



What Happens When Enclaves Fail to Support Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship?

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Abstract. In the literature examining enclave activities, the focus is usually on immigrant marginalisation or segregation, and on the opportunity that an enclave provides for local immigrant economic activity. However, there is a dearth of literature discussing the possible consequences when an enclave fails to support Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship (TDE) activity. Addressing this gap in the literature, this study employs a comparative narrative analysis of immigrant enclaves, TDE frameworks and a primary dataset. Based on semi-structured interviews with 11 Nigerian transnational diaspora entrepreneurs in the Blanchardstown area of Dublin who travel between Ireland and Nigeria for transnational entrepreneurial activity, the study suggests that the failure of immigrant enclaves to provide a localised Country of Origin (COO) environment, infrastructures and resources will decrease TDE activity. The article contributes to literature on diaspora entrepreneurship by suggesting that the undertaking of TDE is dependent on the level of COO cultural elements within the enclave and that a reduction in enclave cultural elements will diminish TDE activity.

Keywords: immigrant-enclave, Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial opportunity, environment, infrastructures, resources.

1. Introduction

A body of evidence exists which suggests that immigrant entrepreneurship opportunity formation is partially dependent upon a high level of immigrants concentrating within a specific geographical area (immigrant enclave) in their new Country of Residence (COR) (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Barrett et al., 1996; Bates, 1997; Knocke, 2000; Neuman, 2016; Osaghae and Cooney, 2019). There also exists a body of knowledge suggesting that the propensity of immigrants to engage in business is dependent upon available resources and an immigrant's demographical characteristics within a specific geographical area in their Country of Residence (Kloosterman et al., 1999; Gold and Light, 2000). This propensity to start-up depends upon the level of Country of Origin (COO) cultural predispositions available within an enclave environment (Habyakare et al.,

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2009). Neuman (2016) suggested that an environment where immigrants can avail of their Country of Origin cultural elements will positively support Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship (TDE) activity, while Pekkala Kerr et al. (2016) asserted that TDE activity is dependent upon the availability of immigrant COO resources, infrastructures and environment in a Country of Residence.

The literature suggests that an enclave environment that creates ethnic unity, national identity, entrepreneurial opportunity, capital (human, social and financial) and community bonding supports TDE activity. Furthermore, there is a broad understanding that the energy of immigrant enclaves plays a significant role in the spawning of TDE activity. Several previous studies (e.g. Marcuse, 1997; Reitz and Sklar, 1997; Phinney et al., 2001; Benish-Weisman and Horenczyk, 2010) have described an enclave as an enabler of immigrant entrepreneurial activity, including a study by Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) which cited Cuban American support within the Cuban Community in Miami (Florida, USA) as helping construction companies founded by Cuban immigrants to transcend beyond their enclaves. However, there are no studies highlighting the possible consequences when an enclave fails to support transnational diaspora activity and the lack of analysis regarding what happens when enclave support for Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship activity ceases provides the justification for this study.

The decision to focus on this gap in the existing literature was initially motivated by an exploration of literature arguing that immigrant enclaves create resources for entrepreneurial start-ups (Waldinger and Aldrich, 1990; Neuman, 2016). It was identified that immigrant cultural predispositions in a geographical area create a market niche, an environment, resources, human and financial capital, infrastructure and community bonding that support entrepreneurial endeavour (Neuman, 2016). In turn, these endeavours create new opportunities for transnational commercial activity (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; Drori et al., 2009) as immigrant entrepreneurs link their business activities with networks in their Country of Residence. Arguably, understanding the possible consequences when an enclave fails to support Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship would allow us to better understand the pivotal position that an enclave occupies in TDE literature, but from a different perspective. To explore the possible consequences when an enclave fails to support TDE activity, this study employed a comparative narrative analysis of literatures on immigrant enclaves and TDE theories, plus it used 11 in-depth semi-structured interviews to explore the consequences regarding when an immigrant enclave fails to support TDE activity.

The study was informed by the literature reviewed and the following questions were developed: (1) what are the theoretical linkages between enclaves and Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship activity? (2) what is the impact on Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship activity when an enclave fails to offer

support? Ireland is a country with a relatively new diaspora population and therefore presents a fascinating case for this study. Until the early 2000s there were no fully constituted enclave communities in the capital city of Dublin. The inflow of immigrants in the early 2000s initiated the creation of immigrant enclaves in locations like Blanchardstown, Balbriggan and parts of central Dublin (Central Statistics Office, 2016 Census). According to Ugba (2004), Africans have been present in Ireland since the 18th Century, but it was not until the early 2000s (when there was a rapid rise in immigration from Nigeria and their subsequent concentration in parts of Dublin) that a high level of immigrant entrepreneurial activity began to occur from the African community.

This article contributes to the mainstream literature on Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship in the following ways: (1) it advances previous studies (e.g., Ojo, 2012; Ojo et al., 2013; Osaghae and Cooney, 2019) that have presented evidence of an enclave as a symbol of ethnic unity, and an environment that conserves Country of Origin modes of social and commercial interaction; (2) it suggests that an enclave supports TDE activity by providing Country of Origin cultural elements and that the failure of an enclave to provide these cultural elements will decrease TDE activity; and (3) it highlights that policies that enable the settlement and transcending of entrepreneurship beyond one's Country of Residence will increase economic activity between an immigrant's Country of Residence and Country of Origin, and that a lack of immigrant settlement policies will decrease such activity.

