

THE TALE OF IRANIAN ENTREPRENEURS IN THE UNITED STATES: ETHNIC ENCLAVE AND SOCIAL SOLIDARITY OR HARD WORK OF A HIGHLY EDUCATED GROUP?

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Abstract

Iranian entrepreneurs are primarily concentrated in California, New York-New Jersey, Texas, and Washington, DC area. One may find them in practically any type of business. A major characteristic of these business owners is their high level of education. These entrepreneurs have avoided ethnic enclaves and heavy reliance on Iranians as their customer base.

Introduction

What is the appeal of self-employment in the United States? Different researchers have expressed variety of reasons. We begin the tale of Iranian entrepreneurs in the US with a literature review.

Ivan Light (1987) describes difficulties – including exploitation- immigrants encounter in the broader labor market leads them to seek self-employment. Portes and Bach (Immigrant Entrepreneurs, 1985) coined a new term: “ethnic enclave”. This model is based on a research about the Cuban immigrants in Miami. Their research specifies several attributes of the “enclaves”, including geographical concentration, interdependent networks of social and business relationships, and a relatively sophisticated division of labor. These enclaves function as a substitute environment for the immigrant,

softening the incorporation into the host country by providing employment and community. Roger Waldinger and his collaborators (1990) proposed dropping the term “enclave”. They suggested entrepreneurial appeal is determined in part by prevailing market conditions and in part by the availability of those businesses to immigrant ownership. “Some opportunities are ready-at-hand, such as supplying co-ethnics with foodstuffs, newspapers, clothes, and cultural specific goods from their country of origin...however, in order to grow beyond this circumscribed...market, immigrant businesses must expand, and they generally do so along predictable tracks.” The model proposed by Waldinger and his associates is typified by four distinct elements: Immigrant businesses often expand into underserved markets; they seek out enterprises with low start-up costs and low economies of scale; and they provide goods when demand is unstable or uncertain. All these elements were present in the case of Korean entrepreneurs in Chicago.

Another feature of ethnic entrepreneurs has assumed to be social solidarity. Patricia Pessar (1995) conducted a fieldwork among Hispanic immigrants in Washington, DC, and found that ethnic solidarity is neither pervasive nor even necessarily desired by immigrants. About concentration in certain states, a research by Andrew Yuengert

(1995) proposed that states with progressive tax codes are more desirable by self-employed. That is because tax avoidance opportunities are abundant. The same research suggested immigrants from countries with high self-employment rates have higher than average self-employment rates in the US. This is partially because they have more experience in business operations. Yuengert's research concluded that these two factors account for 62% of immigrant self-employment.

The downsides of the immigrant entrepreneurship are the followings: The ethnic solidarity, hypothesized by some researchers, can be exclusionary and clannish. The informal business transactions in immigrant communities can sometimes be distinctly illegal. To some of the relatives involved, the family ties that keep a corner store open 24 hours a day, may seem exploitation and unfair. Immigrant self-employment can be seen more as a lifeboat than a ladder, meaning it is more a survival strategy than indication of socio-economic success (Immigrant Entrepreneurs, 1997).

Objectives of the Study

Several points mentioned in the reviewed literature constitute the conceptual framework of this study. These are as follows: a) ethnic enclaves-geographic concentration, interdependent networks-, b) self-employment as a lifeboat rather than a ladder, c) high self-employment condition back in homeland and d) ethnic social solidarity. I became interested to learn how these factors may be related to the state of Iranian entrepreneurs in the United States. To find out if these entrepreneurs fit into this framework, I defined the following objectives:

- 1- Size of these establishments, number of people working for them, and their geographic concentration.

- 2- Types of businesses, dates of their foundations, and reasons for starting business.
- 3- Education levels of the founders, and if they have any education in business.
- 4- The competitive environment of these firms.

In the section of analysis, after a general review, we are going to have a discussion of the objectives in four clusters, reflecting the conceptual framework.

Definition

I have adopted a definition used by Longenecker, Moore, and Petty (2000). They define entrepreneur as active owner-managers, and include in their definition second-generation members of family-owned firms and owner-managers who buy out the founders of existing firms. By adopting this definition, one may include an enterprise that consists of one person-a type that any aspirant individual may decide to start. It may include firms that employ up to 100 persons. What makes these firms drastically different from the much larger firms is their structure and operation.

