of the simplification of labelling certain ethnic groups as culturally programmed to be more entrepreneurial than others. (Light, 1984; Jones and McEvoy, 1986; Waldinger et al., 1990) Researches into ethnic minority businesses in Britain largely follow the American tradition to position ethnic culture in a central role in migrant entrepreneurship (Ram, 2011). Currently under the context with emerging trend of minority businesses breaking out of their co-ethnic niche into the mainstream market (Ram et al., 2003), the concept of multicultural hybridism is emerged. It defines migrant entrepreneurs intended to break out of their co-ethnic markets into mainstream economies as in process of construction a multiculturally hybrid organizational structure in their firms, with an increasing organizational diversity. The multicultural hybridism perspective stresses the shift from distinction between migrant and native businesses to integration of migrant enterprises into multicultural societies by means of organisational hybridity and diversity. (Arrighetti et al, 2014) In the following the four core breakout elements of migrant entrepreneurship, namely spatial clustering, transnational capital, breakout intention and opportunity structure, which are correspondingly derived from the aforementioned four theories of migrant entrepreneurship, are analysed switching from an ethnic exceptionalism mindset to a multicultural hybridism perspective. It is intended to integrate theories of ethnic enclave economy, middleman minorities and intersectionality into the concept of mixed embeddedness in a context of minority businesses dynamically breaking out of their ethnic niche into mainstream market.

2.2.1 From Ethnic Exceptionalism to Multicultural Hybridism

Traditionally it is believed that ethnic culture is a set of connections and regular patterns of interaction among people sharing common national background or migratory experiences. subcultural dimension of ethnicity-the social structures through which members of an ethnic group are attached to one another and the ways in which those social structures are used. (Aldrich, 1990) The social network approach need not disregard culture, since cultural similarity help create social relations that forge access to the ethnic labor market (Bonacich, 1973; Bailey and Waldinger, 1991). However, ethnic culture is a dynamic concept with interactive relation with migrant entrepreneurship during the breakout process. Therefore, the three core elements of migrant entrepreneurship are analyses in detail shown as follows.

2.2.2 A Multicultural Hybridism Perspective of Mixed Embedded Breakout Process a) Spatial Clustering: Enclaved versus Mainstream Industries

Ethnic enclave theory emphasizes the importance of spatial clustering. Recently transnational activities of migrant entrepreneurs with the economic base in ethnic enclave stimulated the growth of other traditional low-wage, low-tech businesses in the suburban enclave. It is concluded that transnational practices necessitated deeper localization rather than deterritorialization and contributed to strengthening the economic base of the existing ethnic enclave. When transnational entrepreneurs orient toward the ancestral homeland, they may overlook the importance of building and strengthening social structures that help enhance their future well-being in the host country (Zhou and Tseng, 2001). Therefore, the examination of spatial clustering focuses on the dynamism between spatial location and industrial clustering of migrant enterprises.

b) Transnational Capital: Transnational versus Local Capital

In recent research the significances of ethnic networks and their enduring moral ties to ethnicity and the countries of origin. As networks facilitate processes of migration and settlement in lowering risks and costs of the initial journey, they also play a crucial role in facilitating transnational entrepreneurship and promoting their growth (Guarnizo et al., 2003). The levels of economic development in the countries of origin are also important determinants, as they shape particular structures of opportunities unique to national-origin groups and determine who is engaged in what type of transnational activities. (Portes and Guarnizo, 1991). At more advanced stages of economic development in sending countries, formal and large-scale transnational activities, such as import/export, transnational banking and investment in both knowledge-intensive and labor-intensive industries are likely to dominate (Min, 1987; Yoon, 1995; Li, 1997; Zhou and Tseng, 2001). Hence the analyses of transnational capital mainly draw attention to the dynamism between home and host country resources.