To address the question, what happens when enclaves fail to support transnational diaspora entrepreneurship, the paper is structured as follows. The next section presents a review of relevant literature and this is then followed by a presentation of the context of this study, the Nigerian population in Blanchardstown (Dublin). The data and methods employed in the study are presented next, before the article presents the findings from the data generated. The article will conclude by focusing on the discussion and the conclusions drawn from the study.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Immigrant Enclave Environment

An enclave defines an environment in which immigrants can, to some extent, continue to behave in their Country of Residence as they did in their Country of Origin (Berry et al., 2006; Engelen et al., 2013). The understanding is that such an environment allows for the use of ethnic culture to facilitate relational reciprocity and trust that encourages immigrants to engage in entrepreneurial activity (Berry et al., 2006). In some studies of immigrant entrepreneurship, the

Country of Origin culture within such an enclave environment was suggested as essential capital that bonds the entrepreneurs, suppliers and workers together in undertaking an entrepreneurial activity (Coleman, 1988; Huggins and Williams, 2012). An ethnic enclave environment has three basic prerequisites that aids entrepreneurship: (a) the presence of a substantial number of immigrants with business experience acquired in the sending country; (b) the availability of sources of financial capital; and (c) the availability of an adequate supply of labour (Portes and Manning, 2006). In a typical enclave, the latter two conditions are not too difficult to meet. Labour requirements can usually be met by family members and recent arrivals (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). Financial capital is not a major impediment either, since the sums initially required are usually small and can be acquired within the enclave (Turkina and Thai, 2013). However, satisfying the first prerequisite will depend on the availability of immigrants with the necessary business experience and entrepreneurial drive in the enclave. Thus, an enclave is an environment that provides the immigrant with the resilience of ethnic culture and immigrants' attitudes regarding the host community that are significant to the undertaking of immigrant entrepreneurship activity. Hence, this leads to the suggestion that without the cultural predisposition that an enclave provides, Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship activity would be near impossible in an immigrant's Country of Residence.

An immigrant enclave environment encompasses the cultural predispositions that immigrants bring with them from their own country that allows them to construct an autonomous portrayal of their situation that goes beyond a mere adversarial reaction (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). It includes immigrants' cultural capital and their capacity to measure and affirm their Country of Origin ethnic affiliation in the context of their Country of Residence (Berry et al., 2006; Benish-Weisman and Horenczyk, 2010). An example of the above is the Tunisian community living in Paris. They are the smallest North African immigrant group residing in that city and their strong sense of ethnic identity played a key role in fostering their business enterprises (Portes and Fernández-Kelly, 2015). An enclave environment helps immigrants to create a sense of solidarity, and channel the negative perceptions and suspicions of outsiders to the undertaking of entrepreneurship activity (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). As found in the study by Spencer-Oatey (2012), each culture is unique, diverse and influences an ethnic group's values and overt behaviour in different ways. For example, the concept of Chinatown is just one illustration of how a national culture helps people who share the same ethnic background to affirm their distinct identity in a Country of Residence. However, while previous studies have concentrated on examining an enclave as an enabler of immigrant entrepreneurial activity, the present study discusses the possible consequences when an enclave fails to support transnational diaspora activity.

2.2. Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship

Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship involves the transferring of people, culture, knowledge and resources between Country of Residence and Country of Origin to an extent that was previously unimaginable (Riddle et al., 2010; Bauböck and Faist, 2010; Portes and Fernández-Kelly, 2015). Unlike ‘traditional migrant entrepreneurs’ who maintain a single country embeddedness and limiting their economic activities and social ties to their host country by concurrently engaging in multiple socially embedded environments, transnational diaspora entrepreneurs can deploy their resource bases to exploit comparative economic advantages in the host country and home country (Thieme, 2008; Aluko et al., 2019). Thus, the undertaking of Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship activity may result from a feeling of obligation or duty on the part of the transnational diaspora entrepreneurs to provide immigrants with their home country cultural artefacts and to meet their culinary/dietary needs in their Country of Residence (Oviatt and McDougall, 2005; Gillespie et al. 1999; Drori et al., 2009). This suggests that Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship may result from a sentiment that diaspora may discover in their home country (a spatially concentrated area in which members of a particular population group congregate as a means of enhancing their economic, social and/or cultural development) the motivation to give back to their Country of Origin through experiences acquired in their host country (Marcuse, 1997). On the basis of their operational design and duality, transnational diaspora entrepreneurs are able to recognise opportunity and mobilise networks within their enclave to pursue business ventures that may be unavailable to entrepreneurs operating outside the perimeters of an enclave (Riddle et al., 2010; Aluko et al., 2019). Against the background of studies by Gillespie et al. (1999), Levitt (2001), Riddle et al. (2010), Bauböck and Faist (2010), Aikins and White (2011), Portes and Fernández-Kelly (2015) and Aluko et al. (2019), the present study adopts the definition of Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship adopted by Osaghae and Cooney (2019, p. 2092) who stated that: “Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurs are those settled ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in their Country of Residence, but maintaining strong sentimental, entrepreneurial and material links with their Country of Origin”.

2.3. Linking Enclaves to Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship

For Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship practitioners to engage in entrepreneurial activity, cultural elements such as relational reciprocity and trust found within an enclave are essential to the undertaking of an entrepreneurial activity (Berry et al., 2006; Engelen et al., 2013). Neuman (2016) advocated that the lack of appropriate cultural elements in an enclave environment often reduces

the ability of an entrepreneurial individual to engage in entrepreneurship. Furthermore, it has been argued that the complete absence of an enclave environment poses even greater challenges for immigrants seeking to engage in TDE activity (Portes and Manning, 2006; Neuman, 2016). An environment in this sense describes a social field, a universe or microcosm in which the agents and institutions are integrated and interact with one another in a manner that is essential for opportunity formation (Bourdieu, 1977; Walther, 2014). These views suggest that an immigrant enclave occupies a pivotal position in the formation of immigrant TDE activity. However, they fail to address the possible decrease in TDE activity should an enclave fail to offer support.