Methodology

The most difficult part of the study was compiling a list of enterprises, their owners, and addresses. I faced the absence of a single database containing necessary information. That list had to be developed. I looked through many regional and local business directories, telephone books, and newspaper and magazine advertisements. I even used business cards attached to the community bulletin boards and flyers. Eventually, I assembled a list of about 12000 businesses. From this list, approximately 10000 names and addresses belonging to professions that I was not

looking for were set aside. Among them were physicians, dentists, pharmacists, lawyers, media, and charity organizations. In sum, 2060 business addresses were remained. They were scattered in 48 lower states. Even a single business name/address that I could have detected as Iranian-owned did not exist in states of Alaska and Hawaii.

Based on a comprehensive study of the literature about immigrants and immigrant entrepreneurs, I developed a detailed questionnaire in the Persian language. I pre-tested the questionnaire among Persian-speaking associates, and some business owners in Rockville, Maryland, area.

For the new Iranian year, (about 1998) I sent a cover letter attached to a questionnaire (consisting of forty principle questions) to the owners of all 2060 firms. Along with the questionnaire, I submitted a self-addressed, postage-paid envelope to these business people. My major reason for preparing the questionnaire in Persian was deleting names of any non-Iranian that by my error had entered the database. My assumption was that a non- Iranian will not be able to read the questionnaire, and thus she/he will not distort the survey. Besides, I presumed the use of mother tongue would be an extra incentive for a person to participate in the survey.

Some addressees returned the envelopes with explanation that we are not Iranian or an Iranian does not own the business. It is interesting that some of these individuals had selected Persian names for their establishments. Although it is possible that they had wanted to avoid the survey and their explanation was just a polite excuse. One restaurant owner had returned the blank questionnaire along with some small amount of salt and pepper in the envelope and had wished me a healthy, delicious meal! This

category of unanswered responses reached a mere 25 instances. Returned packages because of incorrect address were absent because I had checked the information many times for their accuracy. A remarkable case belongs to an Iranian who was unable to read Persian, but was proficient in speaking the language. He called and said a friend will read the questions to him and enter his responses in appropriate sections of the questionnaire.

I waited for two months to receive responses and then sent a reminder. Over all, after deleting wrong, incomplete, and ineligible questions, I had access to 414 correct answers. I have used these 414 responses for the analysis. A 20% rate of response is a reasonable and satisfactory rate in this type of survey. Although I had informed the respondents that they would stay anonymous, about 45% of them demonstrated interest to be identified. They proved it by sending their business cards, flyers, and even photos and promotional items along with their responses. These entrepreneurs expressed their desire in having a copy of the final research. I satisfied their wishes.

Majority of the items in the questionnaire were measured on a 3-point scale. The possible responses were three=very important two= important, one= not important. Some questions had yes/no answers. Still others were descriptive questions. We are going to look at the results of the survey in the following section.

Results and Analysis

Composition of employment

Enterprises in the study fall into the category of small size. Table 1 indicates that on average, 6.5 persons work for these firms. Small Business Administration reports that

small business firms employ on average only 3.17 persons (SBA Reports). Since majority of the responding firms were engaged in labor activities the average is higher than SBA figure.

If we generalize the above findings to all 2035 participating establishments (2035 X 6.5), we may conclude that Iranians have created 13,327 jobs in the US. This suggestion substantiates a general understanding that small businesses have created more jobs for job seekers than their larger counterparts. A report prepared by the Small Business Administration and

submitted to the President of the United States (1992) demonstrated that between 1988 and 1990, small business firms (employing fewer than 20 persons per establishment) created nearly all of the new jobs in the United States. Amar V. Bhidé (2000, p. 338) believes that "...the tens of millions of new jobs created in the United States in the past two decades, in the face of shrinking of the workforces of Fortune 500 companies, clearly point to an increasing proportion of employment in the "entrepreneurial" sector."

TABLE 1
Composition of employees in various establishments

Employment information	Total: 2035 firms
Percentage of male workers in the population	67
Number of the people employed by the smallest establishment	1
Number of the people employed by the largest establishment	40
Average number of employment by all firms in the study	6.5

Type of business activities

Table 2 offers a panoramic view of business variety of the firms in the research. The types of businesses selected by Iranian entrepreneurs cover a wide spectrum. They are not restricted, as Waldinger says, to the low-cost start-ups of retailing grocery.