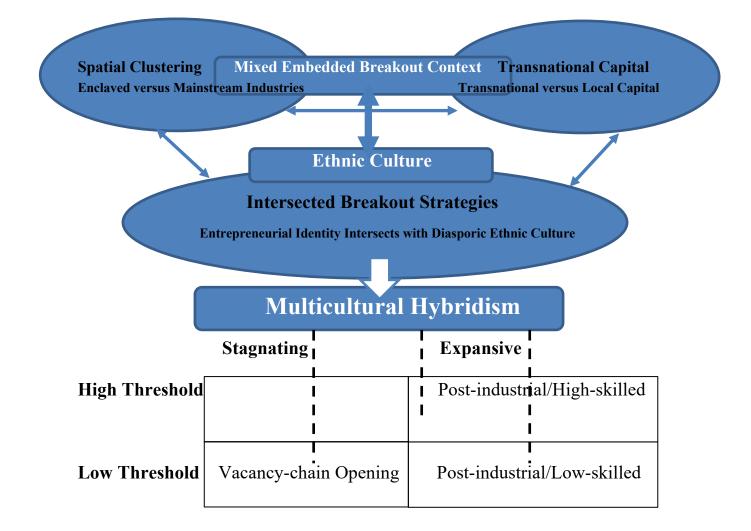
c) Breakout Strategies: Breakout Strategies Intersects with Diasporic Ethnic Culture

In the early twentieth century, diasporic communities initially attracted Max Weber's attention because of the remarkable commercial entrepreneurship they exhibited Weber termed this entrepreneurship 'pariah capitalism' because of the local unpopularity of the entrepreneurial minorities. Subsequent scholars agreed that diasporic ethnic communities displayed exceptional entrepreneurship, especially in international commerce (Cohen, 1971; Laguerre, 1998; Light et al., 1993: 38–43; Moallem, 1996). Under the context that migrant entrepreneurs breaking out of ethnic market into mainstream economy, examinations of breakout strategies adopted by migrant entrepreneurs, it is intended to unlock the intersections between entrepreneurial identity and diasporic ethnic culture.

d) Multicultural Hybridism: Intersected Breakout Strategies Interact with Mixed Embedded Context

As shown in Figure 1 below, spatial clustering and transnational capital as external embedded context intersects with breakout strategies, which constitute the multicultural hybridism framework. It fully recognises the significance of the external environment as spatial

clustering and transnational capital at the same time addresses the importance of internal factors with intersections of entrepreneurial identity and diasporic ethnic culture. It is intended that, through integration of core elements of ethnic enclave, middleman minorities and intersectionality theories, the concept of multicultural hybridism will function as extension of mixed embeddedness in the context of ethnic minority entrepreneurs breaking out of their ethnic niche into mainstream economy.





2.2.2 A Multicultural Hybridism Perspective of Mixed Embedded Breakout Process

More recently researchers have drawn their attentions to the trend of migrant businesses entering mainstream economies, in which the concept of multicultural hybridism has emerged, which is different to the traditional ethnic exceptionalism perspective focusing on features of hybridity and diversity of ethnic minority migrant enterprises under the multicultural social context (Arrighetti et al, 2014). Theoretical frameworks towards ethnic minority migrant entrepreneurship needs to be further updated to follow current trend of migrant businesses breaking into the mainstream market with a deepened understanding of ethnic culture. Particularly ethnic culture is interpreted as not a determinist factor of entrepreneurship exclusively belonging to the ethnic minority communities, but a dynamic development created by migrant entrepreneurs to shape and reshape both the ethnic minority and the mainstream communities. Therefore, in the next section, the perspectives of ethnic exceptionalism and multicultural hybridism are further discussed, drawing attention to the constructionist process on development of ethnic cultures of migrant entrepreneurs within the mixed embedded multicultural context.

From a constructionist perspective, it is proposed that multicultural hybridism refers to the integration and fusion between ethnic minority cultures and mixed embedded multicultural context. It is suggested to situate intersectionality in the centre of the break-out experience of migrant entrepreneurship. Outside the intersectionality of various identities of migrant entrepreneurship, the ethnic enclave economy hypothesis and the theory of middleman minorities continue to evolve and overlap with each other, which both are placed within the framework of mixed embeddedness. Therefore, the concept of multicultural hybridism is not constructed on the static standpoint viewing ethnic culture as the static determinist factor of migrant entrepreneurship but developed as a dynamic measurement used to examine the multi-faced natures of ethnic minority migrant businesses.