On the basis of the evidence arising from the literature review, it could be argued that an enclave signifies a form of business incubator and offers access to formal business networks (Stephens, 2013; Doblinger et al., 2016). Firms that operate in such an environment have to take common industry norms into account when making entrepreneurial decisions. In this context, norms found within an enclave (e.g., the enclave relational reciprocity and trustworthiness) become essential to the formation of an enclave activity, while the absence of these norms will negatively impact upon enclave entrepreneurial activities (Berry et al., 2006; Alqahtani et al., 2012; Davidsson et al., 2017). Toutain et al. (2017) argued that the development of interaction and networks within a specific geographical area becomes an element that allows an entrepreneurial individual access to existing resources (Melese and Helmsing, 2010). From these discussions, it could be understood that the norms within an enclave become an enabler for the undertaking of Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship activity. As an enabler, an enclave can facilitate the initiation, development and success of the new or old venture. In this case, interactions within an enclave allow TDE practitioners to develop entrepreneurial ventures.

In the entrepreneurship process, there is the understanding that the successful implantation or creation of an activity is dependent upon the level of available structures and resources within a specific area, while the lack of structures and resources can hinder the successful implantation of an activity (Melese and Helmsing, 2010; Lipis and Adams, 2014). Therefore, it could be argued that the absence of an enclave with relevant Country of Origin structures and resources will hinder TDE activity formation. Alqahtani et al. (2012) advocated that such a possible worst-case effect of lacking structures and resources should be avoided to allow entrepreneurial activity to occur. This presents the opportunity for the present study to suggest that the role of an enclave is critical for immigrant entrepreneurial activity and that without appropriate enclave support the formation of TDE activity will be extremely challenging (Portes and Manning, 2006; Toutain et al., 2017).

3. Context of the Study

According to Bryman and Bell (2011), qualitative research requires a description of the geographical location, including any related information that may contribute to the data analysis. Since this study focuses on the Nigerian enclave and diaspora entrepreneurs in Blanchardstown (Dublin), understanding the context of the Nigerian population in that geographical enclave and their activities will aid the broader discourse on diaspora entrepreneurship. Using the Irish Central Statistics Office (CSO) 2016 Census data, the study identified the Blanchardstown area of Dublin as a promising location for the proposed study. Blanchardstown was once an area of economic disadvantage, but its redevelopment between 1996 and 2004 made additional housing available, thereby creating the possibility of a concentration of newly arrived immigrants during the Celtic Tiger economic boom period. However, Ní Chonail (2009) noted that despite an increase in employment and the commercial development of the area, significant parts of Blanchardstown and adjacent areas continued to experience economic disadvantage. As indicated by the literature review, such conditions can frequently lead to the formation of an ethnic enclave (Waldinger and Aldrich, 1990; Berry et al., 2006; Engelen et al., 2013).

Mason (2009), Ram et al. (2017) and Kasseeah (2016) observed that the relationship between new business formation and regional development is, to a considerable degree, shaped by policy implementation. In the case of the Nigerian community in Blanchardstown, their main draw to the Blanchardstown area in the early 2000s was the Irish government settlement policy allowing parents of Irish-born children to seek living arrangements where they choose (Breen, 2003; Honohan, 2010). Although, policy implementation is seen as the driver of immigrant activity, scholars such as Griffiths et al. (2009) and Gamidullaeva et al. (2020) argued that existing policies, regulations and bureaucracy can also inhibit development. While Andersson and Larsson (2016) and Spigel (2017) claimed that the culture of a place is a key component for creating and sustaining supportive environmental activity, settlement in an area with no known immigrant infrastructures can have the opposite effect. Thus, issues such as housing policies (which are not usually linked to entrepreneurial activity) can enhance or diminish an immigrant's ability to engage in entrepreneurship.

3.1. Participants

The participants in the present study are all Nigerian immigrants residing in the Blanchardstown area of Dublin for at least 7 years. All have become naturalised Irish citizens. They are entrepreneurs serving the Nigerian community and have commercial links with Nigeria. Among Africans living in Ireland, 13,079 Nigerians represent the largest ethnic group. The largest gathering of Nigerians

based in Ireland live in Blanchardstown, an area with an estimated 16 ethnic shops (e.g. hair dressing salons, barbers, money remittance, restaurants and food shop) serving over 4,600 men, women and children of Nigerian origin (Kómoláfé, 2008; CSO Census Data, 2016). The high concentration of Nigerians in Blanchardstown facilitates a confluence of Nigerian culture, population, environmental resources, market niche and an enclave economy, all of which are elements believed to aid Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship opportunity (Jensen and Portes, 1992; Neuman, 2016).

The average age of Nigerians in Ireland is 26.6 years, with one in four aged 15 years or younger. There are more females than males and over 50% are married. Roman Catholicism is the main religion (26%), followed by Pentecostalism (19%). Less than 1% of Nigerians claim to have no religion. Nearly 38% of Nigerians aged 15 or over are in employment (50% of males and 30% of females) (CSO Census Data, 2016), with 31% looking for their first job or unemployed. These are alarming statistics when compared to national figures. For example, in the Blanchardstown (Dublin 15) area, Tyrrelstown had an unemployment rate of 25.9% while the rate in Mulhuddart and Coolmine stood at almost 17%. These rates were significantly in excess of an area average of 11.13% and a national average of 8.5% (CSO, 2016). The dominant work sectors for employment are health and social work, while almost 30% of Nigerians have a third-level qualification (31% in social sciences, business or law and 14% in health). Of the Africans profiled in the CSO 2016 census, Nigerians are the most urbanised, with a third of them living in towns with a population of 10,000 or more. Only 4% of Nigerians live in rural Ireland (CSO, 2016) and the majority of Nigerians live in rented private accommodation.