TABLE 2
Types of business activities

Type of activity	Percentage
Retail	31
Construction: Builders, architecture, Drawing	16
Repair: Electrical, electronic, appliances	11
Artistic: Photography, painting, fashion designs	10
Financial: Insurance, mortgage, stock brokers	9
Wholesales: Parts, food	9
Manufacturing	3
Transportation: Charter, car rental, towing	1
Research and invention: Computer	1
Misc.: Translation, nursery, unspecified	9
Total	100

Dates that businesses were founded

The United States has always been a destination for Iranians immigrants. In the past, however, when leaving the homeland, majority of the travelers had a sojourn in their mind. Most travels were university-related trips. They were coming either as students, or as visiting faculty. That changed after the 1979 Revolution and travels became long-term stays. The year before the revolution marked the beginning of extraordinary increase in the number of immigrants.

The embryo of the Iranian community was conceived in 70s and many of the actual geographical, social and demographic aspects took shape during the same decade. An increase in total number of Iranian immigrants was followed by a parallel increase in the business activities of this community (table 3).

TABLE 3
Dates firms were founded

Year of Foundation	Percent
1940-1960	3.5
1970s	6.0
1980-1984	25
1985-1989	33
1990-1994	29
1995-1998	1
No response	2.5
Total	100

Founders of the firms

I asked participants to tell who founded the business that they already have. A large majority (86%) responded that they are the original founders. The remaining 14% indicated that they purchased their enterprises from other entrepreneurs. Similarly, I was interested to know if the time of foundation had any relationship with being the original founder. Table 4 is illustrates this connection.

I attribute this large increase in self-starting businesses to a drastically grown population base after the 1979 Iranian Revolution. This base allowed and encouraged those individuals who had any doubt about the wisdom of starting a business of their own to overcome their reservations.

TABLE 4
The correlation between the year and type of foundation

The year of foundation	% Self-founded	% Purchased
1940-1960	50	50
1970	70	30
1980-1984	92	8
1985-1989	92	8
1990-1998	92	8

The Four Dimensions of an ethnic business community

Early in the report, I mentioned the conceptual framework that I will put into test. The cornerstones of this framework consisted of a) ethnic enclaves, b) pursuing the self-employment as a lifeboat, c) accustomed to self-employment back in homeland, and at last, d) social solidarity of the group. The following discussions are about these dimensions.

Ethnic enclaves

Iranian entrepreneurs are scattered in practically the whole continent of the United States. Even if they are heavily concentrated in a few states, no evidence of the “clannish” behavior is present.

We can see them in variety of neighborhoods, competing with the establishment, and soliciting the business of non-Iranians. Next few tables exhibit the evidence.

The important centers of business activities

It is a known fact among the Iranian community in the US that California is the home away from home for Iranians. Heavy concentration of Iranians in few population centers-including Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco, is quite visible even for a newcomer. The Westwood Street in Los Angeles is the home for many Iranian-owned business firms. Among them, one may find numerous bookstores, restaurants, and super markets. Nevertheless, as table 5 articulates, in the beginning, California was not the favorite destination for Iranians. In about the 1970s, however, this state gained such a status, and has remained a leader. As Iranians disperse throughout the US, strong contenders such as Texas, New York/New Jersey, and Georgia (specifically Atlanta) gradually emerge.

TABLE 5

Important centers of business activities of Iranian entrepreneurs

The year of foundation	Important centers of activity	Important types of activity
1940-1960	Varies	38% artistic, 12% financial, 12% construction, 12% retail,
1970	77% California, 33% elsewhere	31% retail, 15% construction, 15% financial, 15% artistic
1980-1984	58% California, 13% New York/New Jersey, 13% Washington, DC area, 16% elsewhere	47% retail, 14% repair, 10% construction, 10% artistic, 10% financial,
1985-1989	50% California, 14% Texas, 12% Washington, DC area, 7% NY/NJ, 17% elsewhere	31% retail, 24% construction, 10% repair, 9% financial, 5% industrial manufacturing,
1990-1994	57% California, 17% NY, 10% Washington DC area, 16% elsewhere	38% retail, 15% construction, 10% repair, 10% financial, 8% industrial manufacturing

In 1980, the Census Bureau announced that the population of Iranian community in the US was a little more than 128,000. It was concentrated first in California (35%), then in New York (8%) and then Texas (6%). More than 136,000 Iranians emigrated to the US between 1980 and 1989. In 1990, the Census Bureau identified 226,000 Iranians in the US.

