

**THE ENTREPRENEURIAL PRACTICES OF CHINESE BUSINESS
MIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA, 2000-2019**

Chao Shi

B.Eng., Dalian University of Technology

M.Ec., Peking University

Department of Geography, Environment and Population

School of Social Sciences

Faculty of Arts

The University of Adelaide

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

July 2022

Table of Contents

List of Tables.....	VI
List of Figures.....	VIII
Abstract.....	X
Declaration	XII
Dedication and Acknowledgements.....	XIII
Abbreviations and Acronyms.....	XV
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1.1 Background.....	1
1.2 Research objectives and questions.....	6
1.3 Research significance	7
1.4 Project design	9
1.5 Thesis outline.....	9
Chapter 2. Literature review	12
2.1 Introduction.....	12
2.2 Change in source countries for the Australian business migration program	13
2.3 The rise of Chinese mainland business migrants from a historical and institutional perspective.....	14
2.3.1 The inception: 1978-1992	15
2.3.2 Market liberalisation: 1992-2008	17
2.3.3 Economic boom: 2008 – present	20
2.3.4 Disadvantaged social position of private entrepreneurs	21
2.4 Evolving business migration programs in Australia.....	23
2.4.1 The early business migration program and business migrants in Australia before 2000	23
2.4.2 Business migrants and business migration program after 2000s	25
2.5 Current knowledge on business migrants in Australia	31
2.6 The research on migration entrepreneurship.....	33
2.6.1 Ethnic entrepreneurship from the contextual perspective.....	34
2.6.2 Migrant entrepreneurship from capital perspective	37
2.6.3 Ethnic entrepreneurship from the perspective of the middleman-minority and ethnic-enclave.....	42

2.6.4 Transnational entrepreneurship	43
2.7 Theoretical approach development	47
2.7.1 Interactive approach	47
2.7.2 Mixed embeddedness approach.....	50
2.7.3 Dual embeddedness approach.....	52
2.8 Theoretical research model for this study	55
2.9 Conclusion	58
Chapter 3 Methods for data collection and analysis	60
3.1 Introduction.....	60
3.2 The mixed methods approach	60
3.3. Data collection approaches.....	63
3.3.1 Quantitative methods	63
3.3.2 Qualitative methods.....	65
3.3.3 Sampling strategy	69
3.3.4 In-depth interviews and participant observation	72
3.4. Data analysis	75
3.4.1. Quantitative analysis.....	75
3.4.2 Qualitative analysis.....	76
3.5 Limitations and lessons.....	78
3.6 Ethical consideration and confidentiality.....	79
3.7 Concluding remarks	80
Chapter 4. Social and economic profiles of business migrants and their economic activities	81
4.1 Introduction.....	81
4.2 Contextual background of business migrants	82
4.2.1 Visa arrangements.....	82
4.2.2 Geographical distribution	84
4.2.3 Arrival period	85
4.3 Individual characteristics of business migrants	86
4.3.1 Age distribution.....	86
4.3.2 Sex distribution and family structure	88
4.3.3 Educational attainment.....	89
4.3.4 English proficiency.....	91

4.3.5 Wealth expansion	92
4.4 Economic activities of business migrants.....	95
4.4.1 Labour force participation rate	96
4.4.2 Entrepreneurship rate.....	98
4.4.3 Industry selection.....	99
4.4.4 Personal income	102
4.5 The effect of contextual and individual factors on the economic activities of business migrants	104
4.5.1 Variable definitions.....	105
4.5.2 Analytical method.....	107
4.5.3 Results and discussion	108
4.6 Conclusion and limitations.....	117
Chapter 5. How do contextual factors shape the entrepreneurship of business migrants from the Chinese mainland?	120
5.1 Introduction.....	120
5.2 Institutional arrangements.....	121
5.2.1 Revamp of Business Innovation stream – From Business Skills Program (BSP) to Business Innovation and Investment Program (BIIP)	122
5.2.2 Significant Business History stream – State differences.....	125
5.2.3 Initiative and revamp of the Significant Investor stream.....	129
5.2.4 Diversified business activities after permanent residency	131
5.3 Economic contexts.....	135
5.3.1 China’s economic development expanding the demand market of Australian products	135
5.3.2 Industrial structure in Adelaide and Melbourne shaping the entrepreneurship of business migrants.....	138
5.4 Conclusion.....	141
Chapter 6. The role of social and human capital in developing the businesses of Chinese business migrants.....	143
6.1 Introduction.....	143
6.2 The role of social networks.....	143
6.2.1 Family networks.....	145

6.2.2 Transnational networks	147
6.2.3 Ethnic networks	151
6.2.4 Native networks	154
6.2.5 Different social networks intertwined at different business stages	157
6.3 The role of human capital.....	159
6.3.1 Language proficiency	160
6.3.2 Business experience	162
6.4 Concluding remarks	167
Chapter 7 Discussions and implications for policy and scholarship.....	169
7.1 Introduction.....	169
7.2 Summary of the main findings.....	169
7.2.1. The socio-economic characteristics of business migrants	171
7.2.2 The influence of institutional arrangements and economic contexts on business migrants.....	172
7.2.3 The role of individual resources in the business development of business migrants.....	174
7.2.4 Social and economic contribution of business migrants to Australia.....	175
7.3 Predictions regarding business migrants in future.....	178
7.3.1 Uncertain international political and economic environment as a destabilising factor	178
7.3.2 The impact of the new business migration program on business migrants	181
7.4 Policy and practical recommendations	184
7.5 Theoretical implications	187
7.6 Limitations of the research	189
7.7 Conclusion.....	190
Chapter 8 Conclusion.....	192
8.1 Research significance of the thesis.....	192
8.2 Future research directions.....	193
8.3 Final word	194
Appendix 1: Interview outline for business migrants.....	196

Appendix 2: Interview outline for community level	199
Appendix 3: Interview outline for government	200
Appendix 4: WeChat recruiting participants for interview	202
Appendix 5: Email recruiting participants for in-depth interview	203
Appendix 6: Consent form	204
Appendix 7: Participant information sheet – In-depth interview	206
References	210

List of Tables

Table 2.1 The cadre of Business Skills Program, 2003-2012	26
Table 2.2 The structure of Business Innovation and Investment Program	27
Table 2.5 Typology of policies that may affect the opportunity structure for small businesses.....	35
Table 3.1 Socio-economic indicators in Adelaide (SA) and Melbourne (VIC).....	68
Table 3.2 Interviewees profile	71
Table 3.3 Interview themes	74
Table 4.1 Number of primary business migrants by visa type of Business Skills Program, 2016	82
Table 4.2 Number of primary business migrants granted by visa types of Business Innovation and Investment Program, 2012-2021.....	83
Table 4.3 State distributions of primary business migrants by visa type from Business Skills Program, 2016	84
Table 4.4 State distributions of primary business migrants by visa types from Business Innovation and Investment Program, 2012-2021.....	85
Table 4.5 Age distributions primary business migrants by visa types from Business Skills Program, 2016	87
Table 4.6 Age distributions of primary business migrants by visa types from Business Innovation and Investment Program, from 2012-2017.....	88
Table 4.7 Sex distribution of primary business migrants by visa types, 2016	89
Table 4.8 Education attainments of primary business migrants by visa types, 2016	90
Table 4.9 Education attainments of primary business migrants by top source countries, 2016.....	91
Table 4.10 English proficiency of primary business migrants by visa types, 2016	92
Table 4.11 English proficiency of primary business migrants by top source countries, 2016.....	92
Table 4.12 Employment types of primary business migrants by visa types, 2016	99
Table 4.13 Industry of primary business migrants by visa types, 2016	101
Table 4.14 Income level of primary business migrants by labour force	

participation, 2016	104
Table 4.15 Summary statistics of variables	106
Table 4.16 Binary logistic regression results: labour force participation rate...	109
Table 4.17 Binary logistic regression results: entrepreneurship rate	113
Table 4.18 Multinomial logit regression results: industry selection	114
Table 7.1: Summary of key findings and contributions and implications of these findings	170

List of Figures

Figure 2.1 The composition of business migrants from the Chinese mainland, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia, and the United Kingdom in Australia, 1982–2019	14
Figure 2.2 An interactive model of ethnic business development.....	49
Figure 2.3 A typology of the opportunity structure: accessibility and growth potential	50
Figure 2.4 Mixed embeddedness model.....	52
Figure 2.5 Simultaneous embeddedness: An analytic framework.....	54
Figure 2.6 An integrative model of Transnational Entrepreneurship.....	55
Figure 2.7 Theoretical framework	58
Figure 3.1: Explanatory sequential mixed methods.....	62
Figure 3.2 State distribution of primary business migrants by stream under Business Skills program, 2003–2012	66
Figure 3.3 State distribution of primary Chinese business migrants by stream under Business Innovation and Investment Program, 2012–2021	67
Figure 3.4 The hierarchal structure of interview participants.....	69
Figure 4.1 Arrival period of primary business migrants by visa types, 2016.....	86
Figure 4.2 Conceptual framework: Persons Not in the Labour Force	96
Figure 4.3 Labour participation rates of primary business migrants by visa types, 2016	97
Figure 4.4 Industry distribution of primary business migrants, 2016	102
Figure 4.5 Annual income of primary business migrants, 2016.....	103
Figure 4.6 Predictive Margins of visa types interacting with States on labour force participation rate	111
Figure 4.7 Predictive Margins of visa types interacting with sex on labour force participation rate.....	111
Figure 4.8 Predictive Margins of visa types interacting with family structure on labour force participation rate	112
Figure 5.1 Number of Significant Business history stream granted in top five States in Australia, 2012-2019	125
Figure 5.2 New complying investment framework.....	129
Figure 6.1 The industrial chain for business migrants	153

Figure 6.2 Multi-staged social networks	158
Figure 7.1 China's top five wine importing countries, 2010-2019	179

Abstract

This thesis investigates how contextual and individual factors shape the entrepreneurship of Chinese mainland business migrants in Australia. Business migrants are generally successful businesspersons who migrate via the business migration program, which aims to attract High-Net-Worth Individuals (HNWIs) for their capital and entrepreneurial skills. Since 2000 mainland China has overwhelmingly dominated the business migration program in Australia. An empirical investigation of economic practices of Chinese mainland business migrants can provide policy direction for maximising the economic potential of the business migration program in the coming decade.

The dual embeddedness approach, a multilevel theoretical model for transnational entrepreneurship, is employed in this thesis. The approach situates business migrants in a dual and multi-dimensional political-economic sphere to identify contextual and individual factors that influence the economic behaviours of business migrants. The mixed-methods study utilises the Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset 2016 (ACMID 2016) and semi-structured interviews. The ACMID 2016 was used to establish the business migrants' socio-economic characteristics, and to estimate the quantitative effect of contextual and individual factors on the economic practices of business migrants. In-depth interviews were also undertaken in Adelaide and Melbourne (N=58) to deepen understanding of the quantitative results to elaborate how, when and why business migrants have specific economic practices over time and space.

The study found that the socio-economic characteristics of business migrants differ by visa type, their arrival period and destinations. Recent business migrants arriving in Australia after 2012 are likely to have a higher educational attainment and more abundant financial capital. However, there is no intra-group difference regarding English proficiency.

It was found that business migrants are embedded in institutional arrangements and economic contexts in both China and Australia simultaneously. Their

economic outcomes are highly subjected to the adjustments of the business migration policy, the industrial structure of destination locations, and the uncertain bilateral relationship between origin country (China) and destination country (Australia). Specifically, the policy revamps are driving business migrants toward critical and high-end sectors, and transnational businesses. Business migrants are more inclined to choose the policy-friendly States. Permanent residents are likely to sustain their businesses in labour- and capital-intensive sectors. An increasing number of business migrants are capitalising on China's surge in economic development, and they also have geographically distinctive economic behaviours.

The study also found that business migrants attempt to exploit different forms of individual resources (social capital, human capital, and financial capital) to develop their businesses. Social networks play different roles with respect to the network types and broader social and economic contexts. There is a mismatch issue if the skills and entrepreneur know-how of business migrants are not host country-specific. In addition, the inflow of financial capital varies according to the sub-visa types of business migrants. It was found that the economic potential of business migrants is positively related to the extent by which they can integrate into the host society.

This thesis contributes to our knowledge of how business migrants, as a type of high-end migrant entrepreneurs, perform in a new destination environment. The study identified the economic behaviours and practices of business migrants from a multilevel embeddedness perspective. The economic actions of business migrants are not carried out in a vacuum, while can be viewed as an interactive outcome generated by a combination between individual factors and contextual factors. Based on research findings, the study evaluates the economic contributions and predicts the economic behaviour of business migrants in the coming decade. The thesis provides policy and practical recommendations to benefit both the Australian economy and business migrants.

Declaration

Part of this thesis is published in the following:

Shi, C., & Tan, Y. (2022). Investigating the impact of macro factors on migrant entrepreneurship: A case study on Australia-based business migrants from mainland China. *Journal of Overseas Chinese History Studies (1)*: 1-13.

Shi, C. (2021). Chinese business migrants in Australia: What shapes their business activities and economic contribution? *Melbourne Asia Review*, Edition.8, DOI: 10.37839/MAR2652-550X8.17.

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

I give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library Search and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

I acknowledge the support I have received for my research through the provision of an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship.

Signed:

Chao Shi

6 February, 2022

Dedication and Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere thanks to my supervisors, who supported me unreservedly and lead me on the PhD journey. To principal supervisor Associate Professor Yan Tan, my research skills were highly developed from her academic guidance. She enlightened me in constructing my theoretical framework, and in utilising mixed methodology via ACMID 2016 and primary data. I also gained huge benefits from her ARC Discovery project 'Transnationalism and Diaspora: Enhancing Demography's Contribution to Migration and Development', funded by the Australian Research Council under its Discovery program (2017-2021, DP170101726). She secured the project funding to support my fieldwork in China from December 2018 to January 2019, and to support my participation in international research symposium in Nanjing and research workshops in Adelaide. I really appreciate the time and effort she has had put in for establishing my career as a researcher. Dr Dianne Rudd, thanks for helping my thesis during the last year of my PhD study. I do admire her expertise, knowledge, and seriousness. I have always been motivated from her encouragement. Professor Chris Leishman, I extend my gratitude to his invaluable feedback and instruction in the early stage of my PhD study. I am also thankful for his financial contribution towards my fieldwork.

Fieldwork in Adelaide and Melbourne was an important part of my study, which was also supported by the funding provided by the Department of Geography, Environment, and Population, the Charles and Frank Fenner Postgraduate Research Grants, and the School of Social Sciences Higher degree Research Funding. I am grateful for the individuals and organisation representatives who graciously shared their stories and opinions about business migration. I express my most sincere gratitude to Hannah Hu and James Huang. Without their generous support, I would not have connected with such a large number of business migrants and successfully finished my fieldwork in Adelaide and Melbourne.

I have special thanks to my editor, Cecile Cutler. Her efficient and meticulous

work improved the quality of my thesis to a large extent.

Thanks all of fellow GEP PhD students. Jeremaiah, Bridie, Ayah, Hannah, and Bay, it is so lucky that we can share an office and support each other. These friendships will last forever no matter where we are.

This thesis is dedicated to my family. Father and mother, thank you very much to your selfless support in the process of my growing up. You always stand behind me to encourage all my decisions. You are also my best audiences. At last, my partner Olivia, I am deeply grateful for your company with me during this tough time. You are my safe harbor in an endless stormy sea. I cannot finish the study without your unconditional love.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

163 visa	Business Owner (Provisional) category
892/890 visa	Business Owner (Permanent) category
165 visa	Investor (Provisional) category
893 visa	Investor (Permanent) category
188A visa	Business Innovation (provisional) stream
188B visa	Investor (provisional) stream
188C visa	Significant Investor (provisional) stream
888C visa	Significant Investor (permanent) stream
188D visa	Premium Investor (Provisional) stream
888D visa	Premium Investor (Permanent) stream
188E visa	Entrepreneur (Provisional) stream
888E visa	Entrepreneur (Permanent) stream
132A visa	Significant Business History (permanent) stream
132B visa	Venture Capital Entrepreneur (Permanent) stream
AIC	Akaike Information Criterion
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACT	Australian Capital Territory
ACMID	Australian Census and Migrants Integrated dataset
AFS	Australian Financial Services
BIIP	Business Innovation and Investment Program
BMP	Business Migration Program
BSM	Business Skills Migration
BSP	Business Skills Program
CHAFTA	China-Australia Free Trade Agreement
CIF	Complying Investment Framework
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
DHA	Department of Home Affairs (Australia, 2017-current)
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship (Australia, 2007-2013)
DIBP	Department of Immigration and Border protection (Australia, 2013-2017)
DIEA	Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (Australia, 1975-1987)
DILGEA	Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs (Australia, 1987-1993)

DIMIA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs and Indigenous Affairs (Australia, 2001-2006)
HREC	Human Research Ethics Committee
HNWIs	High-Net-Worth Individuals
MIA	Migration Institute of Australia
Mlogit	Multinomial logit model
NBSC	National Bureau of Statistics of China
NSW	New South Wales
NT	Northern Territory
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PMD	Permanent Migrant Data
QLD	Queensland
R&D	Research and Development
RECP	Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership
RMB	Chinese currency
SA	South Australia
SMEs	Small- to Medium-sized Enterprises
SOE	State-Owned Enterprises
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics
TAFE	Technical and Further Education
TAS	Tasmania
TVEs	Town-and-village enterprises
UHNWIs	Ultra-High-Net-Worth Individuals
VCPE	Venture capital and private equity
VIC	Victoria
VIF	Variance inflation factor
WA	Western Australia
WTO	World Trade Organization

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Background

The business migration program in developed countries aims to attract High-Net-Worth Individuals (HNWIs)¹ and Ultra-High-Net-Worth Individuals (UHNWIs)² as business migrants to develop links with international markets, create employment, enhance the market competitiveness, and absorb investment, innovation and entrepreneurship (DIAC, 2010; Ley, 2006; Li, 2005; Wong, 1993, 1995, 2003; Wong and Ng, 1998). As the mobility of capital and entrepreneurial skills is increasingly accompanied by the movement of business migrants, the business migration program represents an instance of 'capital-linked migration'. It refers to a process whereby people integrate migration and capital investment as a strategy to best serve their interests (Tseng, 2000; Wong, 1993).