2.3 Compare Mixed Embedded Breakout Experiences between Black African and Chinese Entrepreneurs in Birmingham

In the UK Asian migrants are traditionally considered as highly entrepreneurial with a 'Jewish' future whereas African-Caribbean community follows an opposite path indicating an 'Irish' future. Consequently, there is a gap between Asian and African Caribbean ethnic minority groups, which traditionally is interpreted as divergence of migrant entrepreneurship due to differences in ethnic cultural traditions between the two minority groups. (Rex and Tomlinson, 1979) It is further observed that Asian businesses have moved from an emphasis on niche resources of Asian ethnic communities towards emerging use of mainstream institutions and markets, with the formations of Asian business organisations to play dynamic roles in British mainstream economy (Patel, 1991; Aziz, 1995). Unsurprisingly Asian businesses have become one of the most extensively researched business groups in the sphere of migrant entrepreneurship research within the UK, whereas minority groups from African and Chinese minority groups are relatively under-researched (Ram and Jones, 2008). At the heart of Britain, Birmingham is not only the second largest city in the country, but also at the forefront of postcolonial economic transformation, employing ethnic diversity as distinctive resources of its economy (Henry et at, 2001). It is suggested to adopt a comparative approach by comparing divergent groups and sectors in various contexts, in attempts to further advance Mixed Embeddedness theory (Barberis and Solano, 2018). Therefore, from a comparative perspective in the following previous researches into Black African and Chinese migrant entrepreneurship inside the UK in general and within Birmingham in particular are critically reviewed.

2.3.1 A Superdiverse Postcolonialism of Black African Migrant Entrepreneurship in Birmingham

a) Superdiversity of African Migrants in Birmingham

Migration history of Black Africans in Britain is generally divided into five periods, namely from early times to the end of the English Civil War, from the Restoration to the end of slavery in the British Empire, from Emancipation to 1914, from the First World War to the end of the Second World War and the period since 1945 (Shyllon, 1992). Furthermore, a number of studies have shown that under the context of globalisation, the transnational diasporic network developed during the colonial past has facilitated in-migration of decolonized peoples to Birmingham (Henry et at, 2001; Kevion and Ian 2010; Hall et al., 2016). Therefore, the examination of the superdiversity of African Migrants in Birmingham focuses on the increase of in-migration since 1945. According to report produced by African Heritage Initiative in 2012, the period since 1945 has been further categorized into seven phrases, with every 10 years as one phrase ranging from 1950s to 2010s. In 1950s, in response of the huge demand of labour to reconstruct Birmingham after the Second World War, a large number of Africans who had fought for Britain and served in the merchant navy during the war came to Birmingham settling down in deprived urban areas. The 1960 was a decade of economic growth in the UK in general and in Birmingham in particular at the same time with decolonisation of Africa, which provide demand and source of migrant from Africa into Birmingham, showing increased racial tensions exemplified by the speech 'Rivers of Blood'. By 1970, there are sharp increase of African migrants in Birmingham, with a large proportion of second-generation African migrants. Given the fact that 1970 were a period of economic stagnation with rising unemployment, there were increased restriction to reduce African migration. The 1980s saw relatively low levels of inward migration, with an increasing discontent among the Black urban youth due to severe recession and hostile political climate. In 1981 and 1985, there were two riots in Handsworth. In 1990s there were major shift in migration patterns from Africa, with a sharp increase of migrants ten times as in the previous periods from countries affected by civil war including Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Prior migrants from Africa had mainly been work related whereas in 1990s the majorities are refugees to seek asylum. In 2000s, on the one hand the wave of refugee migration intensified further, on the other hand increased demand in skilled workers and a rapid growth in student migration from Africa. In 2010s new and old African migrant communities continue to evolve and integrate into British society making positive contribution to the economic, social and cultural existence of Birmingham. The close economic, political and linguistic ties between post-independence African nations and their former colonial powers made UK in general and Birmingham in particular a favoured destination of Black African migrants (Domboka, 2013). Previous studies have identified the various social, economic, political and historical elements, which constitute the superdiversity of Black African migrants in Birmingham.