One even more important piece of information is the gradual shift of activities sought by Iranian community from the omnipresent retailing (mostly in grocery and hair salons) toward industrial manufacturing. As the population increased, however, percentage of retail businesses increased, as well.

Lifeboat or ladder

What is a lifeboat? It keeps a shipwrecked from drowning and allows the unfortunate person to survive for a short while. On the other hand, a ladder gives altitude, and raises the position of its user. The following next tables do not support that Iranians took initiative just to survive. They have risen from their lower ranks, and have expanded their domain and influence.

This group is distinctively different from other immigrants, thanks partially to the

Revolution that allowed a mass departure of resources from Iran. These resources were both financial and mental. We will see the mental part of it. I did not ask the participating entrepreneurs in the study to divulge any financial information.

Education level of Iranian business community

The US census 1990 indicated that a significant percentage of Iranian immigrants in the US (77%) have university-level education. Before 1979 Revolution (Report by Iran Interest Section, Washington, DC), Iran had largest number of university students abroad than any other country in the world. By 1977, their number had reached to 227,497 persons. By 1979 in the US alone, there were 51,310 students, ranking first among foreign nationalities. There were many thousands more students enrolled in Iranian universities and colleges. The shock of Revolution drove these educated individuals out of Iran and beyond the reach of the revolutionary elements. A great number of them chose the US as the country of their choice. This explains the large number of educated Iranian community (Table 6).

TABLE 6
The education level of Iranian business community

The level of education	Percentage
Elementary	0.5
High School	17
University (two with doctorate degree)	79
Without response	3.5

The 1990 census figure about the university-level education (77%) is in agreement with the findings of this study (79%). We are aware that 45% of total population in the US has any type of education above the high school level.

That of the Iranian business community is substantially higher. This result concurs with Bhide's finding that 81% community as well. According to 1990 census, 43% of Iranians are in professional and managerial positions, 35% are engaged in technical and administrative activities, 10% are in various services, and the balance are spread over farming, craft, and other miscellaneous jobs.

The Center for Immigrant Studies, funded by the conservative Federation for Immigration Reform, disagrees with the importance of immigrant entrepreneurs. According to their study, in 1997, only 11.3% of immigrants were entrepreneurs, compared with 11.8% of native-born Americans. (Thomas, 2003) The Census Bureau figure, at least partially, disagrees. It says that 22% of Iranians own their businesses. A website suggests that Iranian community in the US has founded 280 major national firms, and has 400 of its people in the highest positions in national companies. The same website claims that the total contribution of Iranian community to the US economy is estimated at more than 400 billion dollars.

Kotkin in his report (1999) invalidates the negative views surrounding the immigrant entrepreneurs. He writes, "The rates of entrepreneurship were even more pronounced in five-county greater Los Angeles. Analysis by California State Northridge demographers James P. Allen and Eugene Turner found the highest rates of entrepreneurship among people of Israeli, Iranian, Lebanese and Armenian heritage. Although estimates of the number of Middle Easterners in Los Angeles range up to 300,000 to 400,000, their influence is felt powerfully across a series of industries: garment, jewelry, textile, manufacturing, real estate, retail and distribution.

Los Angeles has taken a different turn. Although they own barely 7% of the companies and constitute a negligible part of the work force in the city's clothing factories, Middle Eastern immigrants control the higher-end stars of the regional industry, including Guess? Bisou-Bisou, Jonathan Martin, Tag Rag and BCBG. They are, if anything, more dominant in the textile industry; more than 120 Iranian companies, owned by Jewish, Muslim and Christian entrepreneurs, have helped drive sales of L.A.'s textile industry from \$300 million in 1982 to an estimated \$20 billion today". In terms of percentage, these entrepreneurs may not be large, but collectively they are a significant economic power.

George J. Borjas, too, presents a gloomy picture of the new immigrants in the US. According to him, by 1990 the most recently arrived immigrants had 1.3 fewer years of schooling and earned 32% less than natives. Again, in the case of Iranians, numbers are different. We observed that they had a higher level of education. In addition, the 1990 census pronounces that the median family income for Iranian community was \$ 55,501. That was substantially above the national average of \$35,492.

