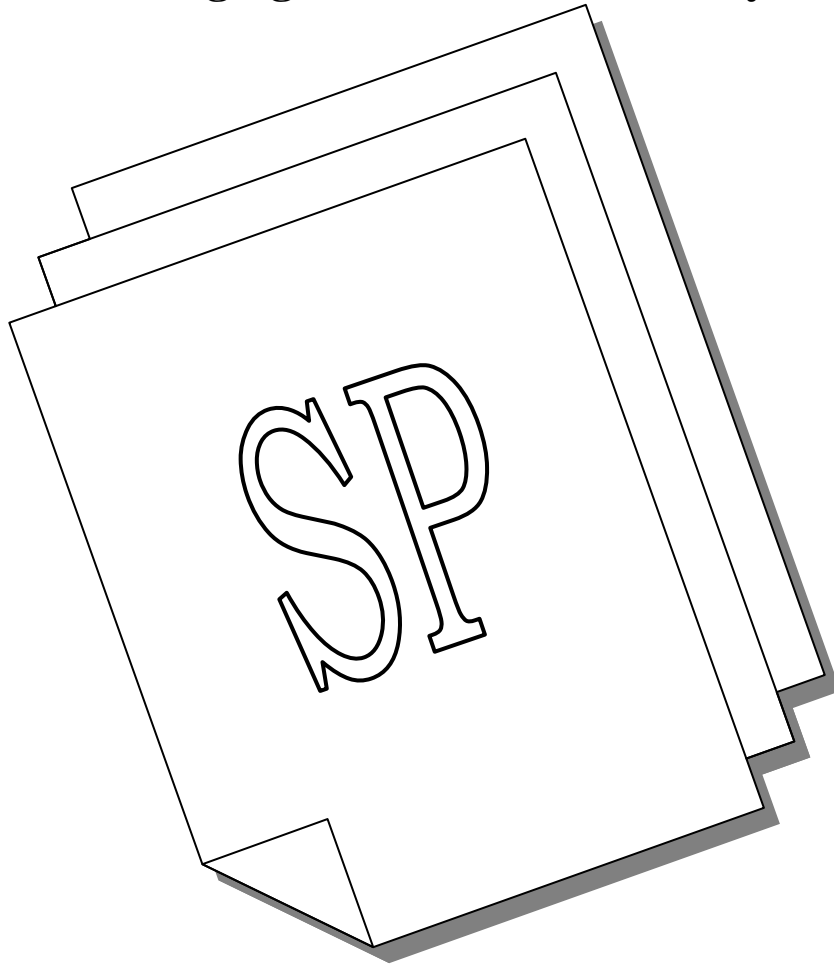


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Immigrant Women's Entrepreneurship¹

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the impact of gender and immigrant status on entrepreneurial activities of FSU immigrants. This study investigates whether immigrant women entrepreneurs experience a double disadvantage regarding resources, ongoing business operations and business outcomes. The target research population consisted of Israeli-born and FSU immigrant entrepreneurs who came to Israel between 1989 and 2005 and were operating businesses at the time of the study. 153 FSU immigrant and 214 Israel-born business owners were surveyed, including four groups: immigrant women and men, Israeli-born women and men. The study found many gender-based differences among Israeli-born entrepreneurs, whereas immigrant women were similar to immigrant men. All immigrant entrepreneurs (both women and men) draw on poorer resource base than Israeli-born men entrepreneurs. The barriers encountered by immigrant women in their current business operations are ethnicity-specific and not gender-specific. To conclude, immigrant women entrepreneurs are disadvantaged because they are part of an immigrant group and not because of their gender; thus, they do not experience a double disadvantage.

Introduction

The phenomenon of entrepreneurship among immigrant groups can be seen as highly significant when viewed in terms of local economic development processes and social change. Entrepreneurship is a salient route of economic advancement and mobility for immigrants (Light and Gold, 2000). Immigrants in general – and immigrant women especially – usually encounter difficulties entering the host country's labor market. Consequently, the unemployment level of this group is often high and the income is respectively low (Light, 2007). In Israel, the average income of FSU immigrant households is 35% less than that of non-immigrant households. The average wage per hour of FSU women is just two-thirds that of FSU men and their unemployment rate is 1.5% higher (Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, 2002, 2003).