b) Postcolonialism of Black African Migrant Entrepreneurship

The importance of colonial ties has lasting impact on migrants (Plaza and Ratha, 2011). Recently from the perspective of diaspora and transnational entrepreneurship, a number of studies have examined diaspora 'space' and 'culture' in both host and home countries in a

dynamic process from ethnic enclaves to diaspora entrepreneurs as an adaptive process in self-actuation, economic empowerment and a competitive advantage (Ojo, 2012), viewing ethnic entrepreneurship as a competing and negotiated constructive process and meaning structures (Ojo, 2013), through individual, firm and environment tri-component conceptual framework of migrant entrepreneurship (Ojo, 2015), with focuses on the characteristics and impacts of Black African transnational diaspora entrepreneurship, (Ojo, 2019). Within the perspective of migrant entrepreneurship as diaspora and transnational entrepreneurship, the colonial influence remains significant, since from start the diaspora and transnational entrepreneurship network is built on the basis of previous colonial links between the host and home countries. It is also noted that a number of studies focus on the religion of Black African migrant entrepreneurship, to examine the interconnection between religion, spirituality and pursuits of economic opportunities among British Africans (Nwankwo et al., 2011), appraise the method African Pentecostals adopted to manipulate their religious resources to stimulate their entrepreneurial activities in the UK (Ojo, 2015). Given the fact that Pentecostals is a form of colonial memory to African migrants, the characteristics of postcolonialism is evident also from the perspective of religion. There are also studies focus on the methodology aspect of African entrepreneurship research in the UK, providing methodological approach to improve data collection (Nwankwo, 2005), plus suggested strategies to overcome the methodological difficulties (Nwankwo, 2018). From a postcolonial point of view, it stresses the method to challenge the Western approach to research African migrant entrepreneurship in the UK. There are also a few researches that have drawn their attentions to the experiences of Black African women entrepreneurs in the UK, with investigation of work-life balance experiences (Forson, 2013) and examinations of education background and work experience of Black African women entrepreneurs in relation to the fact that majority of their businesses remaining in traditional feminine sectors as a reflection of the Black African women's role in British society (Domboka, 2013). It is evident that the gender perspective of Black African women entrepreneurship in the UK reflect the postcolonial influence on gender. In addition, there are recent studies on identity and breakout experience in catering sector of Black African business in the UK (Ojo, 2016) and the institutional support for Black minority businesses in London (Nwankwo, 2010), both of which also exemplify the postcolonial impact. Therefore, on the one hand previous studies into Black African migrant entrepreneurship have demonstrated the feature of Postcolonialism with emerging themes on transnationalism and diaspora entrepreneurship. On the other hand, from a theoretical perspective there has been growing number of researches adopted the analytic framework of intersectionality (Harvey, 2005; Fielden and Davidson 2012; Miller, 2016; Wingfield and Taylor, 2016; Ngoubene-Atioky, 2019; Scott and Hussain, 2019) and mixed embeddedness theories (Dassler et al., 2007; Ram et al., 2008; Jones et al., 2014; Langevang et al., 2015; Kloosterman et al., 2016; Ojo, 2018; Solano, 2018) in Black African migrant entrepreneurship research. However, previous studies into African migrant entrepreneurship have failed to link existing theories in migrant entrepreneurship. In addition, previous researches into African migrant entrepreneurship in the UK mainly focus on London with only a very limited number of researches carried out within the sphere of Black African migrant entrepreneurship in Britain's second city Birmingham.

2.3.2 A Superdiverse Sinolism of Chinese Migrant Entrepreneurship in Birmingham a) Superdiversity of Chinese Migrants in Birmingham