4. Research Methodology

The study focused on a small enclave community and adopted an objective, in-depth micro approach, which involved the use of a small data sample (Cunliffe, 2011). Hence, 11 in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted within the Nigerian community in the Blanchardstown area of Dublin. Central to the reasoning for the use of an in-depth qualitative interview approach was the strong evidence from the literature review suggesting that a qualitative approach was best for describing, interpreting, contextualising and gaining in-depth insight into specific concepts or phenomena (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Saunders and Lewis, 2012). The decision to use 11 interviews were based on two grounds: (1) Cunliffe (2011) highlighted the advantage of an objective in-depth micro approach which uses its ability to employ a small sample data for analysis in order to draw deep insights into the research question; and (2) Rao, Glickman and Glynn (2008) argued that the emergence of uniformity across the data being gathered (i.e. strong similarities to previously generated data) suggested that

additional data collection would no longer elicit new knowledge and that data collection should, therefore, move towards a conclusion. Data collection ceased in this study after the eleventh interview when newly generated data were clearly similar to previously generated data. The in-depth interviews were based on strong evidence from the reviewed literature that environment, infrastructures and resources are fundamental to immigrant activity formation, and so the interview questions for this study were designed to understand the essential elements that support enclaves and Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship activities, plus the possible consequences when an enclave fails to provide these elements in an immigrant's Country of Residence.

4.1. Case Selection and Analysis

The interview questions for the study were designed to invite participants in a sensitive fashion to talk about their business activities. Nigerians residing in Blanchardstown hold their culture close to their heart and rarely give information regarding their businesses to people from outside their enclave community. Adopting an 'insider' approach to questioning enabled open conversations between the primary researcher and the interviewees. In order to gain a better insight into their activities, the interviews were conducted on the participants' own business premises. The primary researcher selected the exponential discriminative snowball sampling technique for sampling the participants. This approach invited each interviewee to nominate two other Nigerian transnational diaspora entrepreneurs for interview. This process greatly reduced the difficulty of gaining the trust of the enclave entrepreneurs that were secured for interview since personal introductions were used to gain access to new interviewees.

To correlate the applied theories and dataset, a comparative thematic analysis (TA) was used for the identification of patterns or themes within the dataset. Employing TA helps in choosing elements to be compared and contrasted, as well as articulating the grounds for comparison and explaining the flow of the argument (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The analysis begins with listing and counting all the combinations of variables observed in the theories and dataset, followed by applying the rules of logical inference to determine which descriptive inferences or implications are supported by the data. The main focus was to examine how the dataset, frameworks and theories applied to this study helped answer the research question. On completion of the 11 interviews, the collected data were transcribed, then read and re-read to ensure greater understanding and clarity, and finally the data were imported into NVivo.

The challenges faced when using software like NVivo for data organising include creating appropriately labelled folders and deciding which information should be moved into which folder. It is important to underline that NVivo was not used for coding, but rather for organising the data into a more manageable

form. In order to facilitate linking the collected data with the reviewed literature, three folders were created and labelled as 'Enclave Environment', 'Infrastructures' and 'Resources'. This phase was pivotal in the process of data organisation as it provided the researchers with further insight into the data corpus, comparing elements from both the literature review and the dataset. At the conclusion of this phase, a transcript of each interview was reviewed and, by clicking 'Memo Link' in NVivo, links were created between the folders and the transcribed interviews. Switching between the dataset and the folders facilitated identifying which material belonged in which data node, while doing this allowed for the present study to draw out the critical findings.

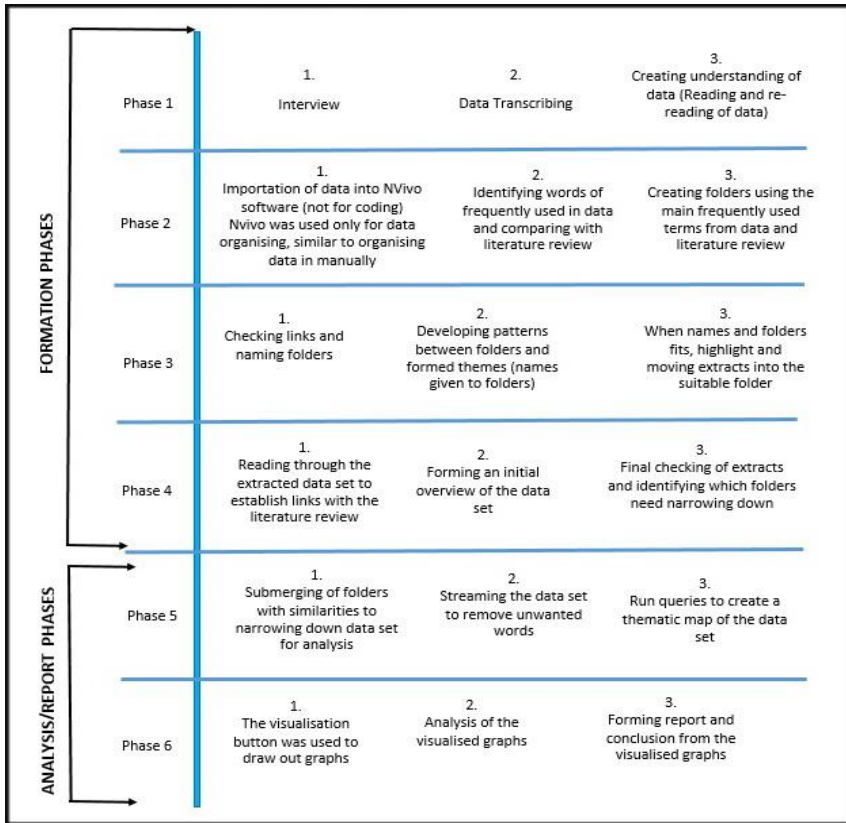
4.2. Data Reduction and Analytical Approach