Self-employment of immigrants is a viable alternative employment solution – especially for women. Global developments that have occurred over the past years have caused major cultural changes, creating new gender roles for women in the labor market (Inglehart and Baker, 2000). A similar tendency can be identified for entrepreneurship. Throughout the world, over the last twenty years the growth rate of female entrepreneurs has outpaced that of males (Constant, 2004). In Australia,

¹ The findings of this study were presented at the conference "Dialogue and Gender in Israel" in the Bar-Ilan University, 25 January 2007.

between 40 to 50 percent of female entrepreneurs are first or second generation immigrants (Collins, 2000). In the USA, in 2000 immigrant women were business owners at a rate of 8.3 percent, compared to 6.2 percent among native-born women (Pearce, 2005).

In many countries, immigrant entrepreneurs are more prone to entrepreneurial activities than the natives (Loftstrom, 1999). Yet, the entrepreneurship rate of FSU immigrants in Israel is lower than that of the non-immigrant population: while entrepreneurs (self-employed individuals) constitute 11.8% of the Israeli labor force, the share of entrepreneurs among FSU immigrants of working age is barely 5% (Ministry of Industry, Trade and Labor of Israel, 2003). The majority of Israeli entrepreneurs engaged in trade (23.3% of self-employed and 31.6% of small employers), services (33.2% and 24.8%), production and construction (14.1% and 23.8%). The shares of Israeli entrepreneurs engaged in agriculture, transport and communication are relatively small (Ministry of Industry, Trade and Labor, 2001). FSU immigrant entrepreneurs are overrepresented in retail trade (41.0%) and services (53.5%), underrepresented in production and construction (2.3%), and almost absent in agriculture (Yearbook of Immigrants in Israel 2006). Women own nearly one-third of Israeli businesses and one-half of FSU immigrant businesses (Ministry of Industry, Trade and Labor, 2001; Heilbrunn and Kushnirovich, 2007). Thus, although a small minority of former Soviet immigrants are self-employed, business ownership is equally divided between men and women.

The purpose of this study is to examine the impact of gender and immigrant status on entrepreneurship characteristics, testing the hypothesis that immigrant women entrepreneurs may be at a double disadvantage regarding resources, ongoing business operations and business outcomes.

Literature review

Female entrepreneurship has been a popular research topic over a last decade (Aldrich, 1989; Loscocco et al., 1991; Fischer et al., 1993; Lernthal, 1996; Mirchandani, 1999; Coleman, 2000; Lerner and Almor, 2002; Sandberg, 2003; Irwin and Scott, 2007; Light, 2007). Some of these studies draw on the theories of liberal and social feminism in order to analyze the differences between male and female entrepreneurs (Fisher et al., 1993). While social feminism stresses internal factors as explanatory variables for gender-based differences, liberal feminism posits that external factors rooted in discrimination and existing social structures prevent women from recruiting the necessary resources and influencing business outcomes. Other studies focused on female entrepreneurship and immigrant business ventures in general, but only a few discussed the joint impact of gender and immigrant status. Some studies posited that women and immigrants are disadvantaged business groups and investigated them separately, not focusing on immigrant women as a special group (Fairlie, 2005; Irwin and Scott, 2007). Immigrant entrepreneurship is often described as ethnic entrepreneurship or ethnic economy (Light and Bonacich, 1988; Waldinger et al., 1990; Light and Rosenstein, 1995; Light and Isralowitz, 1997) with the emphasis on economic and social implications of this activity and its role in immigrant integration. Menzies et al. (2000), reviewing 80 studies in the ethnic minority literature from 1988 to 2000, found only three studies devoted to female entrepreneurship. Since 2000 this issue became more popular: some of the recent studies discussing immigrant and ethnic entrepreneurship specifically focus on women entrepreneurs (Constant, 2004; Smith-Hunter and Engelhardt, 2004; Pearce,

2005; Light, 2007) but still there is a lack of gender specificity in the literature on immigrant entrepreneurs.