There are three main phrases of Chinese migration to the UK, including 17th Century, 1800s to World War II and Post-World War II (Gomez et al., 2008). Since Birmingham is not a coastal city, large-scale Chinese migrations in Birmingham are relative recent with majority of Birmingham's Chinese population as a result of mainly post-war migration (Parker, 1996). In 1950s and 1960s due to political and economic factors in mainland China and Hong Kong, there were large scale migrants from mainland China crossing the border into Hong Kong, resulting in wide spread social problems of homelessness, unemployment, poverty and starvation. Consequently, Britain in general and Birmingham in particular became a popular migration destination for people in Hong Kong, in search of work and better prospects of life. (Chinn, 2014) Villagers from New Territories of Hong Kong were the earliest Chinese economic migrants to adventure business opportunities in Birmingham's catering industry (Henry et at, 2001). With the developments of Chinese catering trade, in 1960s an informal clustering of Chinese businesses, community organisations and social clubs emerged around the Hurst Street area of Birmingham city centre (Parker, 1996). During 1970, there were increasing number of Chinese migrants as skilled workers and students from former British colonies of Hong Kong and Malaysia settling down in Birmingham (Chinn, 2014). After the decade-long 'Cultural Revolution' in the late 1970s, the UK was the first European country to sign an educational exchange agreement with China. Therefore, since the late 1970s, there has been a growing number of international students from Mainland China. (Shen, 2008) Meanwhile with the Chinese government's relaxed restrictions on emigration under China's open door policy, since 1980s there also has been a significant increase in the number of both legal and illegal immigrants from Mainland China. Newly arrived Chinese migrants were mainly from Fujian, Dongbei and Zhejiang of Mainland China, with different conditions than the early settlers from Hong Kong and Cantonese regions (Yun, 2004). By the 1980s, the Hurst Street area became officially recognised as Birmingham's Chinese Quarter. (Parker, 1996). In 1990s, with Hong Kong's return to China in 1997, there are a surge of migrants from Hong Kong to Birmingham (Chinn, 2014). In 1990s the Arcadian shopping centre incorporated a "Chinese street" and has since become the focal point of annual Chinese New Year celebrations (Parker, 1996). At the same time, the construction of the Chinese Pagoda as a gateway to Birmingham Chinese Quarter together with the presence of branches of the Bank of China and the Bank of East Asia together with the increasing number of Chinese catering businesses illustrate the growing significance and strength of overseas Chinese community in Birmingham. (Henry et at, 2001) Since 2000 on the one hand, there has been steady increase of the number of second and third generation Chinese migrants born in Birmingham (Chinn, 2014). On the other hand, with continued growth of migrants from Mainland China as students, skilled workers, investor entrepreneurs as well as steady number of migrants from Hong Kong, the Chinese Quarter has served as a central meeting point for the city's Chinese community on the basis of long-established Chinese supermarkets and restaurants, with a growing number of Chinese community organizations and professional service firms. Recently there has seen a growing number of overseas Chinese capital investment and the expansion of transnational linkage for Birmingham. (McEwan et al., 2005). Therefore, previous researches into Chinese migrant communities in Birmingham

manifest the complexity of super-diversity, which not only encompasses the social economic factors motivate Chinese migrants to settle down in Birmingham but also entails the dynamisms between historical spatial development of Birmingham's Chinese Quarter and the evolution of diaspora culture of Chinese community in Birmingham.