In Australia, the business migration program was introduced in 1976 to deal with the worldwide oil crisis occurring in the 1970s. Australia was closely followed by Canada and New Zealand, each establishing a business migration program in 1978 for the same purpose to improve their national capacity (Collins, 2002; Li, 1993; Wong, 2003). As the most popular destination country for HNWIs nowadays (New World Wealth, 2020), Australia had revamped the business migration program six times by 2021. The policy concentrates on financial investment, with an increasing emphasis on skills, innovation and entrepreneurship. The most effective Business Innovation and Investment Program (BIIP) was launched in 2012³. Business migrants are initially granted provisional visas, which allow them to conduct business and investment in Australia for a maximum of four years. They can obtain a permanent residence visa if they have a satisfactory business outcome (DIBP, 2014).

Australia has further emphasised the importance of business migrants for the

¹ High-Net-Worth Individuals (HNWI) are people with investable assets of at least USD 1 million.

² Ultra-High-Net-Worth Individuals (UHNWIs) are people with investable assets of at least USD 30 million.

³ The latest business migration program has just been promulgated and will not be formally implemented until July 2021.

financial year of 2021-22 by doubling the quota of BIIP from 7,260 to 13,500 while reducing the spaces for skilled migrants to keep the total migration places constant at 160,000 (DHA, 2020). In addition, the qualities and paths of the investment are specified with a preference toward the growth of critical sectors (e.g. Health, Agriculture, and Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics), venture capital, and innovation and emerging enterprises (The Hon Alex Hawke MP, 2021). This clearly shows that high-quality investment and entrepreneurship by business migrants is urgently needed by the Australian government to support Australia's economic bounce back from the COVID-19 pandemic. As the Minister for Immigration, Citizenship, Migrant Services and Multicultural Affairs, Alex Hawke, said (The Hon Alex Hawke MP, 2021):

'Australia is an attractive destination for investors and those changes in the business migration program will directly benefit emerging enterprises, the commercialisation of Australian ideas, and research and development.'

Since 2000, Chinese mainland business migrants have been playing an increasingly crucial role in the global community (Miao and Wang, 2017). The rapid economic development of China in the last 30 years has resulted in large scale international migration of Chinese business people. Clearly, China's wealthy class is moving overseas for comprehensive social security, high-quality education and clean environments (Miao and Wang, 2017). In Australia, since 2004, the Chinese mainland has been the top source country for the business migration program. From 2012 to the present, there has been an average of 5,000 business migrants from the Chinese mainland annually, contributing to 70 per cent of the total applications. The second source country is Malaysia, accounting for only 3 per cent of the total (DHA, 2017a, 2018, 2019).

There is no doubt that business migrants, especially Chinese mainland business migrants, are increasingly important for the Australian economy. However, existing literature has a disproportionate emphasis on China's Hong Kong and Taiwan business migrants, who dominated the business migration program during the 1980s and 1990s (Ley, 2003; Ley and Kobayashi, 2005; Ley, 2006; Tseng, 2000). These studies offer limited insights into the current situation

where the Chinese mainland is now the majority source of applicants to the business migration program. Government reports and statistics, sourced from the evaluation results of the business migration office in each State, can show static and macro indicators such as application rates, numbers, and minimum direct investment, turnover and employment (DILGEA, 1991a, 1991b; DIAC, 2010, 2012; DIMIA, 2004; DHA, 2018, 2019, 2020). However, these documents can not trace the dynamics of business migrants in terms of their long-term economic and investment activities. Some earlier studies based on surveys and interviews reflect concerns and challenges involving business migrants, including the lack of commitment in businesses especially after permanent residency (Deng, 2012; Pe-Pua et al., 1996), an excessive inclination toward small businesses at the expense of the innovation and risks (Gao, 2013), and difficulties in understanding the Australian regulations because of the cultural shock (Collins, 2002, 2008). Nonetheless, these studies have limited understandings about the short- and long-run dynamics of entrepreneurship of business migrants from a multilevel perspective, and thus are insufficient to answer an essential question, comprehensively and systematically: *what is the mechanism behind the dynamic pattern of Chinese business migrants' entrepreneurship?* This is the core question that this research targets.

There is still no consensus reached about what entrepreneurship is. Cunningham and Lischeron (1991) have summarised the concept of entrepreneurship from six academic schools including the 'Great Person' school, the Psychological Characteristics school, the Classical school, the Management school, the Leadership school, and the Intrapreneurship school. Their research shows the term entrepreneurship is defined as a wide range of business activities such as creating, founding, adapting, and managing a venture. Based on this principle, the entrepreneurship of business migrants in this study is defined broadly as a dynamic process in start-up, growth, and maturity of business and investment practices, and individual economic behaviours, actions, and inspirations. It can be conceptualised as industrial selection (i.e. business industry and investment direction) and business performance (i.e. turnover, employment, business sustainability and labour participation rates). The phenomenon of migrant

entrepreneurship refers to 'business activities undertaken by migrants with a specific socio-cultural and ethnic background or migrant origin' (Sahin et al., 2007: 1). Therefore, in this study, the entrepreneurship of business migrants can be seen as interchangeable with their economic activities and economic practices. The entrepreneurship is an important indicator to measure and reflect the extent to which business migrants can integrate and contribute to the Australian economy (Honig, 2020). Specifically, as part of the business migration program, business migrants are expected to be committed to long-term investment and entrepreneurial activities instead of discontinuing their business immediately permanent residency is granted. The investment inflow should be led from low-risk and traditional projects such as government bonds and real estate, to venture capital in critical sectors in Australia, especially emerging health and hi-tech enterprises. As for entrepreneurs, their small businesses such as milk bars, take-away shops, fruit and vegetable stores, are supposed to be gradually upgraded to manufacturing and exporting enterprises that can create more value and employment. An investigation of business migrants' entrepreneurship and economic outcomes, therefore can also be applied to test the extent to which the business migration program has achieved its objectives.

With the development of globalisation, the concept of transnational entrepreneurship can be seen to include the transnational economic practices of migrant entrepreneurs, who can simultaneously engage with dual or multiple places and develop ties that extend beyond one ethnic niche (Drori et al., 2009).

The transnational nature of business migrants has been stressed by previous literature. Business migrants are socially and economically embedded in the host country and home country concurrently (Chang and Darlington, 2008; Chiang, 2004, 2008; Ley and Kobayashi, 2005; Ley, 2006; Pe-Pua et al., 1996; Tseng, 2000; Waters, 2002; Wong and Ng, 1998). In the Australian and Chinese contexts, business migrants should deeply engage in transnational and cross-border entrepreneurial activities due to the overheating bilateral economic linkages between these two countries. Australia has remained the largest importer of Chinese products during the past five years. The bilateral trade value reached

A\$ 251 billion in 2019-2020 with an annual growth rate of 7 per cent. Australian exports to China have grown by 9 per cent to A\$ 168 billion (DFAT, 2021). The launch of the China-Australia Free Trade Agreement (ChAFTA) in 2015 (Australian Government, 2014) and the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RECP) in 2020 (DFAT, 2021) further facilitated the bilateral nexus in terms of the mobility of capital and products.

The *Dual embeddedness approach* in the sociological field is thus employed as the analytical framework to capture transnational economic practices of business migrants (Bagwell, 2015, 2018; Brzozowski et al., 2014; Ren and Liu, 2015; You and Zhou, 2019). The framework is evolved from the *interactive approach* (Waldinger et al., 1990) and *mixed embeddedness approach* (Jones et al., 2014; Kloosterman et al., 1999; Kloosterman and Rath, 2001, 2018; Kloosterman, 2010). These three approaches are based on the following theoretical assumption as proposed by Granovetter (1985:481):

‘Ongoing structures of social relations, and a sophisticated account of economic action must consider its embeddedness in such structures.’

This assumption means that economic outcomes of business migrants are subjected to social-economic spheres where they are embedded. This is different from the interactive approach and mixed embeddedness approach which exclusively emphasises the context of the host country: the dual embeddedness approach moves forward to incorporate multi-scalar and multi-layered factors both in host country and home country.

This empirical study, based on a secondary dataset and fieldwork in Adelaide and Melbourne, deepens our understanding of business migrants’ entrepreneurship. The individual entrepreneurship should be connected with a wider institutional, economic, and social sphere rather than being viewed independently and exclusively as a vacuum. The study addresses the key question: *what is the mechanism behind the dynamic pattern of Chinese business migrants’ entrepreneurship?* Answering this question can identify the economic behaviours and activities of business migrants. An array of specific questions are

addressed including how business migrants establish and develop a business and how they overcome institutional and cultural barriers. More effective policies may lead business migrants to create more innovation and employment opportunities, to conduct continuous investment into the critical sectors, and also to maximise benefits for themselves. These findings are considered to be the major contribution of the thesis.

1.2 Research objectives and questions

This doctoral thesis aims to investigate the dynamic relationship between entrepreneurship and economic practices of Australia-based Chinese business migrants from mainland China prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. It examines the sustainability and effectiveness of Australia's business migration program from 2000 to 2021 through evaluating the contribution of Chinese business migrants. Specific objectives are:

1. To identify the socio-economic characteristics of Chinese business migrants before and after migration and compare their differences by visa type;
2. To identify multilevel contextual factors (e.g. institutional arrangements and economic contexts) both in China and Australia that influence the economic activities and entrepreneurship of Chinese business migrants;
3. To explore how business migrants utilise their individual resources (e.g. human capital and social capital) both in China and Australia to maximise their economic potential with respect to different circumstances;
4. To evaluate the effectiveness of the business migration policy based on the economic, social and cultural contribution of business migrants, and to provide policy and practical recommendations that benefit Australia's economy, and business migrants as well as their families.

To achieve these objectives, the following research questions will be addressed:

1. What are the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Chinese business migrants in Australia?
2. What and how do institutional arrangements and economic contexts shape the business activities and behaviours of Chinese business migrants?
3. How do Chinese business migrants utilise their human and social capital to develop business in Australia under different circumstances?
4. To what extent does Australia's business migration program meet the demands of the Australian economy for entrepreneurial skills and capital investments? And how can the business migration program better adapt to the changing global and domestic economic and political conditions in the coming decade?

1.3 Research significance

This thesis will broaden the frontier of the field of research into migrant entrepreneurship. The study provides an understanding of how high-end migrant entrepreneurs, with abundant financial capital and business skills, can establish and develop businesses in a destination country like Australia. The dual embeddedness approach is employed to grasp the nature of the entrepreneurship of business migrants. This theoretical model is novel in combining the mixed embeddedness approach and transnational entrepreneurship. It stresses the matching process between migrants' skills and resources (human, social and financial capital) and the surrounding social and economic contexts from a cross-border lens. The study lends empirical support toward the dual embeddedness approach. It not only investigates how business migrants at an individual level adopt a transnational strategy to develop their businesses, but also situates business migrants within a dual socio-economic sphere so that their entrepreneurship can be perceived from a structural lens.

The researcher conducted fieldwork in Melbourne and Adelaide, and interviewed 58 stakeholders at different levels including business migrants, government officials, leaders of business associations and relevant agents. This breadth can address the complexity of how different locations, with diverse institutional arrangements and industrial structures, provide different types of opportunities and challenges for business migrants, and how migrants are able to actively exploit such opportunities over space and time. More importantly, it illustrates how the more diverse and geographically distinctive patterns of capital-linked migration are generating a complex interconnection of business networks and capital flows that extends beyond traditional links with the homeland. In doing so, the study can increase our knowledge on a particular form of migrant entrepreneurship centred on business migrants.

Entrepreneurship means migrants' economic practices, progress, outcomes and actions. It can also reflect the effectiveness and sustainability of the business migration program. A successful program expects business migrants to conduct long-term investment in most critical sectors and to generate more employment opportunities. A study of migrant's entrepreneurship therefore can guide Australian policymakers to maximise and manage the economic benefits and costs of the business migration program; to devise and adjust policy to attract more qualified applicants; and to understand and satisfy the demands of business migrants.

The primary data collection was conducted before the COVID-19 pandemic in the end of 2019, the revamp of the business migration program, and the trade tension between China and Australia. Although business migrants may have different economic practices due to these worsened circumstances since the outbreak of COVID-19, the study can still provide a benchmark to predict the economic behaviours of business migrants in the coming decade.

The study is likely to benefit business migrants themselves directly. It allows them to understand the social-economic sphere they are embedded in, and recognise their positions and connections with the transnational circumstances.

Business migrants may get insights from this study to further facilitate their businesses and liveability in Australia.

1.4 Project design

A mixed methods design, including both quantitative and qualitative analysis, is applied to address the research objectives and questions in this study. The quantitative analysis is first used to reveal the quantitative relationship between multilevel factors and the entrepreneurship of business migrants. The qualitative analysis aims to explore the mechanisms underpinning the quantitative results.

The quantitative analysis is based on the secondary dataset sought from the Australia Census and Migrant Integrated Dataset 2016 (ACMID 2016). ACMID 2016 has sufficient information in identifying business migrants with different visa subclasses, and capturing their social, economic and demographic characteristics. The qualitative analysis is based on the primary dataset collected through in-depth interviews in Adelaide and Melbourne. These two case study cities have different economic structures and migration policies. As the most popular and typical destinations for business migrants, Adelaide and Melbourne provide ideal settings to analyse the dynamic relationship between business migrants and the local surroundings, and present their geographically distinctive social-economic profiles.

1.5 Thesis outline

This thesis consists of seven chapters. Chapter One has defined the research objectives and questions, outlined the research background, elaborated the key concepts (e.g. Australian business migration program, Chinese mainland business migrants, ethnic and transnational entrepreneurship), emphasised the research significance, and briefly outlined the research design.

Chapter Two reviews previous literature relevant to business migrants and their development outcomes. It explains how Chinese mainland business migrants

have dominated the business migration program over the last two decades from a contextual and historical perspective. The chapter emphasises that China's dramatic economic development and social change has resulted in the rise of HNWI's as the main source of business migration. Then, it illustrates the evolution of the business migration program in Australia and the rationale behind the policy changes by reviewing official statistics and documents. Finally, the chapter reviews literature about ethnic entrepreneurship and transnational entrepreneurship. It further evaluates the theoretical framework of the dual embeddedness approach and explains why it is ideal for studying the economic behaviours and activities of business migrants. The chapter also outlines the development path of the dual embeddedness approach, which is developed from the interactive approach and mixed embeddedness approach.

Chapter Three outlines the methodological approaches used in the research design. In particular, it stresses the theory of mixed methodology and why it fits for this study. Furthermore, the chapter explains how the datasets are collected. The datasets include a quantitative dataset, which is the secondary data of ACMID 2016, and the qualitative dataset, obtained from the interviews with 58 interviewees in Adelaide and Melbourne. Econometric models and thematic analysis are employed to analyse the two datasets respectively. The chapter also discusses the limitations and lessons in collecting and analysing data utilised here, as well as ethical issues.

Chapter Four presents an overall social, economic and demographic profile of business migrants based on ACMID 2016, including their demographic characteristics (age and sex), personal qualifications (education and language proficiency) and business patterns (business performance and industrial selection). It then explores how multilevel factors (contextual factors and individual factors) affect economic practices.

Chapter Five explores how institutional-political factors and economic contexts both in China and Australia shape the profile and entrepreneurship of business migrants. The interaction of macro factors at multilevel is fully examined using

qualitative method.

Chapter Six focuses on the individual dimension. It studies how business migrants utilise their individual resources (social capital and human capital) both in China and Australia to establish and develop their businesses, and to cope with potential institutional mismatch and challenges.

Chapter Seven concludes with reflections and implications of the major findings, policy and practical recommendations, theoretical contributions, limitations of the study, and areas for further research. Based on research findings, Chapter Seven also evaluates the economic contribution of business migrants, and predicts their outcome in the next decade.

Finally, Chapter Eight concludes the whole thesis. It stresses the contribution and significance of the thesis theoretically and practically. The chapter further offers the future research direction including potential research topics and methodological advancement.

Chapter 2. Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews previous literature relevant to business migrants. The business migration program can be viewed as a coordinator in a global circular economic system. Business migrants, with abundant financial capital and entrepreneurial skills mobilised cross-border, move from their home country as the supply side, to the destination country as the demand side. This chapter firstly identifies how the source countries for the Australian business migration program change from European countries to the Chinese mainland. It then explains why the Chinese mainland has dominated the business migration program during the last two decades, not only in Australia, but also worldwide. The literature review focusses on how a surge in economic development and drastic social change in China have spawned the rise of a Chinese wealthy class and encouraged them to migrate. Based on official documents and statistics, the chapter further illustrates how the Australian business migration program has evolved since its inception in 1976, and explores the rationale behind policy changes that have recently occurred. The chapter also discusses the current knowledge on business migrants in the Australian context.