Does university education contribute to business success?

If we define success as prosperity, then it will be a meaningful quest to see if university education has had any hand in it. Beyond that, I was eager to learn to what extent business education may have played a positive role in their ventures. I learned that of all the respondents, only 40% had any business education. Another 58% mentioned that did not have such a type of education. Only 2% did not answer to this question. The respondents believed that for starting a

business, a university-level business education was not crucial. I was also desired to know to what extent success in business depends on university business education. Table 7 answers to the question.

Those with university education (86%) believed their success had been facilitated by a broader knowledge base. A far less percentage (14%) that had no university education also had experienced success. What about failure or lack of adequate success? A bigger percentage (58%) of the university-educated people, possibly because of their higher expectations, believed they were short of a desired level of success. Of those without a university education only 42% said they had been unsuccessful in their business operations.

TABLE 7
The relationship between university education and success in business

	With University education	Without university education	Total	With business education	Without business education	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	
Highly successful	86	14	100	41	59	100
Unsuccessful	58	42	100	29	71	100

In the same subject, another concern was to discover the extent to which a business education has been helpful in success of their enterprises. Only 41% of those who were highly satisfied of their profession had studied business at the college. The remaining 59%, although they may have university education, lacked a business education. How could that be? Why a

university education in general has greater bearing on one’s career but not a business education? My interpretation is as follows: When starting a business firm, the founder may solicit and receive advice and consultation of professionals such as accountants and tax specialists, lawyers, technical experts, and salespeople. Therefore, other experts can easily offset a

deficiency in business education. It exempts business owners from acquiring business knowledge. They just need a business insight. We know that entrepreneurs are not necessarily well versed in business. However, a much larger percentage (79%) of the respondents without a business education eventually felt the consequences of a lack of business literacy, and complained of their failure. The minority (29%) of the individuals who were complaining had a business education. Clearly, at the time of reckoning, those materials learned in business classes have a positive effect on running a business. In summary, one may start a business without any business education foundation, but in the complex world of commerce and trade, the school materials are useful.

Reasons for starting the business

Entrepreneurs have a multitude of reasons for starting their businesses. Table 8 focuses on the topic.

The USA Today (1991) published the result of a survey and declared independence as an important factor for self-employment.

Thirty-eight percent of those who had left their corporate jobs said their main reason for leaving was their desire to be their own boss. In this research, independence was declared a far important rationale for starting one’s own business. Some of responses that were more specific indicated the following reasons: Continuing the family tradition, limited choice of other jobs, desire to be in touch with other Iranians, love of own area of expertise, never being able to work for anybody else, using unexploited time of family and self. Habituated to hard work was another reason for starting a business. It proves correct Freud’s observation that one of the great pursuits of human experience is work. Ivan Light, among others, argued, “the more hardships and frustrations immigrants experienced in the mainstream economy, the more likely they were to seek alternative opportunities through self-employment.” (Immigrant Entrepreneurs, 1997, p. 4)

TABLE 8
Reasons for starting the business

Reason for starting the business	Very important %	Not important at all %
Bored from the previous job	24	46
Availability of capital	21	43
Disappointed from the previous job	29	45
Family encouragement	31	41
Having a special expertise	39	33
Hospitable conditions	45	12
Accustomed to hard work	73	4
Unemployment	19	59
Larger income	74	6
Independence	74	4

The respondents emphasized the importance of a larger population, and deemphasized the significance of their unemployment. In fact, 59% of respondents disparaged unemployment and believed it was not a very important reason for starting a business. It is an interesting statement confronting findings of Bhidé (2000). He mentions that people with secure, well-paying jobs are less expected to start their own business. The reason is a high opportunity cost for them. Nevertheless, that majority (59%) who disagreed with the notion of unemployment as a very important reason for starting business had a good education. They could not have stayed unemployed. Opportunity cost for this group must have been high. It appears that over qualification for the entrepreneurs who participated in this survey lacked a meaningful influence.