b) Sinolism of Chinese Migrant Entrepreneurship

A number of studies have pointed out that the key feature of Chinese diaspora is the central role of Sinolism, which despite the differences of Chinese migrants from various localities of China promote the ethnic unity of Chineseness and overseas Chinese nationalism (Coppel, 1977; Liu, 2007; Koning and Verer, 2012). A number of researches have focused on features of transnationalism of Chinese migrant entrepreneurship, demonstrating significant similarities within the Chinese migrant groups and great divergencies under different host country local contexts (Nyiri, 2011; Ottati, 2014), examining the role of transnational social capital in start-up processes of migrant businesses as well as effects of transnational social capital on dynamic constructions between transnationalism and integration (Katila and Wahlbeck, 2011; Ren and Liu, 2015) and exploring the entrepreneurial motivations of Chinese migrant entrepreneurs (Dimitrators et al., 2016; Lin and Yang, 2016). Given the fact that transnationalism places nation-state above transnational mobility (Ren and Liu, 2015), with the feature of Sinolism as a key feature of Chinese diasporic culture (Siu, 2001; Barabatseva, 2005), previous researches on transnationalism of Chinese migrant entrepreneurship demonstrate features Sinolism. Meanwhile previous studies have investigated features of Chinese migrant entrepreneurship from the perspectives of social capital, to explain the formation and management of enterprises from different migrant groups (Chand and Ghorbani, 2011; Katila and Wahlbeck, 2011), to enhance understandings between the entrepreneurs' residencies in China and the Chinese diaspora and the role of social capital in generating innovation (Chow, 2015; Ashourizadeh, et al, 2016; Jensen et al., 2016; Zhang and Zhang 2016; You and Zhou, 2018) and to analyse relationship between social capital and risk-taking propensity of Chinese migrant entrepreneur (Rodriguez-Gutierrez et al., 2015). It is also noted that Guanxi as an important element of social capital in Chinese business sphere demonstrates significant features of Sinolism (Carlisle and Flynn, 2005). Hence previous studies into Chinese migrant entrepreneurship from the viewpoint of social capital exemplifies characteristics of Sinolism. Furthermore, from a theoretical perspective, a large number of analyses adopted the concept of ethnic enclave (Wong, 1987; Mar, 1991; McEvoy and Hafeez, 2007; Zhou and Cho 2010; Fong and Shen, 2011; Santini et al., 2011) and the theoretical framework of middle man minority to investigate Chinese migrant entrepreneurship (Cobas, 1987; McEvoy and Hafeez, 2007; Nyiri, 2007; Nyiri, 2011). However, it is noted that a growing number of recent studies have employed the mixed embeddedness theory to examine the emerging features of Chinese diaspora entrepreneurship (Ren and Liu, 2015; Zhang and Zhang, 2016; Liu, 2018; You and Zhou, 2018). In addition, a number of researches have adopted a comparative approach to compare the characteristics of Chinese ethnic entrepreneurship with other ethnic groups (Hamilton et al., 2008; Labrinidis and Hatziprokopiou, 2010; Chand and Ghorbani, 2011; Katila and Wahibeck, 2011;) as well as to study Chinese migrant entrepreneurship in various diasporic locations (Chan, 1997; Yun, 2004; Zhang, 2013; Wu and Liu, 2014). Therefore, previous

researches into Chinese migrant entrepreneurship have illustrated emerging themes in transnational entrepreneurship and social capital, which exemplify strong features of Sinolism. From the perspectives of theoretical framework, a growing number of studies have employed the mixed embeddedness theory. In view of research method, a comparative approach has been used to examine Chinese migrant entrepreneurship. However, it is noted that previous researches treat important themes of transnational entrepreneurship and social capital as isolated elements without considerations of their relationship. Furthermore, only a small number of researches have adopted the analytic framework of integration of ethnic enclave, middleman minorities and mixed embeddedness theories. In addition, most researches into Chinese migrant entrepreneurship have focused on North American and South Asian countries with only a handful of studies have concentrated on Europe and the UK. Besides majorities of studies within the UK have focused on London, Manchester and Liverpool with no attention given to the Chinese migrant entrepreneurs in the second largest metropole of UK.

2.3.3 Compare Mixed Embedded Breakout Experiences between Black African and Chinese Entrepreneurs in Birmingham

In Birmingham there is a steady growth of both African and Chinese migrants (ONS, 2001; 2011). It is also noted that both minority groups are shown to be under-researched. There is only a limited number of researches focusing on African migrant entrepreneurs in Birmingham, whereas only a few researches looking at Chinese migrant businesses in the catering industry. Further, it is identified that within the Black minority community, migrants of Caribbean origin possess cultural values in terms of language, diet, customs and beliefs different from African migrants (Agyemang et al., 2005), exemplifying the feature of 'superdiversity'. By the same token, Chinese migrant communities in Birmingham manifests the complexity of 'super-diversity', meaning that newly arrived Chinese migrants from Fujian, Dongbei and other regions of mainland China face different conditions than the early settlers from Hong Kong and Cantonese regions (Lo and Chen, 2014). Therefore, the breakouts of African and Chinese businesses are deeply embedded within the super-diverse context without effective government support or representative scholarship, which is the context of this current research. Within this research context, as discussed in last section, ethnic enclave, middleman minority and mixed embeddedness require update. The construct of cultural identity from the perspective of multicultural hybridism takes the central role to interpret the multi-level interactions between all the actors and agents. It aims to individual (micro-), organisational(meso-) and contextual (macro-) analyses, aiming at to identify the foundation and vision of innovation within the storytelling process, with profound implication both to minority business groups and to policy makers. Through the lens of ethnic culture, multicultural hybridism refers to the unsettled duality and hybridity of enterprises during their break-out journeys, embracing the opportunities to claim their legitimacy through entrepreneurial innovation. The break-out experiences of minority enterprises are at the heart of the setting. It is also suggested that examinations on dynamic hybridity between ethnic cultures and multicultural mainstream context are carried out at multi-levels with individual

(micro-), organisational(meso-) and contextual (macro-) analyses, drawing implications to both minority enterprises and mainstream businesses.