Business migrants, as a representative group amongst migrant entrepreneurs, are characterised as 'capital with migration' (Tseng, 2000: 144). They have much greater financial assets compared with other migrant entrepreneurs. The last part of this chapter reviews literature regarding migrant entrepreneurship. It specifically targets the theories and research frameworks of ethnic migrant entrepreneurship and transnational migrant entrepreneurship. On the basis of previous theories, the chapter moves forward to establish the theoretical framework used in this thesis, specifically for understanding the economic activities of Chinese business migrants in Australia.

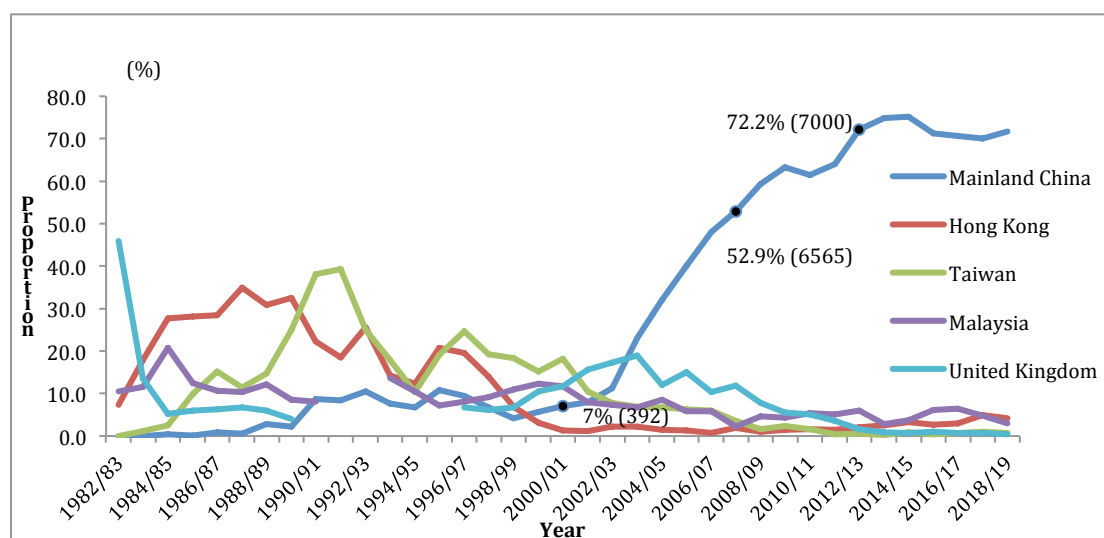
2.2 Change in source countries for the Australian business migration program

The Australian business migration program was established in 1976. From 1976 to 1980, business migrants to Australia were mainly from Western European countries, especially Italy (DIEA, 1980). By February 1980, a total of 265 business migrants arrived in Australia with an investment of A\$ 42.3 million. Italian business migrants contributed A\$ 34 million of this money, mainly flowing into the manufacturing industry and primary industry in Western Australia (DIEA, 1980). From 1982 to around 2000, Hong Kong and Taiwan, which were in the fast lane of economic development, became the main source territories for the business migration program in Australia, closely followed by Malaysia that also mainly consisted of ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs. In the early 1980s, the United Kingdom, which was once the top source country, was replaced by Hong Kong and Taiwan. At this time Hong Kong and Taiwan were in the golden age of economic development. There were not only entrepreneurs and senior executives with abundant personal assets, but also the ordinary middle class could become business migrants by selling their apartments and houses due to the high real estate dividend in Hong Kong and Taiwan (Joint Committee on Public Accounts, 1991; Wong, 2003).

The Chinese mainland has gradually replaced Hong Kong and Taiwan as the top territory of the business migration program since 2000. High-Net-Worth Individuals (HNWIs) in Chinese mainland were spawned by the reform and the opening up of the country after 1978, especially after Deng Xiaoping's 'Southern Tour Speech' in 1992 (Wu, 2008). From the year 2000, China's HNWIs began to appear in the Australian business migration program list after the accumulation of their original capital, and the proportion rose gradually over time. Figure 2.1 shows that the number of business migrants from the Chinese mainland was only 392 in 2001, accounting for 7 per cent of the total. But this figure increased by nearly 10 times and reached 3,470 by 2008, accounting for 52.9 per cent of the total. Since 2012, the number has remained stable at around 5,000 and contributes to around 70 per cent of the total. The drastic change of source

countries, from Western Europe, Asia and the Pacific (Hong Kong/Taiwan/Malaysia), to the Chinese mainland, is linked to the economic and institutional context in source countries (territories). According to previous studies on the business migrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan, the economic development and external uncertainties have been widely accepted as two driving forces for HNWI's migrating overseas (Li, 1993, 2005; Wong, 1995, 2003).

Figure 2.1 The composition of business migrants from the Chinese mainland, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia, and the United Kingdom in Australia, 1982–2019³



Source: Joint Committee on Public Accounts, 1991; DIMIA, 2002, 2003; Wong, 2003; ABS, 2016a; DHA, 2017a, 2018, 2019.

For example, Hong Kong's surge in economic development during the 1980s and 1990s generated a great deal of HNWI's to be qualified to migrate overseas. In addition, the uncertain social atmosphere also catalysed their migration motivation. The 'migration boom' therefore cooled off after Hong Kong's financial crisis and reunification in 1997 (Li, 2005).

2.3 The rise of Chinese mainland business migrants from a historical and institutional perspective

The economic development in China and external uncertainties can be used to

³ Malaysia: 1991/92, 1992/93 data is missing. United Kingdom: 1990/91, 1991/92, 1992/93, 1993/94, 1994/95, 1995/96 data is missing.

understand the rapid increase in Chinese mainland business migrants over the last two decades. However, the story of the Chinese mainland's context is more drastic compared with Hong Kong and Taiwan because the mainland only took 40 years to transform from a poor place into the second largest economy in the world. As Yifu Lin (Lin, 1995:10) claimed:

'If one called economic growth in the Four Little Dragons a miracle, then growth in China in the 1980s was even a bigger miracle.'

The applicants for the business migration program are HNWIs and UHNWIs, who mainly emanate from the rise of private business owners who have capitalised on the development of China's economy (Bain, 2009, 2019). Economic development can be categorised as three stages summarised from previous literature (Lv, 2013). The first stage is from 1978 to 1992, when the economic reform was in the initial and exploratory stage. The second stage is from 1992 to 2008 during which time the marketisation increased which is also known as the 'mini-bang' (Lin, 1995). The third stage refers to the recent past decade from 2008 to the present during which time China's economic development further speeds up due to a boom in real estate and the capital market (Zeng and Ott, 2017).

2.3.1 The inception: 1978-1992

Before the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee in 1978, private entrepreneurs in the Chinese mainland had been eliminated at the institutional level because the whole country was under the pure socialist system. During this time, all economic opportunities were open only to the state-owned enterprises (SOEs) rather than private owners (Fan and Lv, 2019; Lin, 2008).

In 1978, this was changed after Deng Xiaoping steered the country. He led the government to pursue economic liberalisation and an open-door policy, in which it adopted a stance to achieve economic growth through the active introduction of foreign capital and technology while maintaining the commitment to socialism. Meanwhile, the vitality of the private economy began to emerge (Anderson et al.,

2003; Liu, 2002).

The first permit license for running private businesses was released in 1979, which was a signal of the revival of the private entrepreneurs class in China (Wu, 2008). However, the economic reform was on a 'gradualist' path instead of a rapid one. Although China had attracted a great deal of foreign capital to launch national programs and to stimulate the economy, few opportunities were offered to private entrepreneurs. In fact the Chinese constitution did not recognise the legitimacy of private enterprises until 1988 (He et al., 2019). The private economy was more like a supplement for the state-owned economy and it was mainly represented by small-scale enterprises such as individual household businesses (termed as *getihu* in Chinese) and collectively owned town-and-village enterprises (TVEs, known as *xiangzhenqiye* in Chinese) (He et al., 2019; Liu, 2002; Wu, 2008). By 1982, there were only around 1 million private enterprises nationally and 10 per cent of them were in Wenzhou in Zhejiang province (Wu, 2008). It was implausible to view the early Chinese private entrepreneurs as HNWI's at that time. The average asset of Chinese business owners was around RMB 500,000 (equivalent to A\$ 100,000) (Wu, 2008), which was far less than the minimum requirement of the Australian business migration program. This could explain why there were only a very small number of business migrants from the Chinese mainland during the 1980s (see Figure 2.1).

Private enterprises were actually struggling in the 1980s. The majority of private entrepreneurs emerged from the bottom of society (Lv, 2013). They were unemployed, had low education attainment, and lacked economic and social resources. This group is known as 'Grass-Root Entrepreneurs' or marginalised groups (Fan and Lv, 2019; Li and Zhu, 2014). The majority of them were forced to establish their own businesses, as they were not qualified to find a job in the SOEs. In a sense, private entrepreneurs were on the fringe of the mainstream economy and were facing high risks and challenges. They were not even allowed to borrow from banks (Wu, 2008). Due to the swing of the political pendulum between 'leftist' and 'rightist' factions, it was quite normal for them to be thrown

into jail for some business practices viewed as brilliant yesterday but illegal today (Lin, 2008). The number of private sectors also fluctuated as a result of the irregular political movements because of the 'market rectification' and the effect of leftist thinking from the traditional dogmatic Marxist views. 'Market rectification' campaigns became an opportunity for the left to attack private businesses (Liu, 2002). From 1989 to 1991, the number of privately-owned enterprises therefore decreased from 200,000 to 90,000 (Li, 2013; Liu, 2002; Wu, 2008). Insecurity pervaded the whole class of private owners. In a sense, the uncertain business environment that private owners experienced in the 1980s became the seeds for HNWI to migrate overseas in coming decades (Wu, 2008).

In summary, the year 1978 is a watershed for the history of China's modern economic development. This is a signal of the transitional practice in China from a planned economy to the market-oriented economy, and also provides the basis for the private economy to grow (Li, 2013; Lin, 2008; Liu, 2002; Wu, 2008). Of course, political reform is always a gradual progress likely to fluctuate at the initial stage, which means that the 1980s was a turbulent and uncertain era for private business owners. That period saw a gradual, incremental and exploratory stage in China. But for private business owners at the individual level, it was a new era full of opportunities and challenges. Most of the private owners creating their businesses in the 1980s are less likely to migrate overseas due to the age and assets limitation. Also, none of the interviewees in the fieldwork undertaken for this study started their businesses during the 1980s, but it is still necessary to stress this special period because it is the inception of the ensuing developments.

2.3.2 Market liberalisation: 1992-2008

The turning point was in 1992, after Deng Xiaoping travelled to Southern China including the cities of Wuhan, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai, and delivered his famous 'Southern Tour Speech'. During the tour, he stressed China's commitment to economic liberalisation and the implementation of radical free market methods (Liu, 2002). As China's top leader at that time, Deng's powerful support

of economic reform implied that the ideological dispute between the 'leftist' and 'rightist' would be put on hold (Lin, 2008; Wu, 2008), and his rallying cry was 'to get rich, is glorious' (Sreenivasan, 2019). There was a famous slogan proposed by Deng Xiaoping (Buckle, 2018):

'It doesn't matter whether a cat is black or white, as long as it catches mice.'

This slogan was taken to mean that as long as the economy works, it is a good economy. In this institutional context, private business owners could get rid of the shackles of the planned economy and considerably lowered political risks, which were the pre-condition for them to expand wealth and become the HNWIs (Lin, 2008; Wu, 2008). The government, at both central and local levels, started to implement expansionary policies on private business development including the movement of foreign capital into China and the expansion of investment in domestic private capital (Liu, 2002). By 1999, there were more than 10 million private Small- to Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs) registered in China (Anderson et al., 2003).

In addition to the political support at the highest level, two historical and economic events could be viewed as important impetus for private business owners to obtain initial capital and generate wealth: the privatisation of SOEs and the devaluation of the Chinese currency (Liu, 2002; Wu, 2008). For a long period after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, SOEs played an absolutely key role in economic development. However, in the 1990s, many SOEs had low efficiency and were in deficit because they lacked autonomy in management, and thus they were required to carry out government administration functions, party political functions, and various social functions. According to Anderson and his colleagues, output from SOEs declined dramatically from 77 per cent of the total in 1978 to 28 per cent in 1999, while the contribution of privately owned enterprises to national output increased rapidly from zero in 1978 to over 18 per cent in 1999 (Anderson et al., 2003). Malik (1997: 134) highlighted the comprehensive plan of the State council:

'The state would control the macro economy, and individuals would control the micro economy according to the law of the market.'

The government therefore decided to sell some enterprises in downstream industries to private business owners to solve this problem, which was known as 'grasping the large and releasing the small' (Young, 1995). Due to their unclear asset status, a large number of state capital activities were transferred to individuals at cut-price. Meanwhile, the private business owners also utilised national resources for production. For example, the buyers could get a discount at a rate of 40 per cent for state-owned enterprises in Changsha city, provincial capital of Hunan (Dai, 2001). By the end of 1996, 50-70 per cent of state-owned enterprises in the whole country had been privatised (Qian, 2000). A large number of private business owners therefore rapidly achieved primitive accumulation of capital.

The devaluation of Chinese currency (RMB) in 1990s was the second opportunity for private owners to expand wealth. Due to the severely overestimated exchange rates, the government initiated currency depreciation. The exchange rate of RMB to US dollars was 1.7 in 1978, 4 in 1991, 5.7 in 1992 and 8.7 in 1994 (Wu, 2008). This strengthened the price competitiveness of Chinese commodities exported all over the world. Meanwhile, the labour cost remained relatively cheap, with the average wage RMB 4,510 per annum (Chen and Lv, 2019). These factors combined to create many opportunities for private owners, who were mainly engaged in labour-intensive manufacturing industry and conducted export-led business to make profits. In 2001, China further stabilised its position as the 'world factory' after becoming a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and reducing tariffs (Boden, 2012; Eesley, 2009; Li, 2013). Since then, numerous cheap toys, clothes, shoes, and electronic products have been exported all over the world. In 2003, exports contributed to more than 50 per cent of national GDP, and China also had the largest share of the world in TV, washing machines, air conditions, microwaves ovens, and motorcycles (Wu, 2008). The enormous overseas demand and cheap labour cost combined to create openings for private owners. In addition, the origins of private entrepreneurs had also changed, from the lower ranks of society or

marginalised groups, to former cadres at the government and state-owned enterprises and intellectuals (Fan and Lv, 2019; Li and Zhu, 2014).

Overall, China's wealthy class, mainly represented by private owners, started to form during this period. They began to play an important role in the business migration program as the pioneers after several years of initial capital accumulation. As shown in Figure 2.1, the number of Chinese business migrants was still small in 2001, but it increased to 3,470 in 2008 and has stabilised at around 5,000 annually since then.

2.3.3 Economic boom: 2008 – present

Zeng and Ott (2017) perceived that the past decade has brought a more rapid accumulation of private wealth in China, with the total private wealth growing at an annual rate of 20 per cent and the number of HNWI's expanding at an annual rate of 24 per cent. Indeed, China's wealth boom was initiated by the new round of economic stimulus after 2008.

In 2008, the global financial downturn was triggered by the subprime mortgage situation in the United States. In order to minimise the impact of the global financial crisis on the economy, on 9 November 2008 the Chinese government initiated a RMB 4 trillion (equivalent to US\$ 586 billion) stimulus package, which was implemented through 2009 and 2010 (Wu, 2018). This stimulus package was mainly channelled to key areas such as housing, rural infrastructure, transportation, health and education, environment, industry, disaster rebuilding, income-building, tax cuts, and finance (Wong, 2011).

The stimulus package soon showed significant returns. After a brief and sharp downturn in 2008, China's GDP grew by 8.7 per cent in 2009 and by 10.4 per cent, the highest value in 2010. This package accounted for 12.5 per cent of China's GDP in 2008, to be spent over 27 months. In 2010, China's GDP reached 41.3 trillion RMB and replaced Japan as the world's second largest economy behind the USA (Lin, 2018). In this economic environment, the overall wealth of

China's HNWI's has further expanded enormously. The package triggered chain economic reactions including skyrocketing housing prices and the explosion of the capital market, which resulted in the exponential expansion of HNWI's wealth (Wu, 2018; Zeng and Ott, 2017). A famous Chinese economist Professor Qiren Zhou has a metaphor to describe this phenomenon: 'The fish is big, due to the big pond' (Wu, 2018:1). The China Wealth Report published by Bain Company (Bain, 2009) shows there were 320,000 persons whose investable assets were more than RMB 10 million, and their total assets were RMB 9 trillion at the end of 2008. But by 2018, the number of HNWI's had increased to 1.97 million, six times that of 2008. The total investable assets were RMB 70 trillion, almost eight times the 2008 figure (Bain, 2019).

The big ramp-up in easy credit and the influx of 'hot money' to the real estate market, for example, helped to fuel an asset bubble that sent prices of land and housing rising steeply, more than doubling in some big cities during 2009 and 2010 (Guo and Huang, 2010). According to the National Statistical Bulletin in 2010, the price of newly built commercial housing in 70 large- and medium-sized cities increased by 13.7 per cent in 2010 (NBSC, 2010). HNWI's therefore expanded their wealth as the majority of them had multiple investment houses. HNWI's can also get assets appreciation due to a massive upsurge of financial capital flowing into the equity market. With the large-scale of funds flowing into the capital market, their wealth expanded exponentially especially for owners and stakeholders of listed companies (Guo and Huang, 2010). The economic development after 2008 has resulted in a distinctive intra-group heterogeneity amongst business migrants arriving in Australia at different stages. This will be further discussed in Chapter Five.