The analytical process employed in this article involved a progression from description, where the data were organised to show patterns in semantic content and simplified for interpretation, to searching for patterns of meaning and implications in the dataset related to findings in the reviewed literature (Patton, 1990; Frith and Gleeson, 2004). The qualitative data obtained during the interview was analysed by means of the thematic analysis technique using the NVivo software for data organisation (not for coding). The main purpose of this method is to capture something important from the data collected in relation to the research area. For research like this involving thematic analysis, the six phases approach proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006) was adopted: (1) familiarisation with the data; (2) creating the initial folders; (3) combining folders into overarching themes; (4) searching for themes; (5) defining and naming themes; and (6) producing the final report. Figure 1 below details the application of Braun and Clarke's six phases of thematic analysis for the present study.

As shown in Figure 1, in Phase 1, the primary collected data was read and re-read in order to become familiar with the detail of the data. In Phase 2, the process of primary data familiarisation carried out in Phase 1 resulted in an understanding of how well the dataset corresponds with the elements of pluralities in the literature reviewed. This process of data familiarisation allows the researcher to pay specific attention to patterns in the primary dataset and to create folders along with a description of elements of plurality in the literature reviewed. In this phase, folders were created using themes such as 'Community', 'Culture' and 'Trust' which were then submitted as sub-folders of 'Environment', 'Capital', 'Entrepreneurial Experience', 'Opportunity', 'Support', 'Policy' and 'Regulation'. At this stage, the goal was to generate the initial folders by documenting where and how patterns occur. This happens through data reduction when the researcher collapses data into labels in order to create categories for more efficient analysis. Data complication is also completed here as this process

involves the researcher making decisions regarding what information should go into each of the created folders.

Figure 1: Braun and Clarke’s Six Phases of Thematic Analysis — Application to Present Study

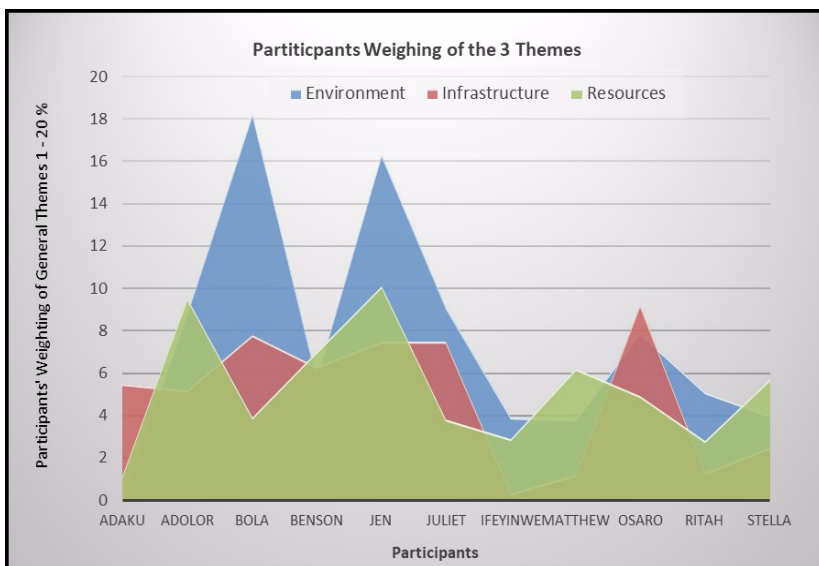


In Phase 3, with the completion of the folder formation and the creation of links between the transcribed data and the folders, the data corpus was organised into potential themes. This phase involves gathering all data relevant to each potential theme and placing them in a separate container or node into which the extracted data fits. This part of the process involved the researcher reading through the data, highlighting extracts from the data and moving the highlighted extracts into folders that aligned with the extracted part of the data. For example, when an interviewee spoke about a Country of Origin experience, the comments were assigned to the ‘entrepreneurial background folder’. On completion of Phase 3, the study had a first overview of the data, which suggested that the folder labels were too broad and needed narrowing down to allow for coherent analysis. Phase 4 involved assembling the data in new ways in order to establish connections between categories produced in the previous phases. This helped to condense the data corpus into broader categories.

In Phase 5, sub-themes similar in meaning were then linked together for collective analysis. Sub-themes such as ‘Structural Support’, ‘Market’, ‘Government Policies and Agencies’ were grouped under ‘Infrastructures’. Using the NVivo word frequency stop button, unwanted words were excluded from the data set before running each query. Saldana (2016) described this process as real to abstract and from the particular to the general. Using the NVivo software helped to identify relationships and patterns in the data set. In Phase 6, the researchers wrote the report and decided which themes made meaningful contributions to understanding what is happening within the data. Here the study went back to conduct “member checking”. This is where the researchers go back to the sample to see if the views of the participants are accurately representing the dataset.