Some theoretical models of immigrant entrepreneurship do exist; thus, Waldinger et al. (1990) united several determinants of ethnic entrepreneurship into a single multivariate model. They viewed opportunity structures as interacting with group characteristics to generate specific outcomes. Emphasis was also given to the ways in which migration networks facilitate business operations. Yet this model is not concerned with the gender aspect of entrepreneurship. The OREO model (Kesavan, 2003) postulated a circular relationship between the four principal components common to all successful ventures – Opportunity, Resources, Entrepreneurs and the Organization (OREO). The basic theory behind this model of immigrant entrepreneurship is as follows: the pursuit of opportunities created by structural changes in the global economy, when backed by relevant resources, and directed by able entrepreneurs capable of creating the necessary organization, will most likely be rewarded by market forces. Although these models deal with the subject of immigrant entrepreneurship, none related to gender on a conceptual level.

We found few references to the interaction between gender and ethnicity in the existing literature. According to Light (2007), there are serious parallels between immigrant and women entrepreneurs: women entrepreneurs reduce women's earnings inferiority just as ethnic minority entrepreneurs reduce the earnings inferiority of co-ethnics (Light, 2007). Some studies have found that gender does not appear to be a salient factor in the differences between female and male immigrant entrepreneurs (Collins, 2000). Lohmann (2001) found that gender differences are more pronounced across countries than within countries, or in other words, ethnicity has a stronger impact than gender. Other studies found that ethnic business ventures are gender specific with women occupying the niches that are less lucrative (Dallalfar, 1994) and that immigrant women are more disadvantaged than immigrant men and are also more disadvantaged than non-immigrant women (Smith-Hunter and Enqelhardt, 2004). Thus, some researchers have asserted that immigrant women are at a "double disadvantage", first as immigrants and second as women (Boyd, 1984).

Prior studies on immigrant women in Israel investigating interaction between gender and ethnicity revealed that both gender and the home society's level of traditionalism influence immigrant women's incorporation in the host labor market. According to Rajzman and Semyonov (1997), immigrant women from traditional societies are triply disadvantaged: first, as women, second as immigrants, and third as immigrants from less developed countries. Lerner, Menahem and Hisrich (2005) in their study on immigrant entrepreneurs in Israel also showed that government support is more important for members of the disadvantaged groups of women and immigrants from the Asian (traditional) countries.

In the FSU, women's participation in the labor market was one of the highest in the world. During soviet times women (and men) had little opportunity to engage in business, but after 1991, with the start of Russia's radical transition to the market, women massively turned to private entrepreneurship. By 1996, already one-third of all self-employed in Russia were women. The majority of them engaged in trade and services such as tailoring, repair, cleaning, day-care and student tutoring (Izyumov and Razumnova, 2000; Wells et al, 2003). Socialization of FSU women in their home countries was relatively egalitarian, helping them integrate and acculturate in Israel in

a less gendered way than immigrants from more traditional societies (Remennick, 2005).

Studies on female entrepreneurship have concentrated on gender differences particularly with regard to resources, barriers encountered by entrepreneurs, business networks and business outcomes. Business minorities such as women and minority or immigrant entrepreneurs are often at a disadvantage in obtaining the necessary resources for setting up businesses. Female entrepreneurs are further disadvantaged in terms of human capital because of a lack of education and experience when compared with male entrepreneurs (Constant, 2004; Heilbrunn, 2004; Hisrich, 1989; Loscocco et al., 1991; Mirchandani, 1999). However, Collins (2000) in his study on ethnic entrepreneurs in Australia rejected the view that female ethnic entrepreneurs possess inferior or inadequate educational experience. Most studies on women-owned businesses stress that they are smaller in terms of number of employees and start-up capital than businesses owned by men (Heilbrunn, 2004; Loscocco et al., 1991; Verheul, 2001). Other studies found that women from ethnic minority groups have larger numbers of employees than their native-born counterparts (Smith-Hunter and Enqelhardt, 2004).