2.3.4 Disadvantaged social position of private entrepreneurs

Although the assets of HNWI's have been boosted in China's economic boom, an increasing number of them also considered emigrating to other countries (the second emigration wave). In Wu's (2018: 45) book about development history of Chinese enterprises, he claimed:

'2010 was a turning point in the mind-set of private enterprises. Frustration and dissatisfaction gradually fermented into the insecurity of the entire class, the investment enthusiasm for the real industry began to decline, and identity and wealth transferred into an active undercurrent.'

Private entrepreneurs have always been feeling dissatisfied even under the stimulus package. For example, there is evidence that new bank credit is disproportionately granted to state-owned firms rather than to more productive private firms under the stimulus plan (Wu, 2018). The private enterprises are still at the bottom of the economic chain and private business owners are marginalised and crowded out in respect to bank credit. Although there is a lack of data, it was said that over 95 per cent of funds flowed into SOEs (Wu, 2018).

Although both the amounts and the wealth of private entrepreneurs have expanded to a large extent, a few of them still view themselves as the disadvantaged social class. Actually, private entrepreneurs have been struggling with the complicated business-political relationship. There is a traditional hierarchical system since ancient China, scholar, farmer, artisan and merchant, and the entrepreneur class is at the bottom of society. Before the 11th Plenum in 1978, the mainstream society even considered private and individual business activity to be the root of evil behaviour – the so called 'capitalist tail' – which should be cut down by 'revolutionary thought' (Dai, 2001; Liu, 2002). Of course, as time changed, especially over the last three decades, the social status of merchants has significantly improved due to China's transformation from a socialist economy to a market-oriented economy. However, the social prejudice toward this group still exists. Private owners feel depressed and even frustrated by this hierarchical system.

In summary, the rise in Chinese business migration is closely related to recent economic development in China. More importantly, their 'habitus', referring to aspects of culture that are anchored in the body of daily practices and thinking of individuals, groups, societies, and nations (Bourdieu, 1990), also stems from the history of the home country. This section differentiates and further describes

three development stages in China, which may result in the intra-group difference of business migrants in terms of their social-economic characteristics.

2.4 Evolving business migration programs in Australia

The Australian business migration program experienced changes in 1976, 1981, 1992, 2003, 2012 and 2021. The latest update was implemented on 1 July 2021. Since 1981, it has been revamped around every ten years. This section reviews policy changes in the Australian business migration program mainly based on official policy documents from the Department of Home Affairs (DHA). By reviewing the literature, the study aims to explore how the business migration program has evolved since its inception and what the rationale is behind the policy changes. This section also examines the economic contribution of business migrants to the Australian economy.

2.4.1 The early business migration program and business migrants in Australia before 2000

The policy on the migration of entrepreneurs in Australia was created in November 1976, and named the Entrepreneurial Migration Category. This category was introduced to provide a means of entry for migrants who would be unable to qualify under other categories of migration, but could be expected to benefit Australia by applying their business skills and capital in the Australian economy (DIEA, 1980). Early applicants during that time were required to prepare detailed proposals for participating actively in enterprises to introduce new designs and techniques, expand exports, and generate employment opportunities. In addition, sufficient personal, unencumbered, legally transferable funds were also necessary. However, the Entrepreneurial Migration Category was still viewed as the initial stage of the Australian business migration program, and there were no clear and systematic requirements on selecting potential applicants. It can only be stated that at least A\$ 200,000 was practically and generally required (Joint Committee on Public Accounts, 1991; Wong, 2003).

It was not until 1981 that the Entrepreneurial Migration Category was taken a further step to the well-known Business Migration Program (BMP) by specifying two requirements, age and assets. Migrants had to demonstrate a successful business record, having substantial assets – A\$ 350,000 for an applicant under 40 years of age, A\$ 500,000 for applicants between 40 and 58, and A\$ 850,000 for someone aged 58 and over – that could be transferred to Australia, and intend to permanently settle and establish a business in Australia (Joint Committee on Public Accounts, 1991:21). However, misconduct also occurred on BMP because of the lack of program and legal supervision. Some criminal sources linked to BMP resulted in money laundry operations relevant to the movement of financial and personal assets. It was found that only 25 per cent of business migrants had established a business following their original business proposal. The required evaluation report generated by accredited agents might also be false so that the Australian government would not receive reliable feedback (Giella, 1992). The government therefore launched a Commonwealth inquiry into the BMP in 1991 (Joint Committee on Public Accounts, 1991), which verified that there were abuses and flaws in the program and indicated that tighter control was needed for the BMP.

The Australian government abolished the BMP in 1991 and replaced it with a newly revamped program called Business Skills Migration (BSM) in February 1992 based on the recommendations from the inquiry report (Joint Committee on Public Accounts, 1991). In order to deal with the problems identified in the report, the new program devised a systematic and comprehensive system with more focus on business skills and experiences rather than merely toward the financial assets. In addition to age and assets, Business Skills Points Tests were brought in to quantify business skills, education attainments and language proficiency (DIMIA, 2002; Wong, 2003). The BSM aimed to attract applicants who were real businesspersons and committed to do business in Australia. The emphasis on the skills can further be verified from a diversification of targeted applicants. There were five specific subcategories created in BSM: 1) The business owners were required to demonstrate that they had a successful business career and the net assets were no less than A\$ 200,000; 2) The senior

executives were persons who had been employed in the top three levels of management of a business with annual turnover more than A\$ 50 million; 3) Investment-linked applicants had to demonstrate a history of investment activities, and they needed invest from A\$ 750,000 to A\$ 2 million in Australia; 4) The Established Business category was applied to people who were running the business in Australia before the application (DIMIA, 2000). A majority of applicants chose the Business Owner category as their pathway to Australia. There were 7,590 Chinese applicants in 2001-2002 via BSM, and 67 per cent were from the Business Owner category (DIMIA, 2002).

2.4.2 Business migrants and business migration program after 2000s

The BSM was reviewed and revised again on 1 March 2003 as the Business Skills Program (BSP). The structure and subcategories of the BSP were basically inherited from the previous BSM, but the main change was the development of a four-year provisional visa leading to a permanent visa, the so-called 'Two-Stage system'. Applicants would then be eligible to apply for permanent residency after having successfully operated a business in a targeted region with their provisional visa for at least two years (DIMIA, 2002). Some visa holders with exceptional business talents could be granted permanent residency directly without the need to first hold a provisional visa. These persons also needed to demonstrate they had been able to successfully manage a new or existing business in Australia (DIAC, 2010). The BSP requested entrepreneurs and investors to have successful business outcomes in Australia within a provisional period before being granted permanent residency (DIAC, 2010). It further guaranteed the feasibility and commitment of applicants' business activities in Australia. Additionally, sponsorship from a State or Territory government was brought into the system so that the sponsoring State or Territory could attract the most needed business people, skills and capital to assist in the economic development of specific regions (DIMIA, 2004). Approximately 93.5 per cent of business migrants chose to migrate via State sponsorship (DIAC, 2007). Table 2.1 shows the detailed subcategories of BSP.

Table 2.1 The cadre of Business Skills Program, 2003-2012

Business Owner	Independent	Business Owner (Provisional Visa 160) Business Owner (Permanent Visa 890)
	State/Territory Sponsored	State/Territory Sponsored Business Owner (Provisional Visa 163) State/Territory Sponsored Business Owner (Permanent Visa 892)
Senior Executive	Independent	Senior Executive (Provisional Visa 161) Senior Executive (Permanent Visa 890)
	State/Territory Sponsored	State/Territory Sponsored Senior Executive (Provisional Visa 164) State/Territory Sponsored Senior Executive (Permanent Visa 892)
Investor	Independent	Investor (Provisional Visa 162) Investor (Permanent Visa 891)
	State/Territory Sponsored	State/Territory Sponsored Investor (Provisional Visa 165) State/Territory Sponsored Investor (Permanent Visa 893)
Established Business in Australia	Independent	Established Business in Australia (Permanent Visa 845)
	State/Territory Sponsored	Regional Established Business in Australia (Permanent Visa 846)
Business Talent	State/Territory Sponsored	Business Talent (Permanent Visa 132)

Source: DIAC, 2010

The BSP was revamped to become the Business Innovation and Investment Program (BIIP) on 1 July 2012. With the ‘Two-Stage system’ kept, the key elements emphasised in the BIIP were business innovation and human capital. As the DIAC annual report (2012: 72) indicated:

‘The principal reforms to business migration are to 1) facilitate the entry of entrepreneurs who have sourced venture capital funding in Australia; 2) introduce a points test giving weight to innovation; 3) grant access to more flexible provisions for achieving permanent residence.’

‘It selects migrants who have a demonstrated history of involvement in innovation and success in business, who can be expected to make a powerful contribution to the National Innovation System and the Australian economy.’

The requirements on business innovation and human capital are reflected in the two new subcategories of the Entrepreneur stream (Subclass 188E (provisional)/888E (permanent)) and Venture Capital Entrepreneur stream

(Subclass 132B (permanent)). Both of these required applicants to provide an innovative business proposal and source venture capital funding of A\$ 200,000 and A\$ 1 million respectively. These two streams were introduced with an emphasis on the innovativeness and high-value of business ideas rather than the business asset (Joint Standing Committee on Migration, 2015). Table 2.2 shows the detailed structure of BIIP.

Table 2.2 The structure of Business Innovation and Investment Program

Business Innovation and Investment Visa (subclass 188 and 888)	Business Innovation stream (Provisional Visa 188A)
	Business Innovation stream (Permanent Visa 888A)
	Investor stream (Provisional Visa 188B)
	Investor stream (Permanent Visa 888B)
	Significant Investor stream (Provisional Visa 188C)
	Significant Investor stream (Permanent Visa 888C)
	Premium Investor stream (Provisional Visa 188D)
	Premium Investor stream (Permanent Visa 888D)
	Entrepreneur stream (Provisional Visa 188E)
	Entrepreneur stream (Permanent Visa 888E)
Business Talent visa (subclass 132)	Significant Business History stream (Permanent Visa 132A)
	Venture Capital Entrepreneur stream (Permanent Visa 132B)

Source: DIBP, 2014; Joint Standing Committee on Migration, 2015

Although not being mentioned, investment was more emphasised in the BIIP. The Significant Investor stream (Subclass 188C (provisional)/888C (permanent)) and Premium Investor stream (Subclass 188D (provisional)/888D (permanent)) were first brought in specifically to attract UHNWIs who can invest a minimum of A\$ 5 million and A\$ 15 million to designated projects to secure their permanent residency (Joint Standing Committee on Migration, 2015). Some BIIP subcategories were directly inherited from the previous BSP, but the requirements and thresholds were raised. Table 2.3 compares these subclasses between BSP and BIIP in terms of requirements. Business Innovation stream (Subclass 188A (provisional)/888A (permanent)) in BIIP was inherited from the

Business Owner visa (Subclass 163 (provisional)/892 (permanent)) in BSP. Both of these two subcategories were designed for small and medium entrepreneurs.

The Business Talent category (Subclass 132) in BSP and Significant Business History stream (Subclass 132A (permanent)) were for large and medium entrepreneurs who were viewed as people with exceptional talents who could get permanent residency directly without the pathway of a provisional visa. The Investor visa (Subclass 165 (provisional)/893 (permanent)) and Investor stream (Subclass 188B (provisional)/888B (permanent)) were developed for investors who were required to invest in designated projects (Joint Standing Committee on Migration, 2015).

Due to the State and Territory sponsorship, there were regional differences among some subcategories of BIIP to meet the specific economic objectives for States. Table 2.4 shows that Sydney has a higher threshold on the 188A/888A subclass than in Adelaide and Melbourne. The latter two cities are in line with the Federal requirement. As for the 132A subclass, Sydney and Melbourne have much higher selection criteria than Adelaide in business background, investment amount and minimum employment (Live in Melbourne, n.d.; New South Wales Government, n.d.). The requirement for Adelaide is more achievable and flexible. Four options are provided and applicants only need to achieve one of them. These include: 1) Export Australian products at a range from A\$ 600,000 to A\$ 1.2 million; 2) Create four job opportunities; 3) Conduct an investment of at least A\$ 1.5 million into a business; 4) Engage in project development and invest at least A\$ 1.5 million (Move to South Australia, n.d.). In comparison, applicants in Sydney and Melbourne have to achieve all of the requirements in conducting investment, and generating job opportunities. Even though the BIIP aims to increase the weight on innovation and human capital by the introduction of 188E/888E and 132B subclasses, few people have chosen these two visa types. It appears that BIIP has performed better in attracting entrepreneurship and large-scale investment, as 188A/888A, 188C/888C and 132A visas have overwhelmingly dominated the BIIP with the proportion of 55.1 per cent, 18.8 per cent, and 13.5 per cent respectively (DHA, 2021a).

Table 2.3 Requirements of Business Skills Program and Business Innovation and Investment Program subclasses

	BSP	BIIP	BSP	BIIP	BSP	BIIP	BSP	BIIP
	163	188A	892	888A	165	188B	893	888B
Net personal/business assets (China)	500,000	800,000	\	\	1.125 million	2.25 million	\	\
Annual business turnover (China)	300,000	500,000	\	\	\	\	\	\
Net value of business (Australia)	\	\	75,000	200,000	\	\	\	\
Net personal/business assets (Australia)	\	\	250,000	600,000	\	\	\	\
Annual business turnover (Australia)	\	\	200,000	300,000	\	\	\	\
Minimum employment (Australia)	\	\	1	2	\	\	\	\
Designated investment (Australia)	\	\	\	\	\	\	750,000	1.5 million

Source: DIAC, 2010; Joint Standing Committee on Migration, 2015

Table 2.4 Requirements of Business Innovation and Investment Program subclasses (188A, 888A, and 132A) by cities, Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide

	188A			888A			132A		
	Sydney	Melbourne	Adelaide	Sydney	Melbourne	Adelaide	Sydney	Melbourne	Adelaide
Net personal/business assets (China)	1.3 million	800,000	800,000	\	\	\	3 million	2.5 million	1.5 million
Annual business turnover (China)	1 million	500,000	500,000	\	\	\	3 million	3 million	3 million
Net value of business (Australia)	\	\	\	300,000	200,000	200,000	\	\	\
Net personal/business assets (Australia)	\	\	\	900,000	600,000	600,000	\	\	\
Annual business turnover (Australia)	\	\	\	300,000	300,000	300,000	\	\	600,000-1.2 million (export)
Minimum employment (Australia)	\	\	\	2	2	2	5	5	4
Business investment (Australia)	\	\	\	500,000	\	\	1.5 million	2 million	1.5 million

Source: Live in Melbourne, n.d.; New South Wales Government, n.d.; Move to South Australia, n.d.

2.5 Current knowledge on business migrants in Australia

The first evaluation report of business migrants in Australia was from MSJ Keys Young Planner in 1990 (MSJ, 1990). The 160 principal applicants who arrived in Australia between July 1984 and December 1987 were investigated. The researchers indicated that each applicant had transferred A\$ 840,000 to Australia, substantially more than the minimum requirement of A\$ 500,000 in 1990. The average number of people employed was ten per business and the average annual revenue was A\$ 1.1 million. Overall, respondents had a positive attitude toward their businesses. Amongst them, 48 respondents believed that their business activities had contributed to existing industries in Australia, and 14 applicants confirmed that they had introduced a new industry (e.g. manufacture of multi-coloured paint coatings, rare breed farming and plastic products for export).

Similar with the report from MSJ Keys Young Planner (1990), DILGEA's business migration program monitoring survey (DILGEA 1991a, 1991b) concluded that the business migration program was successful. Based on a response rate of around 50 per cent of business migrants in Australia for 12 months in August 1991, they concluded that an average of six people were employed per business. Over 45 per cent of business migrants had established businesses within one year after their arrival and 61 per cent had done so after two years. Half of the respondents' businesses were established in the services industry and over one-quarter in the export sector. Two years later, a longitudinal survey commenced from 1993, which further supported the previous two reports and also drew a positive picture (Collins, 2002). Over three quarters (77 per cent) of business migrants under this scheme had engaged in a business and 78 per cent of these enterprises were newly created. Moreover, an average of 4.3 jobs were created per new business, an average of A\$ 677,000 was transferred to Australia, an average of A\$ 317,000 was invested in the business and 11 per cent of enterprises had a turnover of A\$ 1 million or more. The Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) conducted annual post-arrival surveys of business immigrants to monitor how the business

migration program was performing in 12, 24 and 36 months since 1992. The data was supposed to be more reliable because all of business migration arrivals were required to complete the survey compulsorily (Parliament of Victoria, 1998). For example, the monitoring survey from July 1992 to June 1995 showed that each business migrant transferred funds of A\$ 583,000 and increased the initial business investment to A\$ 268,000 after 12 months of arrival. But after 36 months, the average fund transfer was increased to A\$ 760,000 and the average initial investment amounted to A\$ 778,000 (Parliament of Victoria, 1998). Business migrants have also shown a strong appetite toward the wholesale trade business. The proportion of export business increased after a growing number of Hong Kong and Taiwan business migrants migrated to Australia.

However, there was also dissent for the business migration program during this period. The Joint Committee report (1991) concluded that there were allegations that money laundering operations and movement of financial and personal assets derived from criminal sources were linked to the business migration program. Moreover, according to the accredited agents, only 25 per cent of business migrants had established a business that matched the needs of the Australian government. This report resulted in the revamp of the business migration program in 1992 and more strict selection mechanisms were brought in (Collins, 2002).