Following the Braun and Clarke (2006) thematic analysis process, the study organised the data obtained from the interviewees into three main folders (environment, infrastructures and resources) using the NVivo software. The process of data organisation through NVivo started by using folders and subfolders which were later merged with folders similar to the subfolder. For an understanding of the status placed on the three themes by the participants, using the NVivo word frequency stop button, unwanted words were excluded from the dataset before running each query. Using the NVivo software helped to identify relationships and patterns in the dataset. Thus, through data classification, narrowing and the identification of shared attributes, there gradually emerged a consistent interpretation of the data regarding participants’ views on the significance of enclave support for Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship activity (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Graphic Projection of Participants Weighing of the 3 Themes



As shown in Figure 2, the variations in preferences in the analysed dataset show that enclaves support Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship activity for a variety of reasons. Thus, the indicators highlight that Environment occupies a pivotal position in TDE opportunity formation which suggests that TDE activity may be reduced when an enclave fails to support TDE activity. Presenting the data in graphic format allows the study to put a value on each of the participants' weightings of the general themes identified in the literature reviewed. The analysis began with listing and counting all the combinations of variables observed in the theories and dataset, followed by applying the rules of logical inference to determine which descriptive inferences or implications the data supported.

The main focus of the analysis sought to interpret how the research questions correlated with the dataset and theories applied to this study. To understand how immigrant enclaves can support TDE activity and to draw out the possible consequences when an enclave fails to support TDE activity, the dataset was analysed to explore how the presence of Environment, Infrastructures and Resources create opportunities that may evolve into TDE activity. The idea was to compare enclave Environment to Infrastructures and Resources to establish which of the three Country of Origin cultural elements is an essential requirement for the undertaking of TDE activity. To do this, a query was run on 'the role of Country of Origin cultural elements' in order to ascertain whether the presence of their Country of Origin cultural elements played a role in motivating TDE activities. However, the data strongly suggested that without the support that an enclave environment provides, then TDE activity would be near impossible. While other factors are regarded as playing an important role, the presence of Country of Origin enclave Environment, Infrastructures and Resources were essential regarding the formation and completion of TDE activity.

5. Findings

In this section, the study explores the three key themes that emerged from the interview transcripts on the possible consequences of an enclave failing to support Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship. To provide a robust and aggregated finding, the study employed a comparative narrative analysis of immigrant enclaves and TDE theories and drew evidence from a primary dataset to explore this occurrence. The justification for this approach was provided in the section addressing Research Methodology. As highlighted previously, Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship activity is considered as those settled immigrants that undertake entrepreneurship and invest in opportunities in their Country of Residence and Country of Origin (Neuman, 2016; Osaghae, 2020) and an immigrant enclave is an environment that allows for the use of ethnic culture to facilitate relational reciprocity and trust that encourages immigrants to engage

in entrepreneurial activity (Berry et al., 2006). These characterisations create an understanding that the absence of the immigrant Country of Origin cultural predispositions such as Environment, Infrastructures and Resources within a specific geographical area will decrease TDE activity.

5.1. Dataset on Enclave Environment

The study asked respondents about the importance of an immigrant concentration to their start-up and the transcending of entrepreneurial activity across multiple borders. The study found that a key determinant of entrepreneurship opportunity formation was the concentrated presence of Nigerians in the Blanchardstown area. Additionally, concentration allows for the conservation of significant elements of their Country of Origin culture and facilitates entrepreneurial activity that would otherwise have been impossible. Comments from some participants align with Bourdieu (1977) and Neuman's (2016) views that environment is an essential element that facilitates an immigrant's entrepreneurial activity in a specific geographical area. Some representative extracts on environment from the data are shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Extracts on Environment

Sample Dataset: Extracts on Environment	
Participants	Views
Adolor, Benson, Juliet and Ifeyinwe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Blanchardstown gives people from Nigeria resources for a start-up, provided the population that encourages start-up. The coming together of Nigerians in Blanchardstown is <u>important to starting our business</u>
Jen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The presence of a large number of Nigerians increases the number of businesses
Bola	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Having the Nigerian environment here, gave me the knowledge of what to do
Adaku	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Environment is an essential element that facilitates immigrant's activity in a specific geographical area
Ritah	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The large number of Nigerians here allows me to travel between Nigeria and Ireland, so at the moment I have a high level of business deals between Ireland and Nigeria
Adaku	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Blanchardstown provided the infrastructures and opportunity to mix with the people from my country, to have contact with fellow Nigerians and associate more with people from my country, which allow me to know and understand their needs

The data suggests that an immigrant Country of Origin environment engenders trustworthiness and encourages bonding between individuals from the same immigrant background. This concentration of immigrants from a similar cultural background encourages bonding, which then serves as a means of

protection for the enclave market and reduces fear of failure for the enclave entrepreneur.

The present study highlighted that human and social capital within the Blanchardstown enclave created an immigrant economy, trustworthiness, bonding and start-up opportunity for the Nigerians. When this happens, an enclave environment becomes a social field of interplay which facilitates a high level of interaction that, in turn, generates immigrant resources and enables Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship opportunity (Bourdieu, 1977; Sanon et al., 2016; Aluko et al., 2019). The relevance of enclave environmental features to Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship are the structures and resources that it creates to facilitate interaction between an individual entrepreneur and their enclave community. Furthermore, this finding suggests that in addition to the environment that an enclave provides, Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship is made possible by the available Resources and Infrastructures in a specific geographical area in the diaspora Country of Residence.

5.2. Dataset on Infrastructures

On Infrastructures the question asked was to determine the role of structural supports, markets, human and social capital within an immigrant enclave, as well as government policies and agencies relating to enclave entrepreneurial activity (Leighton, 2015). Representative extracts on Infrastructures from the interviews are highlighted in Table 2.