Immigrants and women entrepreneurs encounter more barriers in ongoing business operations than do native-born women and immigrant men. Immigrant women have difficulties in obtaining initial capital (Constant, 2004; DeCarlo and Lyons, 1979; Inman, 1999; Pearce, 2005; Rowley, 2004), are confronted with language barriers (Rowley, 2004) and encounter problems due to the necessity to also fulfill home responsibilities (Collins, 2000).

Entrepreneur networks assist in the creation and successful operation of businesses by providing sources of customers, loyal employees, and financing (Aldrich et al., 1990; Menzies et al., 2000). Entrepreneurs create business networks on the basis of trust and mutual understanding. Such understandings can exist between people with similar immigrant backgrounds or similar genders. Some researchers stressed the importance of race and gender specific networks in the business activity (Boyd, 1996). According to Light (2007), women employers hire women in preference to men just as immigrant employers hire co-ethnics in preference to others. Other researchers (Pearce, 2005) revealed that most immigrant women entrepreneurs have a native-born client base.

A lack of resources constrains business growth. Many studies stressed that women entrepreneurs are less successful than their male counterparts and businesses owned by women grow more slowly than those owned by men (Aldrich, 1989; Lerner and Almor, 2002; Loscocco et. al., 1991; Verheul, 2001). Thus a summary of the literature reveals that women entrepreneurs invest lesser start-up capital, employ fewer workers, encounter more barriers in ongoing business operations and tend to create ethnic and gender oriented business networks. All these factors imply that businesses owned by women grow more slowly than businesses owned by men.

The study

Current study is informed by a theoretical outlook that posits that the main elements of the entrepreneurial process are resources (labor and capital), ongoing business operations and business outcomes. It focuses on the impact of gender and immigrant status (the entrepreneur's affiliation to an immigrant group) on the entrepreneurial process, relating in particular to differences in business resources, barriers to ongoing

business operations, networks of business clients and business growth. The study deals with the following research questions:

- ◆ Do immigrant women entrepreneurs use fewer business resources than other groups of entrepreneurs?
- ◆ What are the barriers encountered by immigrant women entrepreneurs in ongoing business operations and are these barriers ethnicity- and gender-specific?
- ◆ Are the client networks of immigrant women entrepreneurs ethnically or gender oriented?
- ◆ Is the growth of immigrant women's businesses slower than that of businesses owned by immigrant men and Israeli-born women's?

In order to show how gender and immigrant status affect immigrant female entrepreneurship, our study focuses upon four groups of entrepreneurs:

- ◆ Immigrant women entrepreneurs
- ◆ Immigrant men entrepreneurs
- ◆ Israeli-born women entrepreneurs
- ◆ Israeli-born men entrepreneurs

Method

Data collection

The target research population consisted of two groups of entrepreneurs: Israeli-born and FSU immigrant entrepreneurs² who came to Israel between 1989 and 2005 and were operating businesses at the time they responded to our questionnaire. Based on a combination of convenience and snowball samples, 153 FSU immigrant and 214 Israel-born business owners from all regions of Israel and all business spheres were located and surveyed. The questionnaire was presented in the entrepreneurs' native language.

Measures

Variables in our study describe the businesses resources, ongoing business operations and business growth. Variables describing business resources are: the size of start-up capital (categorized on a scale of 1 to 4 – "1" = up to 5,000 NIS; "2" = 5,001–25,000 NIS; "3" = 25,001–100,000 NIS; "4" = 50,001–100,000 NIS, whereas \$1 = 4.2 NIS) and the number of employees (not including the entrepreneur him/herself).