The most recent report (Joint Standing Committee on Migration, 2015) about business migrants is from 2015 focusing on BIIP and is a gathering of information from each State. In New South Wales, 433 business migrants on provisional business visas applied for permanent visas from 2010 to 2014. These applicants had created 412 new jobs, attracted A\$ 36.4 million in investments and delivered under A\$ 90 million worth of exports. In Victoria, of the 1,679 nominated business immigrants, 1,134 indicated that they had created a total of 2,869 jobs. In 2012-2013 through the previous BSP, nominated business migrants indicated that they had created a total of 1,370 jobs, 51 per cent in retail, followed by the service industry at 15 per cent and the trade exports industry at 10 per cent. The Western Australia government indicated that the

business migrants had injected more than A\$1 billion in capital into the State's economy and generated over 1,000 jobs for the State.

The existing government statistics and reports generally present a positive picture on the business performance of business migrants. However, a couple of studies based on surveys and interviews have also identified concerns. The 'astronaut' phenomenon mentioned by Pe-Pua et al. (1996) not only reflects the transnational characteristics of business migrants, but also reveals they could not dedicate themselves to their Australian businesses because their focus was still on their home country. In order to avoid the risks, most business migrants only consider small-investment businesses that make a limited contribution in revenue and employment (Gao, 2013). After obtaining permanent residency, quite a number of them immediately stopped and sold their businesses (Colic-Peisker and Deng, 2019; Deng, 2012).

2.6 The research on migration entrepreneurship

Early literature focuses on ethnic entrepreneurship, which is relevant to migrant entrepreneurs who mainly established their firms in host countries, and is tied to the community with which they share a common cultural heritage or origin (Drori et al., 2009; Kloosterman et al., 1998; Zhou, 1992). With the development of globalisation, recent studies have been increasingly emphasising the concept of transnational entrepreneurship to include migrant entrepreneurs who can simultaneously engage with dual or multiple places and develop ties that extend beyond one ethnic niche (Drori et al., 2009; Honig, 2020; Sandoz et al., 2021). These two research paradigms are different, but intersected (Honig, 2020; Zapata-Barrero and Rezaei, 2020). The following section firstly reviews literature on ethnic entrepreneurship from the contextual, capital, and ethnic community perspectives separately. The transnational entrepreneurship literature is then discussed, grounded in the theory of ethnic entrepreneurship.

2.6.1 Ethnic entrepreneurship from the contextual perspective

Two spheres influencing migrants' economic activities have been identified: political-institutional contexts, and economic and market contexts. These two factors are normally considered at the national dimension for comparative analysis (Kloosterman et al., 1999; Kloosterman, 2000; Kloosterman and Rath, 2001; Solano, 2020).

Institutions are, according to North (1991), the humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interaction, which define the choice of human behaviours and devise to create order and reduce uncertainty in exchange. They consist of both informal constraints (e.g. values, norms, sanctions, taboos, customs, traditions, and codes of conduct), and formal rules (e.g. constitutions, laws, economic rules, property rights, and contracts) (Veciana and Urbano, 2008). Institutions normally refer to formal acts promulgated by State entities such as central governments, regional and local governments, chambers of commerce and so on, which can favour or discourage entrepreneurship, and further provide the incentive structure of an economy (Kloosterman et al., 1999). The economic and market context refers to several conditions connected to both overall economic and market conditions, such as the country's economic phase (e.g. growth or recession), the industrial structure, market concentration and the demand for particular products or services (Solano, 2020).

The research on how institutional factors and economic contexts shape migrant entrepreneurship is normally based on the theory of opportunity structure, which refers to the fact that the opportunities available to migrant entrepreneurs in any given society or institution are shaped by the social organisation and structure of that entity (Waldinger et al., 1990). It explores how different institutions and economic contexts affect the economic openings of specific industries and further influence migrant entrepreneurship by shaping three dimensions of the opportunity structure including the economic domain, market threshold and growth potential (Kloosterman, 2003; Kloosterman and Rath, 2001, 2018). Kloosterman (2003) has explained how macro factors shape

the opportunity structure with two examples (Table 2.5). He categorised three paths, including direct, indirect and (non-) enforcement.

Table 2.5 Typology of policies that may affect the opportunity structure for small businesses

<i>Type of policies</i>	<i>Direct</i>	<i>Indirect</i>	<i>(Non-)Enforcement</i>
Enlargement of the domain of market transactions	Privatization (e.g. by outsourcing garbage collecting to private firms).	Eroding self-provision by families by encouraging female labour participation and, thus creating opportunities for firms to provide child-care and housecleaning.	Turning a blind eye to the trade in products that are formally illegal (e.g. allowing small amounts of soft drugs)
Lowering of thresholds of markets	Deregulation (e.g. abolishing certain requirements regarding educational qualifications). Regulations to keep large firms in check.	Reducing the prices of resources such as capital and labour and promoting commercial premises.	Allowing forms of informal production (e.g. tolerating the employment of illegal workers)
Increase in growth potential of markets	Promoting export for SMEs. Specifically regarding migrant entrepreneurship: Contract compliance	General macro-economic policies; but also meso-level policies directed at urban economies or specific sectors	By allowing more functions or firms than the zoning plan stipulates or types of diversification which enable firms to move to other market segments

Source: Kloosterman (2003: 174)

Economic domains refer to the frequency of transaction activities, the extent of commodification, and the business chances and openings in a market (Kloosterman, 2003). For example, the Netherlands initiated a policy of privatisation at the end of the 20th century. State projects such as communication and public infrastructure were outsourced to private enterprises owned by migrant entrepreneurs. This directly generated numerous economic opportunities for migrants (Kloosterman, 2003). From the perspective of economic contexts, the further a country has moved up the road to a post-industrial society, the more post-industrial openings will be generated. Some industries (especially finance and hi-tech sectors) can increase the provision and create more opportunities for migrant entrepreneurs (Kloosterman et al., 2016). In contrast, migrant entrepreneurs may get few opportunities in some countries or societies dominated by common ownership and a state-owned economy (Kloosterman, 2003). The economic crises of

Southern European countries have compromised the development of migrant entrepreneurs because the local industry has been withering (Kloosterman, 2010). Institutional arrangements and economic contexts may also have indirect impact on domains of opportunity structure. For instance, improving the female employment rate might indirectly release the business opportunities for house cleaning or child care so that migrants can establish businesses in these sectors and gain profits (Kloosterman, 2003).

The second dimension, market thresholds, is equivalent to the accessibility or barriers in a specific market (Kloosterman and Rath, 2000). For example, various licenses were required to build up small businesses such as barber shops in the Netherlands prior to 1996. The entry barrier is obviously increased for migrant entrepreneurs who are not knowledgeable in Dutch and local policies (Kloosterman, 2003). In the UK, the restrictions on migration policy constrains the inflow of Vietnamese migrants, which indirectly causes Vietnamese business owners to turn to the transnational market because it is difficult for them to recruit cheap Vietnamese workers (Bagwell, 2018). Chinese nail shop owners in New York (You and Zhou, 2019) and Turkish restaurant owners in Finland (Wahlbeck, 2018) are facing more serious problems. Their business turnover and scale have shrunk due to the labour shortage resulting from the restriction of immigration policy.

An investigation of the influence of institutional arrangements and economic contexts on migrant entrepreneurs, could provide the opportunity for comparative studies at national or regional levels. For example, Esping-Anderson (1990) conducted a comparative analysis between Anglo-American and mainland Europe welfare institutions to explore how these two systems influence the employment market. His findings were applied to Kloosterman's (2000) research on the opportunity structure of migrant entrepreneurs. The minimum wage is relatively low in the Anglo-American system and the migrants are therefore more likely to get a job. The reasons for immigrant entrepreneurs to establish a business are derived from their inspirations on entrepreneurship instead of failing to have a place in the job market. Under the Anglo-American

institution, immigrant entrepreneurs are inclined to engage in the labour-intensive industries. Conversely, the mainland Europe institution has a high minimum wage, complete welfare system, and strict recruit criteria, and the threshold of migrants to the employment market is thus improved. In addition, the business pattern of migrant entrepreneurs differs between cities due to different industrial structures. Generally, people are more inclined to choose the local advantageous industries. For example, Amsterdam's service-oriented economy informed the decision made to start a consultancy agency for Moroccan entrepreneurs there, but in Milan, the strong industrial vocation led Moroccan entrepreneurs with a transnational business to focus more on the import/export sector. In Amsterdam, respondents seemed keener to engage in the business-oriented service sector, while in Milan they tended to focus more on the goods-related sector (Solano, 2016a, 2016b, 2020). The industrial selection of migrant entrepreneurs also caters for specific market demands. For instance, due to the frequency of bicycle use in Amsterdam, a great number of migrants with limited resources chose to start up bicycle shops (Kloosterman, 2010).

In summary, the geographically and temporally distinctive business patterns amongst migrant entrepreneurs are mostly shaped by contextual factors including economic contexts and institutional arrangements. An investigation of the contextual influence on migrant entrepreneurs can deepen the understanding of economic behaviours and activities of migrant entrepreneurs from a broader perspective. Although previous literature has already stressed how contextual factors affect the behaviour of migrant entrepreneurs, less attention has been paid to the reverse effect. The strategic actions of migrant entrepreneurs, as individuals or communities, may also influence institutions regionally or nationally.

2.6.2 Migrant entrepreneurship from capital perspective

Previous studies have particularly paid attention to how migrant entrepreneurs exploit social capital and human capital to maximise their economic potential. Social capital, resources embedded in a social structure which are accessed and

mobilised in purposive actions, can facilitate the flow of information, exert influence on the agents, and are expected to reinforce individuals' identity and recognition (Bourdieu, 1985; Coleman, 1988; Lin, 2001; Lin et al., 2001; Putnam, 1993). During the past two decades, social capital has evolved into various forms and been studied in diverse contexts within the area of social science.

Social capital comprises social networks, norms of reciprocity or social support and social trust. Among these dimensions, social networks have received attention and been viewed as the core element of social capital (Ferlander, 2007; Putnam, 1993). Based on the characteristics of the social network including its direction, formality, strength, and diversity, the social network is commonly classified as bonding and bridging networks in migration studies (Cheong et al., 2007; Davidsson and Honig, 2003; Katila and Wahlbeck, 2011; Nannestad et al., 2008).

The bonding capital refers to the value assigned to social networks between homogenous groups of people such as families or ethnic groups, which is an example of strong ties and ethnic resources (Cheong et al., 2007; Lancee, 2010, 2012). This is viewed as crucial in the business development of migrant entrepreneurs, especially for persons who do not have abundant human and financial capital, and are having difficulty in integrating into the mainstream society and getting access to the non co-ethnic resources for starting up (Bagwell, 2018; Deakins et al., 2007; Katila and Wahlbeck, 2011; Nee and Sanders, 2001; Ram et al., 2008). Bridging capital refers to the social network between socially heterogeneous groups or non co-ethnic groups, such the extent to which you can engage in native networks in destination countries (Lancee, 2010, 2012). Because of representing the relations with people in various professional contexts (Putnam, 1993), this can be regarded as the weak and vertical ties (Granovetter, 1973). The bridging networks are thus supposed to provide the entrepreneur with a wider range of business-related information, knowledge, ideas and, potentially, host-country specific resources (Chávez et al., 2006; Katila and Wahlbeck, 2011; Lancee, 2012; Wahlbeck, 2007).

The essential difference between the bonding networks and the bridging networks is that the social capital plays different roles in the development stages, industrial sectors, and economic and institutional contexts (Sequeira and Rasheed, 2006). The underlying principle of bonding capital is that of network closure, and the highest degree of closure is the family (Coleman, 1988). Based on the natural blood ties, family relationships promote cooperation needed in realising both economic and non-economic values, and strengthen the mutual obligation and trust characteristics of solidaristic small groups (Nee and Sanders, 2001; Sanders and Nee, 1996;). The role of family networks is particularly important when migrant entrepreneurs are in a weak institutional environment that cannot support them (Estrada-Robles et al., 2018). When adequate capital cannot be raised within the nuclear family or extended family, migrants can approach members of their extended family for assistance and further seek friends and business partners outside the family (Paerregaard, 2018; Sanders and Nee, 1996). Due to this natural attribute and closeness, bonding networks are most accessible for migrant entrepreneurs and can be employed as cheap or unpaid labour, financial loans with low interest, and trusted information (Adler and Kwon, 2002; Katila and Wahlbeck, 2011; Kloosterman, 2010; Ram et al., 2008; Sanders and Nee, 1996; Waldinger et al., 1990;).

Obviously, bonding capital normally plays a fundamental role in the start-up stage for migrant entrepreneurs, especially for someone with limited resources. However, with the development and expanding of their business, migrant entrepreneurs have an urgent need to integrate into the host society and to utilise the host-specific resources, and at this stage the bonding capital may have minimal or even negative impact on their businesses (Tolciu, 2011). The ethnic niche therefore becomes a relative narrow and isolated system where opportunities generated are inferior because the resources accessed through a network of co-ethnics and family members may not provide unique information (Lancee, 2012). The use of ethnic resources can facilitate the business at the initial stage but the long-term success will be hindered by continued reliance on familial resources, especially for people who have the potential to get growth outside the enclave (Bates, 1994; Sequeira and Rasheed, 2006; Yoon, 1991). As

Yoon (1991: 319) explained:

'Small amounts of ethnic resources may be sufficient for a prospective entrepreneur to start up his or her own business. However, as his or her business grows, and especially when he or she is ready to break into the American general market, he or she will find the ethnic resources provide only limited assistance. This is because the financial resources, information or business advice one can gather from family members, friends or rotating credit associations on the basis of trust and personal ties are not sufficient enough for a growing business.'

On the other hand, excessive reliance on ethnic networks may even prevent contact with the host society and thus hamper integration (Lancee, 2012). The bonding capital can also lock migrants into specific ethnic niches that exacerbate competition, rivalry and exploitation that would compromise business development (Ryan et al., 2008). Sometimes it can prepare the way for abuses and exploitation (Ley, 2006). This has been verified in the study of Chinese owners in Finland (Katila and Wahlbeck, 2011) and Australia (Zolin et al., 2011), ethnic business owners in Scotland (Mohammed Ishaq et al., 2007), and Polish migrants in London (Ryan et al., 2008).

After the start-up of immigrants' businesses bridging capital is more crucial to facilitate expansion. It can also be viewed as the extent of engagement into the native networks in destination countries (Lancee, 2010, 2012). Actually, these two kinds of networks are intertwined. For example, migrant entrepreneurs who are new to the host country, find it difficult to get access to the local networks directly. Some of them may engage in the mainstream society via their relatives or native spouses (Katila and Wahlbeck, 2011).

Compared with research on the role of social capital in migrant entrepreneurship, studies regarding human capital have always been underestimated. Nonetheless, human capital, with respect to language level, education attainment and previous work (business) experience, has been increasingly stressed in recent references. Domestic immigrant entrepreneurs can utilise the knowledge obtained in their education to better conduct their businesses. Their educational level, training courses, business experiences and

English proficiency help entrepreneurs to manage their businesses and achieve economic successes (Basu, 1998; Lancee, 2010; 2012; Ley, 2006; Marger, 2001, 2006; Sanders and Nee, 1996; Solano, 2015). For example, Beckers and Blumberg (2013) stressed that a certain degree of education was fundamental to taking advantage of available opportunities compared with other factors. Valdez (2008) proposed that the educational level and training courses helped entrepreneurs manage their businesses and achieve economic success and these were particularly significant among Mexican and Black business owners in the US. In Spain, Carbonell and his colleagues employed quantitative methodology and concluded that the selections of sectors were diverse with respect to the levels of education, and the education levels also positively affected the business turnover (Carbonell et al., 2014). In addition to education, previous migration and work experience also have a positive impact on the performance of immigrant entrepreneurs (Waldinger et al., 1990: 41; Williams and Krasniqi, 2017).

From the perspective of mixed embeddedness, factors in diverse dimensions are interconnected. An increasing number of studies have further emphasised that only the host country-specific skills can play a positive role in migrant entrepreneurship because these can be matched with the social and economic context of the host country (Williams and Krasniqi, 2017). For example, being fluent in the foreign language of the host country is statistically significant. With fluent language skills migrant entrepreneurs can more easily understand the local laws and regulations, and get access to the mainstream society (Marger, 2006; William and Krasniqi, 2017). Education attainment should also be linked with the host country context. Two of younger nail salon owners had achieved business success in London because they had studied specific Health and Beauty curriculums in the UK. This provided them with the basic skills, but also gave them access to the wider local market and contacts (Bagwell, 2015).

Social capital and human capital have been viewed as the synthesis that combines to facilitate ethnic entrepreneurship (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). However, human capital has a more complicated and interactive relationship

with social capital. The strong and high business skills, experience, education and financial capital enable migrant entrepreneurs to operate in a highly individualistic style with a minimal reliance on ethnic-derived social capital (Marger, 2001, 2006; Nee and Sanders, 2001; Sequeira et al., 2006). But strong human capital, especially language proficiency, may facilitate access to a wider network of social capital resources in the host country so that entrepreneurs can be more socialised and networked with the native population, and may increase the chances of identifying and developing entrepreneurial opportunities and getting help from native friends (Marger, 2006; William and Krasniqi, 2017). On the contrary, low human capital forces the migrant entrepreneurs to recruit a co-ethnic employee within the enclave in order to build social capital (Sequeira et al., 2006). For instance, Turkish migrant entrepreneurs have to employ co-ethnic employees due to a lack of local language skills (Tolciu, 2011).