Table 2: Extracts on Infrastructures

Sample Dataset: Extracts on Infrastructure	
Participants	Views
Osaro	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I understand them and their needs and how best to do business with people within the community
Adolor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trust within the community brings group interaction; group interaction brings people together and also leads to an environment where everyone can prosper
Ifeyinwe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> At the time I had no real knowledge of the available support infrastructures, but some friends within the community helped me
Jen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The key to my starting a business was being in an area that encourages patronage, provides support and identifies with my business
Stella	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Blanchardstown provided the infrastructures and opportunity to mix with the people from my country, to have contact with fellow Nigerians and associate more with people from my country, which allow me to know and understand their needs

As shown in Table 2 above, the participants viewed the availability of supportive infrastructures as an activity driving enclave start-ups and

Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship activity. The literature review suggests that the level of personal commitment to ethnic culture and national identity determine how much individuals associate with their own culture (Berry et al., 2006; Vedder and Van de Vijver, 2006; Hofstede, 2007). Massey and Fischer (2000) suggested that Country of Origin cultural elements such as shared beliefs, values and norms increase the likelihood of immigrants engaging in entrepreneurial activity. In the present study, participants described Infrastructures as an essential element that creates community support, a market, population and an environment for business. Immigrant entrepreneurs endowed with a high level of human capital in a specific geographical area are more likely to deliver consistent and high-quality services. To do this, human, financial and social capital within the enclave helped the immigrant entrepreneurs to be consistent and transcend entrepreneurial activity beyond their enclave environment.

The analysed data indicates that most of the participants relied on personal savings and help from friends in order to provide start-up capital. This reliance on funding through an enclave community validates the importance of an enclave in immigrant entrepreneurship and in TDE activity (Peroni et al., 2016). Andersson and Larsson (2016) and Spigel (2017) contended that the culture of a place is a key component for creating and sustaining supportive environmental activity. Mason (2009), Griffiths et al. (2009), Ram et al. (2017), Vasin et al. (2020) and Gamidullaeva et al. (2020) mentioned that existing bureaucracy can inhibit entrepreneurship development. They argued that the relationship between new firm formation and regional development is shaped by policy implementation and suggested that policy was a key driver of immigrant activities. Immigrant entrepreneurs endowed with a high level of human capital are more likely to deliver consistent and high-quality services. Human, financial and social capital within the enclave helped the immigrant entrepreneurs to transcend entrepreneurial activity beyond their enclave environment.

5.3. Dataset on Resources

On Resources, the interviewer enquired how the available Country of Origin resources in a Country of Residence aids an immigrant's entrepreneurial activity. The findings show that co-ethnic network ties (particularly community network ties) are essential to the identification of enclave business opportunities. As found in the literature reviewed, socio-cultural factors embedded within an enclave facilitate immigrant start-ups and subsequent business development (Light and Bonacich, 1988; Greene et al., 1997; Carbonell et al., 2014). Adler and Kwon (2002) suggested that Resources may be tangible (e.g. a loan provided by one family member to another) or intangible (e.g. information about the location of new business potential). In the case of the Blanchardstown enclave, the findings

suggest that Nigerian cultural predispositions (networking, ethnicity, human, physical, financial and social capital) help to create an environment and market niche for immigrant entrepreneurial activity. Representative extracts on Resources are shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Extracts on Resources

Sample Dataset: Extracts on Resources	
Participants	Views
Juliet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The presence of our national culture here helps us to establish good business relationship with the community
Osaro	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Our enterprise would probably have been impossible without the network of relationships generated within the enclave
Matthew	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Large presence of my own people makes it impossible for non-enclave person to enter the market
Ifeyinwe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> They buy from me because I understand how to deal with them culturally
Rital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Our type of business required a community presence to survive
Bola	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It helps a lot to have a large population of Nigerians around here Blanchardstown provides lots of resources and infrastructure that aids start-up

The dataset extracts align with the reviewed literature which suggests that the concentration of immigrants in a specific geographical area supports enclave entrepreneurship by making available a range of human and material resources (Conway and Jones, 2012; Neuman, 2016). As Ram et al. (2012) found in their study of African and Asia businesses in the United Kingdom, an increase in an ethnically defined population leads to an increase in the rate of start-ups and this is the experience of the Nigerian enclave in Blanchardstown also. These discussions also provide evidence that a reduction in the inflow of immigrant resources (e.g. human capital) will reduce Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship activity in a Country of Residence.

6. Discussion

In entrepreneurship literature, immigrant entrepreneurship opportunity formation is generally concerned with the resources and infrastructures that are found within a specific geographical area in an immigrant’s Country of Residence. Previous studies have been used to analyse their roles in immigrant start-ups and venture growth, but less attention has been given to the possible consequences when an enclave environment fails to support Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship activity. To explore the possible consequences, the study took a two-fold approach. First, it sought to establish the theoretical linkages between enclaves

and transnational diaspora activity, while the second was to explore the impact of an enclave on TDE activity. In the case analysis, three main elements (Environment, Infrastructures and Resources) were found to be decisive in enclave support for Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship. First, the case analysis demonstrates that enclaves allow immigrants to demonstrate a positive emotional bonding with other immigrants in the community, a bond that creates opportunities for an entrepreneurial individual to engage in transnational entrepreneurship (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Marcuse, 1997; Portes and Manning, 2006; Neuman, 2016). With respect to environment, the participants view an enclave environment as an essential element that facilitates an immigrant's activity in a specific geographical area. In this form, an enclave becomes a place for bonding, networking and an enabler of Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship activity. Burke (2011), Toutain et al. (2017) and Davidsson et al. (2017) described enablers as factors that aid the formation of an activity. In this case, an enclave becomes a factor for the successful implementation of Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship activity, a strategy and process for reducing failure, enhancement of opportunity and a place where immigrants can act as if in their Country of Origin. As found in the dataset and in previous studies, the Country of Origin culture found within the enclave most often provides the market protection that discourages the mainstream population from entering the immigrant market (Toutain et al., 2017). The over-dependence on an immigrant environment differentiates TDE activity from the mainstream population entrepreneurship activity, hence the suggestion that TDE activity will demise when an enclave fails to protect and bring together the Country of Origin culture in a specific geographical area within a Country of Residence.