The variables describing ongoing business operations are the barriers encountered by entrepreneurs in their ongoing business operations, and the share of co-ethnic and female business clients. Barriers encountered by entrepreneurs in ongoing business operations were coded as "0" if the entrepreneur did not encounter any and "1" if s/he encountered barriers. All entrepreneurs were asked about the share of female clients in his/her business. Only immigrant entrepreneurs were asked what share of their

² We decided to focus upon immigrant entrepreneurs from the FSU because they constitute about 85% of all immigrants who came to Israel from 1989 up to now.

business clients were immigrants from their origin country. These are continuous variables measured in percentages.

In order to describe the financial growth of the business we developed an index of business growth. This index is similar to the growth index of Lerner and Khavul (2001) that incorporated the firm's profitability, revenues, and number of customers. In our study respondents were asked to assess what happened to their sales revenues, profit, number of customers and number of employees during the past year. The options were they decreased (1), remained the same (2) or increased (3). The reliability coefficient of these four items showed an internal consistency (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.78); therefore, they could be integrated into an index of business growth calculated as a mean value of these variables.

Sample characteristics

Table 1 shows the characteristics of the entrepreneurs and their businesses. Among immigrant entrepreneurs, women own one-half of all businesses, whereas non-immigrant women entrepreneurs own only one-third of non-immigrant businesses. This fact reflects the high entrepreneurial activity of immigrant women. The study found significant differences between immigrant women entrepreneurs and other groups as to education, prior entrepreneurial experience, prior managerial experience, and the number of children. Immigrant women are less educated than immigrant men whereas there are no differences in education among Israeli-born entrepreneurs. Immigrant women have less entrepreneurial experience than other groups. Both immigrant and non-immigrant female entrepreneurs have less managerial experience than men, but among Israeli-born entrepreneurs this difference is more salient.

Although immigrant women entrepreneurs are different from the other three groups in their personal characteristics, there are no differences between the businesses that they set up as to business type and duration of business activity. All (female and male) immigrant entrepreneurs and Israeli-born women are more likely to set up businesses in their home than Israeli-born men. The main reasons for this are the lower expenses (100% of immigrant women gave this reason) and opportunity to integrate work with home commitments (91%). Since the profile of the entrepreneurs and their businesses is very similar to samples of studies conducted by the Israel Ministry of Industry, Trade and Labor, we consider this sample to be representative of the population of Israeli-born and FSU immigrant entrepreneurs.

Results

Impact of gender on business resources

The classic types of resources in economic theory are labor and capital. Table 2 shows the scope of start-up investment in business (capital) and the number of employees (labor). The study revealed that Israeli-born men recruit significantly more resources than Israeli-born women. They invest more capital when setting up their businesses and employ more workers. This confirms the majority of studies in this field, which found that women entrepreneurs have poorer start-up resources for setting up their businesses. The study did not find differences between immigrant women and men and between immigrant and Israeli-born women.

Impact of gender on barriers in ongoing business operations

Respondents were asked about barriers encountered in ongoing business operations. Barriers encountered by entrepreneurs were classified according to whether they were external or internal. External barriers include barriers deriving from the macro economic environment, competition, laws and regulations, availability of information, problems in obtaining permits, and objections from the authorities. Internal barriers include lack of financial capital, language problems, lack of management skills, problems recruiting employees, lack of support from partner/family, problems finding a physical site for the business, and problems with suppliers. Table 3 shows the frequencies and distribution of the barriers.

The main barriers for immigrant women are external, e.g., barriers deriving from the macro economic environment (82%) and competition (47%). These barriers are important for all groups of entrepreneurs. Internal barriers such as lack of management skills, problems with recruiting employees, finding a physical site for the business and problems with suppliers are less important for immigrant women entrepreneurs than for Israeli-born women.

Table 3 shows a lot of significant differences between immigrant and Israeli-born women whereas there are almost no differences between male and female entrepreneurs from the same ethnic groups (immigrants and Israeli-born entrepreneurs). There are only two differences between immigrant men and women: immigrant women reported more barriers deriving from the macro economic environment than immigrant men, but they have fewer problems with suppliers. Hence, barriers in ongoing business operations are affected by immigrant status and not by gender of entrepreneur. The study pointed to a surprising fact that all immigrant entrepreneurs, and particularly women, reported fewer barriers than Israeli-born entrepreneurs.