High self-employment back in homeland

Another conjecture by some researchers, as we noticed in the literature review, is hypothetically a high rate of self-employment back where immigrants come from. This reasoning may be a correct explanation for other immigrant groups, but Iranian entrepreneurs were not the ones who used to be self-employed. Not at least the generation that emigrated to the US. Adapted to jobs created by the government, supported by a steady stream of capital from exporting petroleum, a whole generation was raised viewing the government as the major source of jobs. That generation found itself in the middle of turmoil. In response to this question: "Is this your first business experience?" Sixty percent answered yes, forty-eight percent gave negative response, and only two percent left the question unanswered. These numbers are in agreement with Bhidé's explanation. It helps us to understand how a large number of individuals with no prior experience in

business may find opportunity in starting business ventures (p. 97) He articulates "few of the Inc. founders I studied had deep experience in their fields."

Social solidarity

I found no evidence of that solidarity among Iranian entrepreneurs. Another research (Pessar, 1995), too, refutes the assumption of ethnic solidarity. The subsequent tables give us clear proof of absence of such solidarity. Actually, one Persian-language publication in Maryland (Tehran Post) regularly blames Iranians for NOT demonstrating such solidarity. The presumed solidarity, I assume, comes from giving priority of employment to the one's ethnic group, competing within a closed circle, and limited chain of suppliers. In enterprises that I observed, I found not such exclusionary behavior. If architects, they seek clients from any available source. If grocery stores, one may find customers from all life styles, and if services, non-Iranians are on the same footing of Iranians.

The ethnic/racial composition of employees

Overall 32% of participants indicated that all of their employees are Iranian. The rest came from other ethnic/racial groups. Table 9 reveals this ethnic composition. It specifies that majority of employees in Iranian-owned firms are "white" Americans. Whenever a black American has been in discussion, they have said so. It is worthy to state that back in Iran, most of the time an American or a European mean a "white" person. The word foreigner is rarely applied to Indians, Arabs, or even Chinese. These ethnic groups are identified by their specific nationalities and are not viewed as foreigners.

Among Hispanics, Mexicans constituted the majority of the group. Among Far Easterners, Koreans made up the majority of

the cluster. In some delicate works and fine operations Japanese, the Philippines, and few Vietnamese had been given employment. In the “other” category, the

most prominent ethnic groups were Indians, Pakistanis, Afghan, Egyptians, Moroccan, and some Europeans.

TABLE 9
Percentage of ethnic and racial groups employed by Iranian entrepreneurs

Ethnic group	Percentage
White “American”	35
Hispanic	27
Far Easterners	6
Others	32
Total	100

Who are the competitors?

According to Table 10, this community of immigrants does not consider other ethnic groups as its major competitors. It has bigger claims and sees itself in competition with the establishment-the white Americans.

Obviously, Iranians have joined the main street America. They have avoided having enclaves, either business or residential. Their main target is the establishment, not

themselves or other ethnic groups. This comes from both self-confidence, and pride. They have said it to me in additional comments attached to their questionnaires.

The type of business competition

Table 11 is about the type and source of business competition. Not all business areas cause the same level and amount of competitive pressure.

TABLE 10
The important groups of competitors

Ethnic group	Percentage
White Americans	49
Other Iranians	31
Far Easterners	7
Arab	2.5
Indian and Pakistanis	2
Hispanics	2
Without response and miscellaneous	6.5
Total	100

TABLE 11
The type and source of business competition

Type of activity	Among Iranians %	Among the establishment %	Among other groups %
Industrial production	50	50	0
Retail	34	46	20 (varies)
Wholesale	27	27	46 (mostly Arab, Indian, Hispanic)
Financial services	28	32	40 (mostly Arab, Far Easterners)
Transportation	0	65	35 (varies)
Research and invention	0	0	100 (varies)
Artistic works	40	35	25 (varies)
Repair	24	44	32 (varies)
Construction	0	50	50 (varies)

Conclusion

We reviewed a successful group of entrepreneurs. The existing literature of entrepreneurship gave us a conceptual framework. Over two thousand Iranian entrepreneurs in the United States were subject of this research. We found out that Iranian entrepreneurs are highly educated group of people who are active in a wide-range of business ventures. They can be found in 48 states. A large community of Iranians has given them a base to start a business. Yet, other ethnic groups constitute their customers and increase their chances of survival. We discovered their reasons, among them independence, for starting their own businesses. The majority of these entrepreneurs had no previous business experience.

This research, like other similar studies, has limitations. If more than 20% had responded to the survey, the generalization could have been more accurate. Time is another factor. Information of the past cannot be applicable to the present. Based on a modified and updated database, I have a plan to repeat the survey. Conclusions drawn then can be different from what I presented here.

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