As per infrastructures and resources, the case analysis shows that a large population of immigrants in a specific geographical area provides the right environment, people, business ideas, market and the chance to explore one's own business knowledge. Hence, the study asserts that, in addition to the role of environment in Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship, infrastructures and human capital within a specific area also influence the ability of TDE practitioners to engage in cross-border entrepreneurship. An immigrant's Country of Origin cultural resources and infrastructures may facilitate or inhibit a capacity for innovation or risk-taking behaviour that is part of immigrant entrepreneurship. The availability of Country of Origin cultural resources in an enclave environment allows an immigrant entrepreneur to build trust and expand personal networks and benefit from the use of socio-cultural capital that they do not own. In an enclave environment, networks are used to establish relationships between individuals, groups and organisations, while social capital is enhanced through relationships that exist between individuals within the immigrant community. Social capital is a resource upon which people draw and is developed through networks and connectedness to increase trust and ability to work together as a

member of a formalised group bounded by mutual agreement, common norms and exchanges that facilitate business co-operation.

In seeking to establish the theoretical linkages between an enclave and Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship, the understanding from the dataset is that an immigrant's Country of Origin cultural predispositions within an enclave can be an important facilitating factor for TDE activity. This leads to the suggestion that the link between Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship and an enclave lies in the ability of an enclave to provide TDE practitioners with the essential Environment, Resources and Infrastructures to engage in TDE activity. Regarding the impact of an enclave on Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship, the conclusion drawn from the dataset and literature reviewed was that the lack of immigrant cultural elements in any form in a specific geographical location hinders entrepreneurial activity. For example, Africans have been present in Ireland since the 18th Century, but it was not until the early 2000s, when there was a rapid rise in immigration from Nigeria and their subsequent concentration in parts of Dublin, that a high level of immigrant entrepreneurial activity emerged. Data extracted from our interviews suggested that the emergence of the Country of Origin cultural environment and the Nigerian demographic characteristics in Blanchardstown were the main enticements to TDE activity. The conclusion drawn from the case analysis is that, had there been the Nigerian cultural environment and demographics before the early 2000s, then Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship activity to Nigeria would likely have occurred previously in Ireland.

It is interesting to note that the study found that the implementation of diaspora reintegration policies increases diaspora entrepreneurship. They also improve competitiveness, ensure environmental protection and promote education programmes that nourish a positive attitude towards entrepreneurship. For example, in China and Mexico, the enactment of a policy whereby each diaspora dollar invested in Country of Origin development is matched by a dollar each from federal, state and local government, has increased the inflow of diaspora investment in both countries (Portes and Fernández-Kelly, 2015). Observing Ireland as a Country of Origin with its own large diaspora (rather than as a Country of Residence for immigrants), the enactment of such diaspora-friendly policies could have a significant positive impact on the national economy. Generally speaking, national governments should consider policies to strengthen cultural and commercial relations with their respective diasporas in order to increase their economic and social contribution to the development of their Country of Origin.

Overall, the results of this study suggest that the lack of Country of Origin cultural elements and environmental support that an enclave provides disables immigrant business creation and the transcending of entrepreneurial activity between an immigrant's Country of Residence and Country of Origin. In particular, while enclave support for Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship

activity is highlighted in the current literature, it lacks clarity on the possible consequences when an enclave fails to support Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship.

7. Conclusion

Both the dataset and the literature review indicate that a place for immigrants to continue to behave as if in their Country of Origin environment enables Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship and that the lack of an immigrant cultural environment in a Country of Residence disables TDE activities. Thus, the article contributes to knowledge gaps by suggesting that TDE activity is dependent upon the level of infrastructures and cultural elements present in an enclave and that the failure of enclaves to provide these elements will decrease TDE activity. The findings suggest that an accommodating enclave environment supports TDE activity by providing market protection and other forms of support. The dataset and literature suggest that the presence of an immigrant's cultural resources and demographics in a specific geographical area allow TDE practitioners to use their cultural understanding to build markets. Arguably, this is made possible by an understanding of the immigrants' cultural ways of life by the TDE practitioners.

Findings from the comparative analysis between the dataset and literature reviewed support the claim that the current form of Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship is policy driven and that without policies that allow for immigrants' settlement in a specific area, then Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship will cease. Additionally, Ottaviano and Peri (2006) and Kemeny and Cooke (2018) claimed that natives may not enjoy living in a multi-cultural environment if they feel that their own cultural values are being endangered and the implication of the present study is that governments should enact integration policies that promote co-living for the native-born population and immigrants. As found in the case of the community in Blanchardstown (where the five dominant immigrant countries are Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Nigeria), co-living has increased community interaction and settlement. Finally, the conclusion drawn from this study is that the failure of an enclave to provide a Country of Origin environment in a Country of Residence will decrease Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship activity. The limitation to the present study lies in its inability to use a large sample data set and therefore future research should seek to set up a large study to identify ways in which an immigrant enclave can support TDE activity and the social benefits of Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurship within a national context.

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