Networks of business clients

Table 4 shows the characteristics of the business clients of immigrant and non-immigrant entrepreneurs.

The mean share of women clients is significantly larger in the businesses owned by Israeli-born women than that in the businesses owned by Israeli-born men (67% and 45%, respectively). The study did not find significant differences in the share of female clients between immigrant women and men (66% and 52%). Israeli-born entrepreneurs are more likely to create gender based client networks than immigrant entrepreneurs. The study also did not find differences between immigrant men and women entrepreneurs as to the share of immigrant clients from the entrepreneur's origin country (71% of clients in businesses owned by immigrant women and 64% of clients in businesses owned by immigrant men). According to the data of the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics (2005), FSU immigrants comprise 17% of the overall Israeli population, but the concentration of immigrant residents in any single location (town, city etc.) may reach as high as 61.2%. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that they are overrepresented among clients of immigrant businesses. Accordingly, we conclude that all immigrant entrepreneurs, both women and men, are more likely to create ethnic-oriented than gender- oriented networks of clients.

Impact of gender on business outcomes

A univariate linear model analysis was run for the dependent variable “index of growth” when the independent variables were gender and immigrant status (Table 5). Gender was not found to have a statistically significant influence on the index of growth. The factor that was found to influence the index of growth ($F = 12.817$, $\text{Sig.} = 0.000$) is immigrant status. Growth of immigrant businesses was significantly slower than that of businesses owned by Israeli-born entrepreneurs. The influence of the interaction of gender and immigrant status is also not significant.

Hence, immigrant women do not emerge in this study as a double-disadvantage group. Growth of businesses owned by immigrant women is slower than that of Israeli-born women but is not slower than that of immigrant men. Immigrant women entrepreneurs are disadvantaged because they are part of an immigrant group and not because they are women.

Discussion and concluding remarks

The study reaffirmed well-known gender-based differences among immigrant entrepreneurs as to formal education, prior entrepreneurial and managerial experience. Immigrant women are less educated than immigrant men, whereas there are no differences in education between Israeli-born men and women entrepreneurs. Immigrant women in Israel have significantly smaller entrepreneurial experience than three other groups. This can be explained by the lower engagement of FSU women in entrepreneurship in the countries of their origin (Izyumov and Razumnova, 2000). Both immigrant and Israeli-born women have less managerial experience than men. Although immigrant women entrepreneurs are different from other groups, we found no significant differences between the businesses that they set up as to business type and duration of business activity. It seems that the decision regarding what business to set up depends on market opportunities and not on the entrepreneurs’ characteristics.

The study revealed that immigrant entrepreneurs (both men and women) and Israeli-born women invest lesser start-up capital when setting up their businesses and recruit fewer employees than Israeli-born men. The study did not find differences between immigrant women and men and between immigrant and Israeli-born women either regarding capital or in respect to the number of workers. It seems that immigrant women, immigrant men and Israeli-born women entrepreneurs are disadvantaged groups as regards resource mobilization. Thus, gender influences resource recruitment only among Israeli-born entrepreneurs and not among immigrant entrepreneurs.

The main barriers for immigrant women are external barriers (barriers deriving from the macro economic environment and competition). This finding confirms the tenet of liberal feminism, which stresses the influence of the external environment on female entrepreneurship. Internal barriers concerning lack of management and business experience are less important for immigrant women entrepreneurs than for Israeli-born women. The study found a lot of significant differences in barriers between immigrant and Israeli-born women whereas almost no differences between male and female entrepreneurs from the same ethnic groups. Immigrant male and female entrepreneurs encounter similar barriers, but barriers encountered by female entrepreneurs are different depending on their origin. Hence, it appears that barriers encountered by immigrant entrepreneurs in ongoing business operations are ethnicity-specific and not gender-specific.