2.6.3 Ethnic entrepreneurship from the perspective of the middleman-minority and ethnic-enclave

Through the in-depth study of Chinatown in New York, Min Zhou explained how ethnic enclaves play a role for Chinese migrants (Zhou, 1992: 219):

‘Community networks and social capital serve as major resources for achieving their socioeconomic goals. In the cultural environment of Chinatown immigrants can conduct their daily lives in their own language, following their own custom and rituals without fear and intimidation. Immigrants depend on this distinct ethnic identity, which they trust because it is familiar. They share the work ethic of Chinatown, the standard of value that keeps their hopes and dreams alive.’

As Zhou said, the same culture and language allows business migrants to get access to ethnic networks more easily. As newcomers, most business migrants lack language proficiency and knowledge of Australian culture, and they are therefore more inclined to rely on ethnic networks to obtain business and investment information, seek business partners, recruit employees, and integrate into the mainstream society.

This results in two major types of ethnic economies: middleman-minority

entrepreneurship and ethnic-enclave entrepreneurship. Middleman minorities are migrant entrepreneurs who take advantage of ethnic resources such as language, social networks, and skills to trade between their host and origin societies (Drori et al., 2009). They are intermediaries between dominant-group producers/retailers and ethnic-group consumers (Tseng, 1997; Nazareno et al., 2019). Ethnic identity is viewed as a strategy for middleman minorities to develop their businesses. In contrast, enclave entrepreneurs are bounded by a certain location and are usually populated by co-ethnics. The ethnic economies consist of 'co-ethnic self-employed and employers and their co-ethnic employees' (Light and Gold, 2000: 4). Compared with middleman-minority entrepreneurs, the economic activities are more diverse and broader. It is because that they are more tied to the social enclave of their own ethnic communities (Nazareno et al., 2019; Portes and Zhou, 1992). Both middleman and enclave entrepreneurship are survival strategies in host societies for migrant entrepreneurs. The traditional view is that ethnic entrepreneurs are small business owners in low-end industries such as ethnic food restaurants, groceries, and retail shops (Min, 1992; Zhou, 1992).

2.6.4 Transnational entrepreneurship

Over the last two or three decades, the growth and implementation of communication technologies and increased possibilities for relatively cheap travel have facilitated processes of globalisation and encouraged migrants to create and maintain social and economic relations all over the world, especially social contacts in their country of origin (Solano, 2016b). To capture this global migration pattern, Basch et al. (1994: 6) introduced the concept of transnationalism, which is defined as:

'the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations link together their societies of origin and settlement...An essential element is the multiplicity of involvements that transmigrants sustain in both home and host societies.'

As Portes et al. (2002) highlighted, transnationalism has highlighted a number of long-distance ties that are of an economic, political, and cultural nature. Therefore, transnationalism and transnational practices can be multi-faceted (economic, socio-cultural, and political) and multi-scale (micro, meso, and macro) (Portes et al., 1999). These are combined to form a diversity of transnational practices including economic transnationalism, political transnationalism, social transnationalism and so on.

Due to the development of globalisation, an increasing number of migrant entrepreneurs have been embedded in a transnational and multilevel socio-economic sphere and are trying to exploit and to link their social and economic resources both in host countries and home countries to expand their businesses. In this case, previous literature for migrant entrepreneurs exclusively based on host countries within the realm of ethnic entrepreneurs cannot fully come up with the reality of the changing situation (Drori et al., 2009). Therefore, recent studies have introduced a new research paradigm, the so-called transnational entrepreneurship. With a combination of transnationalism and ethnic entrepreneurship, this paradigm focuses on a specific immigrant group termed as 'transnational entrepreneurs'. They can generate networks, ideas, information, and practices for the purpose of seeking business opportunities or maintaining businesses with dual or multilevel social fields (Bagwell, 2015, 2018; Chen and Tan, 2009; Drori et al., 2009; Kariv et al., 2009; Portes et al., 1999, 2002; Portes and Yiu, 2013; Tan et al., 2018, 2021; Urbano et al., 2011; Vertovec, 2004). The economic activities of transnational entrepreneurs have been defined as 'transnational entrepreneurial activities' that are carried out in a cross-national context, and initiated by actors who are embedded in at least two different social and economic areas' (Drori et al., 2009: 1001). Different from the studies on ethnic entrepreneurship that mainly focus on the process of immigration, assimilation, and adaptation in host countries (Kloosterman et al., 1998; Rath and Kloosterman, 2000), the scholarship of transnational entrepreneurship places more emphasis on how migrants can exploit resources, both social and economic, in more than one country (Drori et al., 2009). Based on an array of different definitions, Harima and Baron (2020)

have highlighted four assumptions and preconditions for transnational entrepreneurship: 1) Frequent travel between home and host countries; 2) Engagement in business activities in the home and host countries simultaneously; 3) Bilateral country contexts between home and host countries; and 4) A characteristic of high education attainment and qualification. Specifically, Landolt et al. (1999) distinguished five types of transnational entrepreneurial activities based on transnational characteristics: 1) Circuit companies, which refers to businesses involving the circulation of tangible and non-tangible goods across the borders of different States (e.g. import/export businesses); 2) Cultural companies, which refers to businesses promoting the national identity of the home country (e.g. companies linked to films and television); 3) Ethnic companies, which refers to businesses located in the neighbourhoods with a high concentration of immigrants; 4) Return migrant micro-businesses, which refers to companies run by migrants in their home country; 5) Transnational expansion companies, which refers to businesses who view immigrants as part of their natural market.

Drawing on Guarnizo's (1997) refinement of transnationalism as either from above (global capital, transnational companies, and states) and from below (grassroots activity and individuals), Portes et al. (1999) demonstrated how examining transnationalism from these two perspectives reveals different types of cross-border activities. The intersection of multilevel factors at play means that all transnational entrepreneurship is not homogenous (Portes and Martinez, 2020). To specify, 'transnationalism from above' reflects a contextual dimension including conditions of globalisation, the division of labour, social structure, institutional arrangements, cultural context, social networks, local and international environments (Drori et al., 2009; Yeung, 2002). For example, the export-led economy in South Korea drives Korean migrants in America to conduct transnational businesses (Min, 1992). In the same vein, the market liberalisation in Vietnam, enhancing the economic linkages with the world, has also spurred Vietnamese migrant entrepreneurs in the UK to exploit business opportunities from Vietnam and other countries that have Vietnamese diasporas (Bagwell, 2018). The bilateral relationship between home countries and

destination countries also has influences on transnational entrepreneurs. For instance, Polish migrants succeed in conducting import-export businesses between German and Poland due to the bilateral relationship between the two countries (Miera, 2008).

'Transnationalism from below' can be conceptualised as individual beliefs, habitual behaviours, motivations, and modes of adaptation and exploitation of opportunities and availability of resources (Drori et al., 2009; Kariv et al., 2009; Sandoz et al., 2021; Solano, 2016a, 2016b). Transnational ties are the crucial aspect in the realm of transnational entrepreneurship. A growing number of migrant entrepreneurs are drawing on transnational networks to develop and expand their businesses. Chen and Tan (2009) have made an important contribution to this realm by offering the concept and theory of 'glocalized networks', which analyses networks with both local and global connection through linking macro- and micro-level factors at the meso level. They further add to the the previous research gap by generating two methods, 'The Name Generator' and 'The Position Generator', to quantitatively measure the extensity, upper reachability, and range of social networks. Through mobilising their cross-country social network and ethnic ties, migrant entrepreneurs can visit the country of origin, maintain social networks with family, friends and associates in the country of origin, facilitate co-ethnic newcomers' adaptation and assimilation into the host country, provide financial support (Bagwell, 2015), obtain and disseminate information, recruit a labour force (Wahlbeck, 2018), and blend knowledge (Kariv et al., 2009). For example, Chinese and South Asian entrepreneurs in Birmingham in the UK have drawn on their transnational links to source a huge range of food imports, enabling them to establish successful supermarkets (McEwan et al., 2005).

In some studies the exploitation of transnational resources is viewed as an additional and different competitive advantage and resources compared with the locals (Elo et al., 2018). However, the role of transnationalism is closely related to the degree of migrant transnationalism, possibilities for transnational validation of capital, and transnational framing of migrants' self-perception

(Nowicka, 2013). Kelly and Lusi (2006) chose the concept of habitus to explain that the economic, social, and cultural capital does not simply transfer to a new setting but a process of valuation and exchange continues between the places of origin and destination well after settlement has occurred. The positive impact of transitional resources might be decreased if the degree of transnational engagement is weak, and tends to be more temporary and fleeting, or if the transnational networks mismatch with specific circumstances. For example, the skills and business experiences that migrant entrepreneurs obtained from their homeland can also be viewed as a kind of transnational resource. William and Krasniqi (2017) have claimed that educational qualifications in the country of origin before migration do not have any influence on entrepreneurship, while specific training in the destination country has a positive impact. In the Netherlands, for example, the reason why Ghanaian entrepreneurs with high educational attainment and fluent language proficiency are still restricted in the small business niche is because the Netherland Government does not recognise the Ghanaian education background (Kloosterman et al., 2016). In this case, transnational entrepreneurs can be further categorised as necessity entrepreneurs, who are simply self-employed and need-based, and opportunity entrepreneurs, who reform or revolutionise the pattern of production. Compared with opportunity entrepreneurs, necessity-driven entrepreneurs normally contribute less to economic growth (Zapata-Barrero and Rezaei, 2020).

2.7 Theoretical approach development

This section explains several theoretical approaches that study migrant entrepreneurs. The study further borrows and appraises these approaches and proposes a theoretical model that can adapt to understand business migrants.

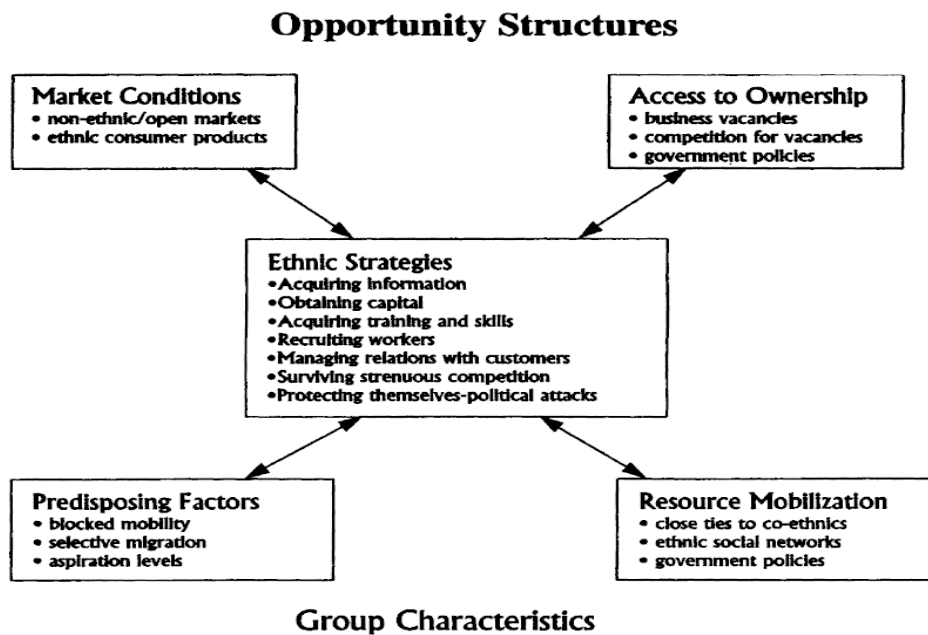
2.7.1 Interactive approach

The interactive approach is introduced by Waldinger and his colleagues (Waldinger et al., 1990) who develop an explanation for immigrant enterprises that emphasises the interaction between the opportunity structure, based on the

urban markets as demand side, and group characteristics and social structure of the immigrant entrepreneurs as supply side. The model identifies how migrant entrepreneurs utilise various strategies to insert their personal resources into the opportunity structure they are embedded in so that their economic potential can be maximised. The immigrant economic activities and practices therefore can be viewed as an interactive consequence of the pursuit of opportunities through the mobilisation of resources and group characteristics within unique historical conditions (Waldinger et al., 1990).

As Figure 2.2 shows, the opportunity structure incorporates three key elements including the domain size of the market, the accessibility of the ownership, and the growth potential of the market. Migrant entrepreneurs with their resources, co-ethnic networks, human capital, and financial capital, interact with opportunity structures via diverse strategies such as acquiring information and recruiting workers. For example, migrant entrepreneurs are more likely to obtain opportunities from a high-potential market that can provide more openings, but whether or not they can get access to the ownership depends on market barriers and their personal resources (Wong and Ng, 1998). Normally, a migrant entrepreneur with limited resources is more inclined to get into the low-threshold markets which are characterised by co-ethnicity, uncertainties, and low-added value. A typical example is the vacancy-chain market where the newcomers can only get the vacancies left by more established groups who might have moved into higher positions. Although this kind of market is easy to enter, it is usually a sunset industry and full of competition (Waldinger et al., 1990).

Figure 2.2 An interactive model of ethnic business development



Source: Wong and Ng (1998: 68)

Kloosterman (2010) also built a dynamic model that simplifies the market into the dichotomous sectors, stagnating market and expanding market (Figure 2.3). The business pattern of migrant entrepreneurs varies according to the intertwined output between their individual resources and different types of markets. For example, low-skilled migrants in the stagnating market are prone towards the sunset market with characteristics of low threshold, meagre profit, and vacancy-chain openings. When they climb to the expanding market, they may turn to the service sectors affiliated to developed industries. For example, immigrant firms have chosen to build stage sets for the movie industry in Hollywood (Scott, 2005). Contrastingly high-skilled immigrants prefer to conduct high-tech industries in the expanding market, and they are less likely to be involved in the stage set market. With respect to how immigrant entrepreneurs flow or break through barriers in different economic structures, the interactive relationship between immigrant's resources and markets needs to be further considered (Waldinger et al., 1990; Kloosterman et al., 2016).

Figure 2.3 A typology of the opportunity structure: accessibility and growth potential

		< Growth potential >	
		Stagnating	Expanding
< Human capital >	High thresholds		Post-industrial/ high-skilled
	Low threshold	Vacancy- chain openings	Post-industrial/ low-skilled

Source: Kloosterman (2010: 30)

As Wong and Ng (1998: 69) indicated:

‘The strength of this model is that it is multidimensional, interactive, and dynamic with specific emphasis on the development of ethnic strategies and how they are used to respond to structural constraints.’

Obviously, the advantage of the interactive model is to address the dynamic and interactive relationship between immigrant entrepreneurs and the social structure, but it still fails to stress the relative importance of each factor and the role of broader national and institutional dimensions. These gaps will be addressed in the following mixed embeddedness approach.

2.7.2 Mixed embeddedness approach

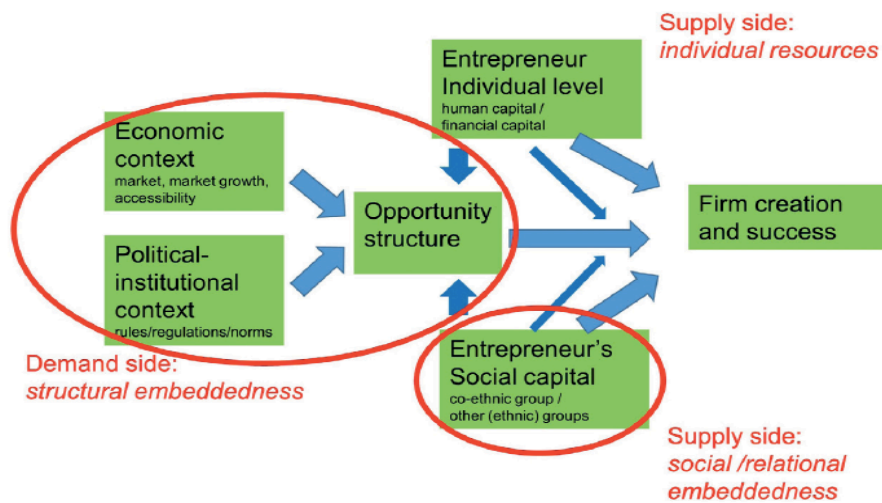
Built on interactionist approach, the mixed embeddedness perspective also emphasised the interaction process of insertion of migrant entrepreneurs into the host market and the opportunity structure. However, the mixed embeddedness approach is taken further by building a more comprehensive and systematic analytical framework. The approach combines the micro-level of the individual resources with the meso-level of the local opportunity structure. The

latter is then linked, in a more broad perspective, to the macro-institutional framework, which is not sufficiently emphasised in interactionist approach (Kloosterman, 2010; Kloosterman and Rath, 2018; Ram et al., 2017).

This three-level system has been built on the basis of a combined and systematic context with spatial, social, political and economic dimensions. Migrant entrepreneurs are embedded into this holistic system and their business pattern will be affected and reshaped by factors intertwined in this dynamic and three-dimensional frame (Kloosterman et al., 1999, 2016; Kloosterman and Rath, 2001; Kloosterman, 2003, 2010). The interactionist approach has emphasised the interactive process between the opportunity structure (meso-level) and the group characteristics of migrant entrepreneurs (micro-level) as illustrated by the cases of garment industries of minority businesses in Paris, London, and New York (Waldinger et al., 1990). The mixed embeddedness approach further broadens the model by incorporating more components in these two levels, and by specially considering the factors at a macro-institutional level.

Solano (2016b: 38) summarised three advances of the mixed embeddedness approach. Firstly, the approach simultaneously uses the concept of embeddedness both in social networks and place-bound institutions. Secondly, the approach makes the three-scale distinction including national, regional/urban and neighbourhood level. These necessary features of market conditions may differ between regions, cities, and neighbourhoods. Thirdly, factors in the mixed embeddedness approach are more specified and detailed in the economic context and political and institutional contexts. Solano (2016b) further visualised a typical mixed embeddedness model as shown in Figure 2.4.