3. Research Design

3.1 Rationale and Context

Within the deeply embedded context of ethnic minority-entrepreneurship, Black African and Chinese minority business are both under-researched, exemplifying divergent cultural identities. Hence breakout experiences between Black African and Chinese minority enterprises are different in various ways within mixed embedded social cultural contexts. Given the significance of the theorised explanatory nature of this current research, focusing on the development of theories as explanation to enhance understandings towards the breakout phenomena within mixed embedded community and regional economy (Starks and Trinidad, 2007), grounded theory is adopted to investigate the breakout experiences of the Black African and Chinese entrepreneurs. Grounded theory is a systematic qualitative approach with the emergence of meaning from data, but not data themselves, to better understand and 'grounding' a meaningful interpretation of entrepreneurship phenomena (Douglas, 2004), emphasising the aim of developing improved understanding towards the social construct of entrepreneur within the embedded social cultural reality (Douglas, 2004). In addition, there are two different schools of grounded theory with Glaser's approach requiring not to conduct a literature review, whereas Strauss and Corbin (1990) argued that at the beginning of a project literature review is useful to formulate questions used during initial observations and interviews, which is the method adopted by this current study (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Glaser, 1998).

3.2 **Objectives and Questions of Research**

3.2.1 Research Objectives

The overall objective of the current research is to reflect the unprecedented social, cultural and economic changes within Birmingham, the second largest city in the UK, to what extent the trajectory pattern between and within the Black African and Chinese migrant entrepreneurs differ. Specifically, this current research is concentrated on the differences in terms of strategy adopted across different industries and markets to examine their degree of exposure to the mainstream economy as well as the determining factors and consequent challenges of breaking out into mainstream entrepreneurship.

Therefore, research aims of the current study are shown as follows.

a) Identify the similarities and differences in the continuous development of breakout process between Black and Chinese entrepreneurs.

b) Construe interpretations focusing on the innovative features and positive impacts at entrepreneurial, institutional and contextual levels.

c) Develop a theoretical framework of migrant entrepreneurship from the perspective of multicultural hybridism on breakout strategies implemented by Black African and Chinese migrant businesses.

3.2.2 Research Questions

On the basis of the discovery on relationship of spatial clustering, transnationalism and breakout strategies implemented by Black African and Chinese migrant businesses, tentative theoretical advances are proposed to extend the mixed embeddedness theory in assistance of future research, and policy implications are drawn to provide a basis for the development of policy strategies to better support both the ethnic and mainstream economy.

Therefore, it is intended for this current research to answer the following questions: a) What are the characteristics of the breakout strategies taken by various enterprises from different industries and markets of Black African and Chinese ethnic groups?

b) What are the indicators or signifiers used to exemplify the determinants and challenges of Black African and Chinese ethnic groups to break out into the mainstream economy?

c) What are the determinants drawn from the continuous development process constitutes institutional supports needed for the breakout to succeed?

3.3 Sample Size and Initial Data Analysis

3.3.1 Sample Size

Based on the above research questions, grounded theory is adopted to investigate the relationship of spatial clustering, transnational capital and breakout strategies of Black African and Chinese entrepreneurs to better understand and 'grounding' a meaningful interpretation of ethnic minority entrepreneurship phenomena in the breakout setting, the research is designed as a mixed method study with predominantly qualitative approach.

The research is designed to examine the breakout entrepreneurial experiences of two groups of enterprises from Black African and Chinese minority migrant community groups. Each group contains between 15 and 30 carefully selected ethnic minority migrant businesses within Birmingham. According to Morse, sample size in qualitative research depends on five elements, namely the scope of the study, the nature of the topic, the quality of the data, the study design, and the use of shadowed data (Morse, 2001). Given the fact that the aim of the current research is to identify trends on a number of leading enterprises within the minority migrant business community, it is likely that a group size of 15 to 30 is a reasonable sample as a number of researches show 31 as the mean sample size with adjustment in consideration of the principle of saturation (Mason, 2010).