The study uncovers the interesting fact that immigrant women entrepreneurs reported fewer barriers in ongoing business operations than Israeli-born women. This finding corresponds with the prior studies (Heilbrunn and Kushnirovich, 2007) which found that Israeli non-immigrant entrepreneurs report more problems of all kinds, but coped with them better. This could be explained by cultural and attitudinal differences between Israeli-born and immigrant entrepreneurs. FSU immigrant women realize at the outset that their resources are poorer than those of Israeli-born women; therefore, they expect to counter a lot of obstacles while venturing and are more prepared to face them. Comparing the real problems with the hazards they had anticipated, immigrant entrepreneurs often evaluate them as less serious or just temporary (Heilbrunn and Kushnirovich, 2007).

The study did not find differences between immigrant women and men in their share of female clients, but found that Israeli-born women entrepreneurs tend to have more women clients than Israeli-born men. Hence, Israeli-born entrepreneurs are more likely to create gender based networks of clients than immigrant entrepreneurs. The study showed that the majority of clients of both immigrant women and men entrepreneurs are immigrants from their origin country. Women immigrant entrepreneurs are more likely to create ethnicity-oriented rather than gender-oriented networks of clients.

The study found that gender does not influence the index of business growth, whereas immigrant status does influence this index. Growth of businesses owned by immigrant women is slower than that of Israeli-born women and is similar to that of immigrant men. Immigrant women entrepreneurs are disadvantaged because they belong to an immigrant group and not because they are female. The salient factor that influences growth of businesses is immigrant status and not gender.

Summing up, the study revealed that immigrant women entrepreneurs are no different from immigrant men entrepreneurs as far as mobilizing resources, in the barriers they encounter in ongoing business operations, their networks of business clients and the growth of their businesses. Whereas among Israeli-born entrepreneurs we found well-established gender differences, immigrant women were rather similar to immigrant men. Immigrants rely on ethnic immigrant networks rather than on gender networks, and the impact of immigrant status on business growth is stronger than the impact of gender. The experience of immigration and belonging to the Russian-speaking minority seems more important for immigrant entrepreneurs than gender based differences. This can be explained by the egalitarian and relatively emancipated position of FSU women in their home country's labor market, which helps them to overcome potential gender disadvantage in Israel. This finding is in line with the prior studies on immigrants in Israel that revealed that immigrant women who come from countries with modern labor practices are relatively more successful than women from traditional societies (Raijman and Semyonov, 1997) and that FSU immigrants integrate and acculturate in Israel in a less gendered way than immigrants from more traditional societies (Remennick, 2005).

To conclude, FSU women immigrant entrepreneurs in Israel are more affected by factors related to immigration and integration rather than by their gender, which does not allow us to reassert the concept of double disadvantage in this case.

Table 1. Characteristics of entrepreneurs and their businesses

Characteristics	FSU immigrant entrepreneurs		Israeli-born entrepreneurs		Relationships among groups		
	Women N = 75 (49.0%)	Men N = 78 (51.0%)	Women N = 73 (34.1%)	Men N=141 (65.9%)	Imm. Women – Isr. Women	Imm. Women – Imm. Men	Isr. Women – Isr. Men
Entrepreneur characteristics							
Mean age of entrepreneurs	40.1	41.7	40.6	38.3	NS	NS	NS
Marital status:	100%	100%	100%	100%	NS	NS	NS
1. Single/divorced/windowed	37	23	27	33			
2. Married / live with partner	63	77	73	67			
Mean number of children	1.1	1.0	1.7	1.4	F=6.5 (0.032)	NS	NS
Education:	100%	100%	100%	100%	NS	$\chi^2=8.2$ (0.042)	NS
1. Up to and including a matriculation certificate	15	18	21	34			
2. Vocational studies	38	23	31	22			
3. Undergraduate degree	27	20	41	31			
4. Graduate or doctoral degree	20	39	7	13			
Prior entrepreneurial experience, percent	29	45	66	53	$\chi^2=22.4$ (0.000)	$\chi^2=6.1$ (0.013)	NS
Prior managerial experience	44	67	35	62	NS	$\chi^2=3.9$ (0.050)	$\chi^2=11.2$ (0.001)
Years of experience before becoming entrepreneur	18.3	18.4	10.9	9.5	F=32.2 (0.000)	NS	NS
Mean duration living in Israel, years	9.5	10.3				NS	
Businesses characteristics							
Type of business	100%	100%	100%	100%	NS	NS	NS
Production	0	3	2	7			
Trade	42	47	29	44			
Professional services, finance, insurance, real estate	19	21	14	11			
Personal services	39	29	55	38			
Mean duration of business activity, years	4.3	4.4	3.8	5.4	NS	NS	NS
Businesses located at home	51%	42%	55%	31%	NS	NS	$\chi^2=7.3$ (0.007)