Figure 2.4 Mixed embeddedness model



Source: Solano (2016b: 39)

Overall, as Honig (2020: 1984) highlighted:

‘The mixed embeddedness model facilitates interdisciplinary study examining both regulatory and local governance-related factors. Utilising this model should be helpful to public policy actors attempting to adjust and find tune their immigration policies in order to facilitate immigration integration.’

However, the mixed embeddedness model does not come up with the transnational situation.

2.7.3 Dual embeddedness approach

As Bagwell (2018: 106) indicated:

‘The focus of the mixed embeddedness approach and these related models has largely been on migrants’ embeddedness in the socio-economic and politico-institutional environment of the country of settlement. Whilst this may be appropriate for businesses with a local orientation, it fails to capture the transnational embeddedness of many new migrant businesses.’

There is thus a call for a broader theoretical frame to look beyond multilevel factors merely linked with the host country, and consider the broader spatial contexts, including the home country, which influence the migrant

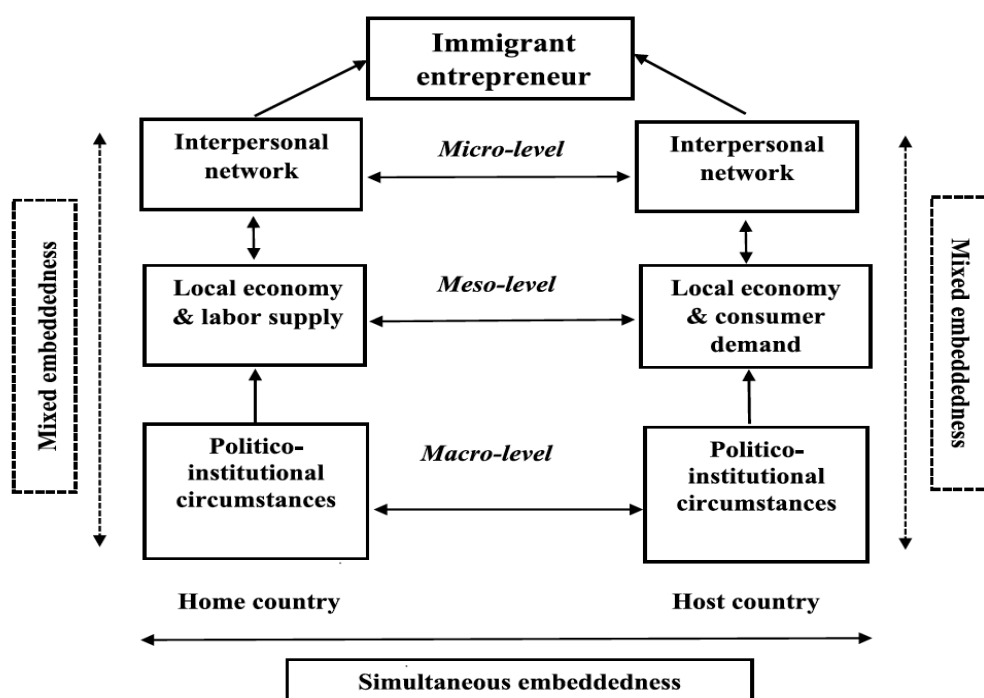
entrepreneurs at different levels. The dual embeddedness approach (bifocality) (Brzozowski et al., 2014; Ren and Liu, 2015; You and Zhou, 2019) and the transnational embeddedness approach (multifocality) (Solano, 2016a, 2016b; Bagwell, 2015, 2018) are introduced to cope with this transnational entrepreneurship. Both the simultaneous embeddedness and transnational embeddedness approaches are research paradigms that combine transnationalism and mixed embeddedness theory (Wahlbeck, 2018). The transnational social space can be viewed as a 'separate level' (Miera, 2008) or an 'additional layer' (Bagwell, 2018).

Miera (2008), the first author to combine the migrant transnationalism and mixed embeddedness perspective (Barberis and Solano, 2018), explicitly suggested that the transnational space could be introduced as a new and separate fourth level of analysis following the national level, the urban or regional level, and the neighbourhood level as studied by the mixed embeddedness perspective. Specifically in her study, the transnational sphere refers to the bilateral political-economic relationship and institutional arrangements between Germany and Poland such as the German-Polish migration regulations and the geopolitical and socio-economic situations in Poland and Germany. For example, the German-Polish migration system can facilitate the import-export trade of Polish entrepreneurs in Germany by decreasing the institutional obstacles and mobilising the flow of transnational networks.

Bagwell (2018) otherwise presented a re-working of the mixed embeddedness thesis in her studies of Vietnamese businesses in London, and argues for the need for 'a further transnational layer of embeddedness' (Bagwell, 2018: 105), which operates at the macro (e.g. trade agreements and regulations in host country and overseas), meso (e.g. size and nature of market in host country and overseas), and micro levels (e.g. trusted members of diaspora in host country and overseas) of analysis of the opportunity structures, both in host countries and home countries simultaneously. You and Zhou (2019) adapted this 'additional layer' model to study Chinese nail salons in New York. Figure 2.5

shows their analytic framework

Figure 2.5 Simultaneous embeddedness: An analytic framework



Source: You and Zhou (2019: 171)

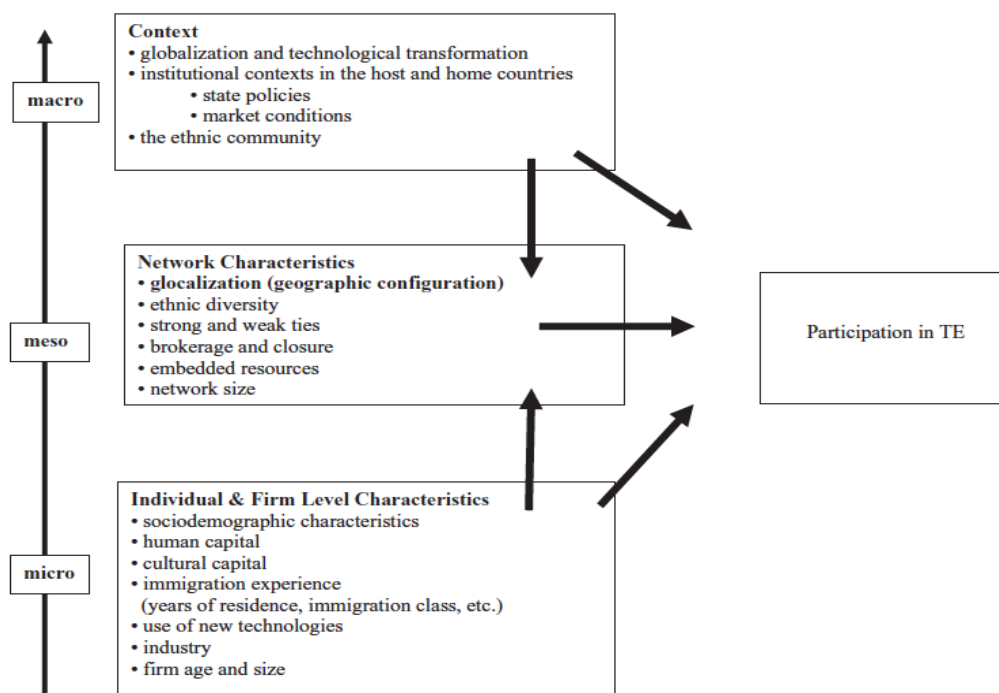
Following on from Bagwell (2018), Wahlbeck (2018) further stresses systematic interactivity of the Simultaneous embeddedness model in his study of Turkish immigrants in Finland. As he explains (Wahlbeck, 2018: 76):

‘In contrast to Miera, and more strongly than Bagwell, I would like to emphasise the interconnectedness of the transnational and the other levels of analysis. Markets, and even less so institutional regulations, are seldom solely transnational and can usually not be analysed in isolation from their local environments.’

According to Wahlbeck’s study, the exploitation of transnational social networks should be connected to wider social, political and economic contexts, and the transnational resources can only be utilised as a local resource under specific local circumstances. To specify, the Turkish migrant entrepreneurs’ transnational networks are subjected to the local policies and regulations in Finland. The networks would not work if the immigration policies on foreigners are restricted. Wahlbeck (2018) insists that the integrative model presented by

Chen and Tan (2009) provides some of the best advancement of the theory of transnational entrepreneurship based on mixed embeddedness theory and emphasises the interconnectedness and interactivity in diverse dimensions (Figure 2.6). They underline the need for a theory of migrant entrepreneurship to take into account both the country of destination and the country of origin based on the concept of ‘glocalized networks’, which emphasises that the social networks work simultaneously at different scales, both local and global.

Figure 2.6 An integrative model of Transnational Entrepreneurship



Source: Chen and Tan (2019: 1082)

2.8 Theoretical research model for this study

In contrast to research on international entrepreneurship that mainly considers the firm as a unit of analysis, transnational entrepreneurship theory stresses individual factors including migration background and trajectory as decisive elements (Harima and Baron, 2020; Sandoz et al., 2021). This study employs the dual embeddedness framework to explore and understand the economic behaviours and activities of business migrants. The study views business

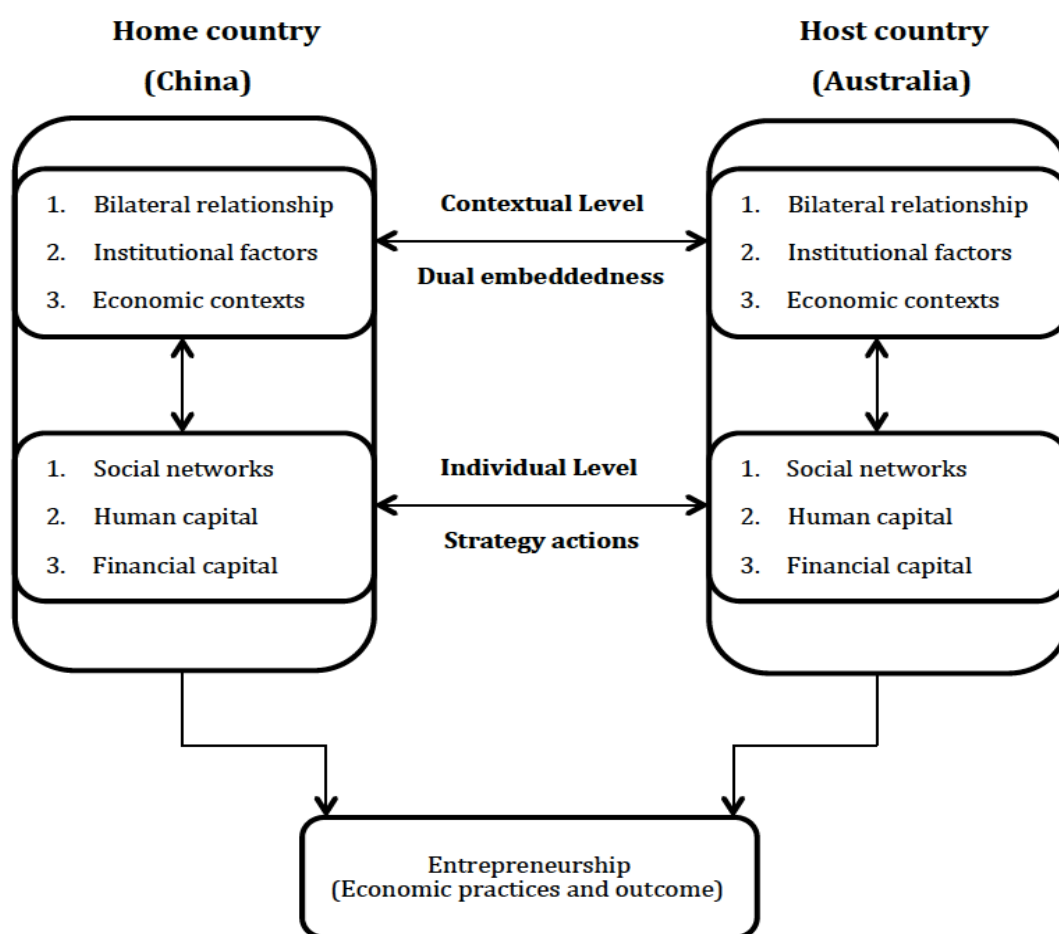
migrants as 'economic actors' embedded in a dual socio-economic sphere. The economic performance of business migrants is an interactive outcome of their individual characteristics interlinked with the surrounding multilevel circumstances.

The theoretical frame is grounded in the theory of transnational entrepreneurship, however, it does not mean that business migrants can be labelled as 'transnational entrepreneurs'. As Harima and Baron (2020) stressed, the concept of transnational entrepreneurship remains ambiguous. Cross-border economic operations are typical characteristics of transnational entrepreneurship but many economic practices, such as remittances, have little to do with transnational firms (Bailetti, 2018). On the contrary, some early virtual connections, not fully consistent with the characteristics of transnational entrepreneurship, may generate potential economic links that have benefits for transnational economic activities (Harima and Baron, 2020). In fact, whether business migrants conduct transnational practices or not depends on their individual interests and behaviours, and specific circumstances. These aspects are constantly changeable in nature, which may blur the boundary between ethnic entrepreneurship and transnational entrepreneurship of business migrants. It is therefore more interesting to answer why, how and when do business migrants pursue transitional practices from host country-based businesses, or vice versa. The dual embeddedness approach is capable of incorporating and examining these two different sub-fields, and capturing the dynamic transition amongst different economic statuses (Honig, 2020).

The nature and logic of '(dual) mixed embeddedness' is to systematically conceptualise factors that shape the business activities of migrant entrepreneurs. It is normally built up on a three-dimensional system (macro/national, meso/local or regional, and micro/neighbourhood level) based on spatially and geographically hierarchical principle. However, there is no consensus as yet to clarify the dimension scope. Kloosterman (2010) defined the micro-level as the individual entrepreneur and his or her human and social capital, the meso-level as the local opportunity structure and market condition, and macro-level, in a

more loose way, as the political-institutional framework. This tripartition principle has been directly adapted in the transnational entrepreneurship research conducted by Bagwell (2018) and Wahlbeck (2018). While in other studies, the utilisation of social networks are specially emphasised and are exclusively set as meso level. In this case, the local market condition is viewed as macro factors (Chen and Tan, 2009; Honig, 2020). In order to avoid the ambiguous categorisation, this study is grounded in the theory of 'transnationalism from above' and 'transnationalism from below', which bifurcates the model as *contextual level and individual level*. In doing so the model is concise and has more explicit dimensions. The contextual level refers to multilevel economic contexts (i.e. economic development, change, and industrial structure) and institutional arrangements (i.e. the changes in the business migration program and bilateral relationship) in dual circumstances. The individual level refers to subjective strategic actions and habitus of business migrants. In this study, it is conceptualised as the utilisation of human capital (i.e. English proficiency, educational attainment, and entrepreneurial know-how), social capital (i.e. family networks, ethnic networks, transnational networks, and local networks), and financial capital. The model used in this study also emphasises the interconnection among factors at multilevel, and further considers the intertwined relationship between two countries. Exploitation of different forms of capital, connected with dual circumstances, can allow business migrants to generate business-related strategy, behaviour, motivation and entrepreneurial propensity and further results in different economic outcomes. Figure 2.7 presents the research model.

Figure 2.7 Theoretical framework



Source: constructed by the author

2.9 Conclusion

The overwhelming dominance of the Chinese mainland on the business migration program is not an accidental phenomenon; it stems from the surge in economic development and drastic social change in China within a short period. This chapter divides China's development trajectory into three phases, and then illustrates how Chinese HNWIs are capitalising on China's economic development, and why a great number of them choose to move overseas.

The Australian business migration program has experienced six revamps since its inception. Periodic changes not only need to meet with Australia's demands on financial capital and entrepreneurial skills, but also consider the economic conditions of source countries as the supply side, as well as the complicated

international situation. As a powerful policy tool, the business migration program has significant influences on entrepreneurship and economic behaviours of business migrants. It is therefore important to clarify detailed regulations and rationales behind the revamps of the program.

The chapter reviews and evaluates literature relevant to the topic of migrant entrepreneurship. The literature starts from the ethnic entrepreneurship that mainly focuses on migrant entrepreneurs exclusively in the host country and specific ethnic niche, to transnational entrepreneurship that stresses cross-border economic practices. An array of theoretical approaches, including the interactive approach, mixed embeddedness approach, and dual embeddedness approach, are developed to address hypotheses proposed by relevant theories. These approaches identify multilevel factors and advance to refine the theoretical framework to better interpret economic activities and behaviours of migrant entrepreneurs. Grounded on previous theories and approaches, the chapter puts forward the theoretical model specific for Chinese mainland business migrants in Australia.

Chapter 3 Methods for data collection and analysis

3.1 Introduction

This chapter details the research methodology and underlying methodological and theoretical perspectives that are used in the study to explore the business migrants' entrepreneurship embedded in multilevel circumstances. A mixed methods approach, involving both quantitative and qualitative analysis (Creswell, 2013), is utilised to collect and analyse primary and secondary datasets. The study starts with the deductive method first constructing the research theory and questions (Braun and Clarke, 2012).

The chapter begins with a discussion of the rationale of applying a mixed methods approach. The specific quantitative and qualitative data gathering methods employed in Adelaide and Melbourne are detailed here. Details of quantitative and qualitative data analysis techniques then follow. Issues surrounding the limitations and lessons of the study, as well as research ethics considerations are also outlined. Finally, the chapter ends by concluding with a reflection on the study's research methods.