3.3.2 Initial Data Analysis

There is an initial quantitative analysis of the study. The purpose of the analysis is to identify the similarities and differences of the two selected groups of Black African and Chinese enterprises in terms of sizes, markets, capitals as well as the features of the entrepreneurs including age, gender and industrial experience. Both Black African and Chinese minority groups exemplify strong features of 'super-diversity'. Therefore, detailed information on language, culture and home city of majority of employees as well as the entrepreneurs are recorded in order to draw an accurate picture of both the enterprises and the entrepreneurs. It is also noted that there is a lack of accurate data on Black African and Chinese migrant businesses in Birmingham. In order to minimize the impact due to lack of data, a range of methods including interview and observations combined with sampling of cases are used as 'data triangulation (Patton, 1990)' to ensure credibility of the research.

3.4 Data Collection

On the basis of the initial quantitative data analyses, grounded theory is used to carry out the main qualitative study, focusing on the dynamic interactions of spatial clustering, transnational capital and breakout strategies within the breakout process. Since interview is a common approach used to collect data for qualitative research (Starks and Trinidad, 2007), semi-structured interview is used in this research, with the researcher functioning as a listener to ask open-ended questions about the enterprise and the entrepreneur encouraging them to elaborate the stories sharing their memories, experiences and expectations.

3.5 Three Stages of Data Analyses

In grounded theory, there are three stages of data analyses, including coding, theorizing and integrating (Bernard, 2010). In this research, during every data collection phrase, the three stages are adopted to analyse the collected data. The three stages of data analyses are shown as follows.

3.5.1 Collection of empirical data: To safeguard data quality, a variety of database including statistics from 2011 Census, National Insurance Number Registration and on consultation of community and business associations, around 30-50 Black African and Chinese migrant entrepreneurs in Birmingham are interviewed as the basis for data analysis. As soon as the interview process is started, concepts coding and categorizing also begins.

3.5.2 Formation and development of concepts: On the basis of initial coding and categorizing, the concepts are linked together to identify core variables. Then a tentative conceptual framework is generated. After that existing literature are used as data to develop and advance the theory.

3.5.3 Integrating, refining and writing up theories: Memo-writing and theoretical coding processes are to be continued with constant refinement of the theory until the final theory is completed. Finally, a research report of the theory is composed.

4. Conclusion

Therefore, focusing on the emerging trend of minority businesses breaking out of their coethnic niche into the mainstream market, this current study is from the perspective to view ethnic culture as a dynamic process with active interactions with migrant entrepreneurship, addressing the fusion between ethnic cultures of migrant entrepreneurs and mainstream multicultural context, which is different to the severely criticised ethnic exceptionalism approach, which views ethnic culture as the static defining factor of ethnic migrant entrepreneurship.

The overall objective of the current research is to reflect the unprecedented social, cultural and economic changes in terms of multicultural hybridism examining migrant entrepreneurs' degrees of exposure to the mainstream economy as well as the determining factors and consequent challenges of breaking out into mainstream markets. Specifically, it is aimed to construe interpretations focusing on the innovative features and positive impacts on the hybrid fusion between ethnic cultures and mixed embedded multicultural context at entrepreneurial, institutional and contextual levels. It is also intended to develop a theoretical framework of migrant entrepreneurship from the perspective of multicultural hybridism as an extension of mixed embedded theory. It is also hoped to draw meaningful implications between cultural, innovation and entrepreneurship in the spheres of migrant entrepreneurship. Furthermore, as UK government policy has long been criticised as not being engaged with the changing social and economic landscape of migration (Ram et al., 2013; Ram et al., 2017). Given the fact breaking out of the co-ethnic market into the mainstream business is of profound implications not only to economic development of both the minority groups and the mainstream local economy but also to help achieve social and cultural integration. Therefore, it is firstly aimed to help government agencies to produce effective policies and strategies specifically supporting minority businesses to break out of their niche market. Secondly it is hoped that initiatives and support agencies are formed in assisting the minority enterprises to enter into the mainstream market. Thirdly, it is desired for the government to link business support agencies, private organizations as well as government institutions together to support ethnic minority entrepreneurs better integrate into the mainstream economy.

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