Table 2. Business resources

	FSU immigrant entrepreneurs		Israeli-born entrepreneurs		Relationships among groups		
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Imm. Women – Isr. Women	Imm. Women – Imm. Men	Isr. Women – Isr. Men
Scope of investment	100%	100%	100%	100%	NS	NS	$\chi^2 = 22.1$ (0.000)
Up to 5,000	24	22	24	12			
5,001-25,000	41	24	41	17			
25,001 – 100,000	29	44	24	36			
more than 101,000	6	10	11	35			
Number of employees	2.1	3.2	3.1	6.6	NS	NS	F=8.8 (0.023)

Table 3. Barriers encountered by entrepreneurs in ongoing business operations

Barriers	FSU immigrant entrepreneurs		Israeli-born entrepreneurs		Relationships among groups		
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Imm. Women – Ind. Women	Imm. Women – Imm. Men	Ind. Women – Ind. Men
External: Barriers deriving from the macro economic environment	82	61	50	62	$\chi^2=8.1$ (0.004)	$\chi^2=4.1$ (0.002)	NS
Competition	47	59	86	77	$\chi^2=13.9$ (0.000)	NS	NS
Laws and regulations	20	32	31	38	NS	NS	NS
Problems in obtaining permits	16	16	24	27	NS	NS	NS
Availability of information sources	13	27	43	34	$\chi^2=7.6$ (0.006)	NS	NS
Objections from the authorities	13	18	14	23	NS	NS	NS
Internal: Lack of financial capital	31	43	36	47	NS	NS	NS
Language problems	24	33	7	7	$\chi^2=4.3$ (0.006)	NS	NS
Lack of management skills	17	28	52	47	$\chi^2=9.7$ p=.002	NS	NS
Problems recruiting employees	8	11	44	43	$\chi^2=9.4$ (0.002)	NS	NS
Lack of support from partner / family	7	8	17	29	NS	NS	NS
Finding a physical site for the business	3	14	27	26	$\chi^2=6.8$ (0.009)	NS	NS
Problems with suppliers	3	22	23	43	$\chi^2=4.9$ (0.025)	$\chi^2=4.6$ (0.030)	$\chi^2=4.7$ (0.030)

Table 4. Networks of business clients

Variables (mean values)	FSU immigrant entrepreneurs		Israeli-born entrepreneurs		Relationships among groups		
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Imm. Women – Ind. Women	Imm. Women – Imm. Men	Ind. Women – Ind. Men
Share of female clients	66%	52%	67%	45%	NS	NS	F=11.1 (0.000)
Share of immigrant clients from entrepreneur's origin country	71%	64%				NS	

Table 5. Impact of gender and affiliation to immigrant group on business growth

Variables	Mean	F-Test	Sig.
Dependent variable: Index of growth			
Immigrant women	2.09		
Immigrant men	2.10		
Israeli-born women	2.34		
Israeli-born men	2.47		
Tests of between-subjects effects			
Gender			NS
Immigrant status		12.817	0.000
Gender * Immigrant status			NS

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