3.2 The mixed methods approach

A mixed methods approach involves systematically combining or integrating qualitative and quantitative research and data in a study (Creswell, 2013). Johnson et al. (2007: 123) have defined the mixed methods approach as:

'The type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g. use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration.'

The value of mixed methods resides in a pragmatic idea that all methods have weaknesses and the integration of both quantitative and qualitative data can neutralise the disadvantages and weaknesses of each form of data and methods

(Creswell, 2013; Jick, 1979; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). The mixed methods approach therefore aims to enhance the research scope and breadth for a project. Greene et al. (1989) have summarised five specific purposes of the mixed methods approach: 1) The **triangulation** – which seeks convergence, corroboration, and comparison of results from the different methods to increase the validity of constructs; 2) The **complementarity** – which aims to increase the interpretability, meaningfulness, and validity of constructs by utilising one method to further explain another one; 3) The **development** – which is to apply the result of one method to broaden the scope of another one; 4) The **initiation** – which recasts questions from one method with results from another question; 5). The **expansion** – which seeks to extend the breadth and range of inquiry by using different methods for different inquiry components.

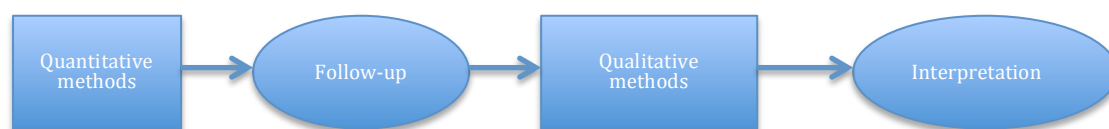
However, this also raises key methodological questions concerning the mixed methods approach for conducting specific research to achieve the stated purposes: how do researchers position quantitative and qualitative methods, and how do they converge and integrate these two elements in specific research? To solve this issue, Creswell (2013) has proposed two concrete models to deal with the order of quantitative and qualitative methods, the **convergent parallel mixed method** and the **explanatory sequential mixed method**. The convergent parallel mixed method typically collects qualitative and quantitative data at roughly the same time and then integrates the information to explain the overall results or contradictions. The explanatory sequential mixed method usually starts from one method (quantitative or qualitative) and another method (qualitative or quantitative) is sequentially employed to provide further explanation.

Migration, especially migrant entrepreneurship, is a complicated and dynamic phenomenon and needs to be studied in a sophisticated way. This thesis aims to explore how the entrepreneurship of Chinese business migrants is shaped by multilevel factors at play, and to provide the policy recommendations that maximise the economic potential of business migrants. To achieve this research objective, multidimensional data resources are obviously required for

complementarity to broaden and deepen the study. The quantitative dataset with a large sample size can offer an overall picture of business migrants' individual characteristics, official documents and statistics can provide the contextual information relevant to business migrants at different levels. In-depth interviews and observations are employed to further explore the dynamic mechanism between business migrants and multilevel factors. The mixed methods approach is therefore employed to combine quantitative and qualitative methods to answer the research questions.

The methodological purpose in this thesis is inclined toward a combination of **complementarity** and **development**. The analytical paradigm follows the **explanatory sequential mixed method** as shown in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1: Explanatory sequential mixed methods



Source: Creswell (2013: 809)

Quantitative data is firstly employed to provide the descriptive and regression analysis on the socio-economic profile of business migrants, and to elicit the key question through describing the dynamic change of business migrants' entrepreneurship (industrial selection and business performance). The qualitative data is then applied to further explore the dynamic mechanism behind the change in entrepreneurship of business migrants from a transitional and multilevel perspective.

3.3. Data collection approaches

3.3.1 Quantitative methods

Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset 2016 (ACMID 2016):

ACMID 2016 contains Australian Census of Population and Housing data from the Census conducted in 2016 linked to Permanent Migrant Data collected in 2016 (PMD 2016) from the Department of Social Services. To apply for access to the microdata of ACMID 2016, the researcher required training and approval of the project proposal from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). The census is conducted every five years to enumerate the number of people and dwellings in Australia on census night, and provide information on the key characteristics of population and dwellings for small geographic areas and small population groups. The PMD 2016 is administrative data pertaining to permanent settlers in Australia from various departmental systems and a number of external sources. The ACMID 2016 relates to people who have migrated to Australia under a permanent Skill, Family, Humanitarian and Other Permanent stream visa between 1 January 2000 and 9 August 2016, however, overseas visitors, and temporary and bridging visa holders are excluded (ABS, 2016b).

Data linking is a key part of statistical data integration and involves combining records from different source datasets using variables that are shared between the sources. As ABS (2016b) indicates: 'Data linkage is performed on unit records that represent individual persons. Deterministic and probabilistic linkage methodologies are employed in linking the PMD 2016 with the Census 2016. Deterministic data linkage, also known as rule-based linkage, involves assigning record pairs across two datasets that match exactly or closely on common variables. This type of linkage is most applicable where the records from different sources consistently report sufficient information to efficiently identify links. It is less applicable in instances where there are issues with data quality or where there are limited characteristics. Probabilistic linking allows links to be assigned in spite of missing or inconsistent information, providing there is enough agreement on other variables to offset any disagreement. In

probabilistic data linkage, records from two datasets are compared and brought together using several variables common to each dataset.' In this research at the completion of the linkage process 1,924,551 (88 per cent) out of 2,166,014 records from the PMD 2016 were linked to the Census 2016. The overall linkage accuracy (precision) for this project was estimated to be around 99 per cent. Of the final 1,924,551 linked records, 549,361 (28 per cent) records were linked using the deterministic linkage method and 1,375,190 records (71 per cent) were linked using the probabilistic method (ABS, 2016b).

The most salient advantage of ACMID 2016 is its large sample size in that 88 per cent of migrants' information has been linked to the census (ABS, 2016b). Each sub-visa category is identified in the dataset specifically, which means that it reflects the overall picture of characteristics of business migrants in Australia and comparison can be made between different sub-categories.

Nevertheless, ACMID 2016 has two weaknesses. Firstly, variables provided in the dataset are time-specific and static indicators only focused on Australia at the individual level (demographic characteristics, distribution, and economic profile, etc.). These fail to provide a deeper and exploratory possibility to understand the dynamic entrepreneurship from a multilevel and transnational socio-economic context. It is also not possible to capture their transnational linkages with China. Secondly, the sample of business migrants under Business Innovation and Investment Program (BIIP) after 2012 is underestimated in the ACMID 2016. As the census was conducted in August 2016, people immigrating to Australia after then are excluded even though they are more economically active and representative at the current stage. This also results in the excessively small proportion of permanent visa holders in BIIP, because only the earliest business migrants have been granted permanent residency after running their business with a four-year provisional visa in 2016. ACMID 2016 also excludes the bridging visa holders that incorporate business migrants who have submitted their application for permanent residency and are waiting for the permanent visa to be granted. Actually, these people still need to engage in economic activities during the processing time. Persons offshore at the census time are also excluded

from ACMID 2016. These include business migrants who are engaging in the export/import industry, and at that time were dealing with the business overseas. Overall, 4,172 primary provisional visas were granted from 2012 to 2016, however the number in ACMID 2016 was only 1,956, less than half of the total number.

Due to the characteristics of ACMID 2016, the quantitative data analysis was mainly utilised at an individual level. The analysis refers to the descriptive and comparative analysis of business migrants' profiles among different sub-groups, and regression analysis was undertaken to explore the relationship between human capital and business performance.

3.3.2 Qualitative methods

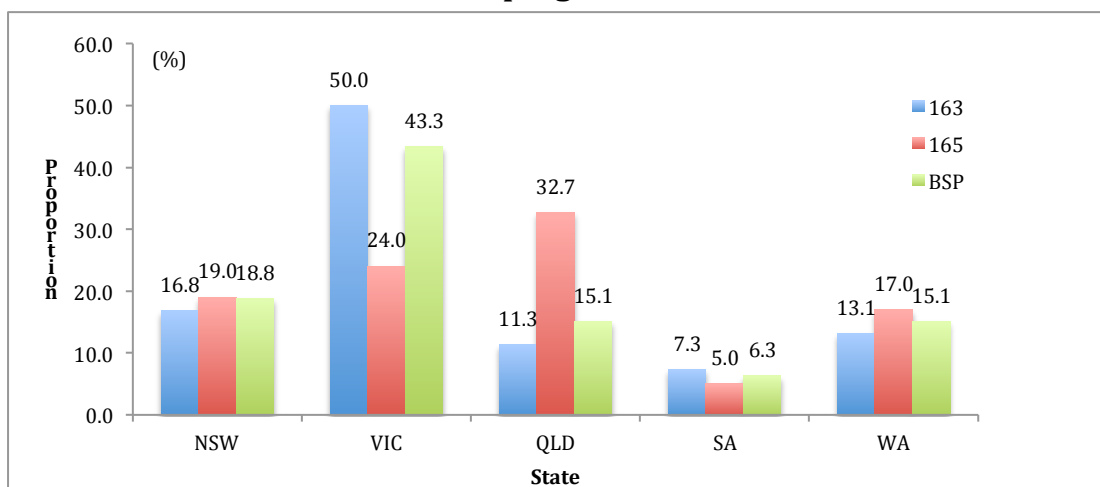
Selection of fieldwork location: The case study areas selected are the Greater Adelaide area (the capital city of the State of South Australia (SA)), and the Greater Melbourne area (Melbourne), the capital city of the State of Victoria (VIC). Both of these two cities are the most popular and typical destinations for Chinese business migrants with respect to different visa streams. Adelaide was attractive for people with a Significant Business History Stream visa (132A) after 2012 (Figure 3.2). This disproportionate distribution was driven by South Australia's policy of lowering the threshold for the 132A visa, and its strong promotion in China's market economy. One female migration agent in Adelaide, aged between 36-40, who has over ten years of work experience in business migration, stated that:

Although Adelaide is in remote area, it has been increasingly popular for business migrants because of the friendly immigration requirement, the powerful promotion and the abundant wine resources. [Interviewee A20, 2019]

Figure 3.2 shows that only a few Chinese chose to migrate to South Australia via Business Skills Program (BSP) from 2003 to 2012 and it ranked last among the

five States evaluated⁴. However, this has changed since then under the new program of BIIP. As Figure 3.3 shows, the total number of BIIP applications in South Australia has increased to third place in Australia and accounted for 10.4 per cent of the total from 2012 to 2021. Nevertheless, the proportion of 132A visa stream in South Australia amounted to 51.5 per cent, over half of the total and far more than other States.

Figure 3.2 State distribution of primary business migrants by stream under Business Skills program, 2003–2012⁽¹⁾



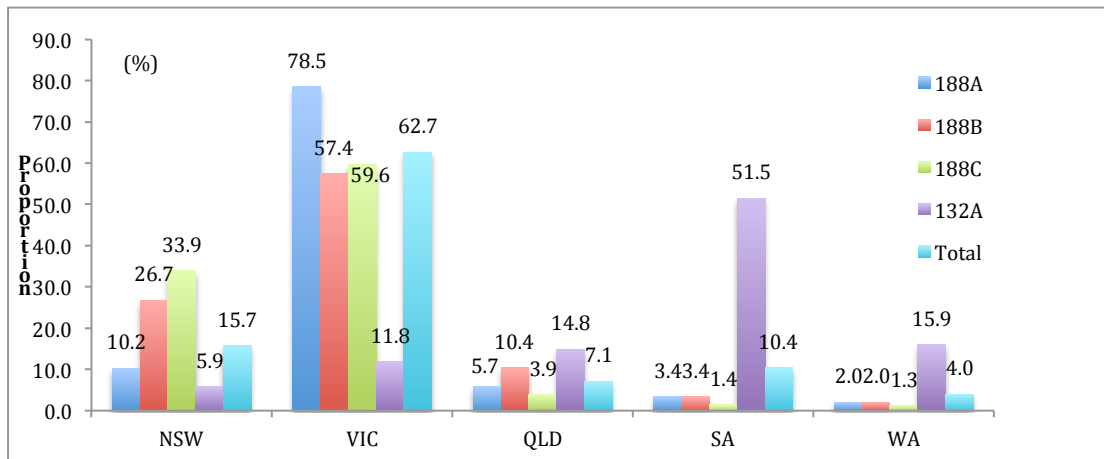
(1). 163 refers to Business Owner category, 165 refers to Investor category, and BSP refers to Business Skills Program.

Source: ABS, 2016a

Conversely, Melbourne is the traditional destination city for Chinese business migrants. Figure 3.2 shows that 43.3 per cent of business migrants chose Victoria and Melbourne before 2012. Among them, 163 visa holders, mainly small and medium entrepreneurs, accounted for 50 per cent of the total. Victoria is still the most popular State for business migrants under the new program, increasing to 62.7 per cent, mainly 188A visa (78.5 per cent), 188B visa (57.4 per cent) and 188C visa (59.6 per cent) from 2012 to 2021 (Figure 3.3). It should be noted that data can only be sourced at the State level. Because Chinese business migrants mainly choose the capital city as their destination, the number of city can be exchangeable with the State figure.

⁴ Because the number of business migrants is too small in the Northern Territory, Tasmania, and Australian Capital Territory, these are deleted from Figure 3.2 and Figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3 State distribution of primary Chinese business migrants by stream under Business Innovation and Investment Program, 2012–2021⁽¹⁾



(1). 188A refers to Business Innovation stream, 188B refers to Investor stream, 188C refers to Significant Investor stream, and 132A refers to Significant Business History stream.

Source: DHA, 2021a

Sydney has a longer history of attracting Chinese migrants and entrepreneurs, and a more developed ethnic Chinese community than Adelaide. Sydney (and Melbourne) were the main recipients of Chinese migrants dating back to the gold rush during the 1850s, and Sydney continues to be the most popular destination city for ethnic Chinese (Gao, 2015). In 2016, there were 487,976 Chinese living in Sydney accounting for 40.2 per cent of the Chinese population nationwide (ABS, 2016a). In addition, New South Wales (NSW) had the largest proportion of business migrants in the 1990s, when the majority were from Hong Kong and Taiwan. The historical data shows that 35 per cent of business migrants chose Sydney in 1997 (Parliament of Victoria, 1998). However, the high threshold for the NSW business migration program has resulted in a decline in the number of applicants since 2000. Moreover, the similar economic contexts between Sydney and Melbourne did not provide a favourable comparative research sphere like Melbourne and Adelaide.

Different contexts of Adelaide and Melbourne: In addition to local migration policies and the distribution of business migrants under different sub-streams, Adelaide and Melbourne are also divergent in economic contexts, industrial structure and population structure (Table 3.1). Compared with Adelaide,

Melbourne has a higher economic output, larger population base and Chinese community, and a more vigorous economy. The difference in small businesses can also showcase that the local economy in Melbourne is more powerful than Adelaide. In 2019, there were over 604,379 local small businesses registered in Victoria, which was three times larger than the number of small businesses in SA (143,000) (Business Victoria, 2019; SA Business Information Hub, n.d.).

Table 3.1 Socio-economic indicators in Adelaide (SA) and Melbourne (VIC)

Socio-economic indicators	Adelaide	SA	Melbourne	VIC
	No.	No.	No.	No.
Land Area (km ² , 2020)	3,260	983,482	9,992.5	227,444
Output (billion, 2020)	174.6	223.5	745	936.9
Employment (persons, 2020)	586,995	742,723	2,135,000	2,730,000
Population (persons, 2016)	1,295,714	16,76,653	4,485,211	5,92,624
Chinese community (persons, 2016)	50,215	52,273	356,324	370,644
Gross Regional Product (billion, 2019)	64.6	110.4	320	454.5
Median Age (years, 2016)	39	40	36	37

Source: ABS, 2016a

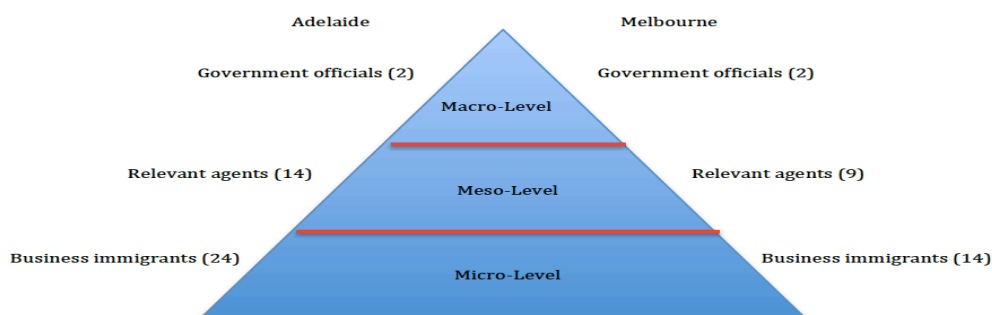
The industrial structure is also more diversified in Melbourne than in Adelaide. In recent years, Melbourne is transforming from a heavy manufacturing city to a more diverse economy with strong knowledge-intensive sectors (SGS, 2019). Victoria has also had an export-oriented economy with an array of top exporting products including food and fibre exports, dairy exports, horticultural exports and prepared food exports (Global Victoria, n.d.). In comparison, Adelaide is closer to the single-product economy placing greater value in high-quality food and wine including famous premium wines, rock lobster and tuna, and grains used in high quality beers, pastas and oils. Take wine as an example. As the largest wine production State in Australia, South Australia has more than 3,400 grape growers, over 700 wineries and an estimated 76,000 hectares under vine reference essential. The 18 wine regions within South Australia produce 610 million litres of wine each year, equivalent to 820 million bottles and account for

50 per cent of Australia’s total wine production (Wine Australia, n.d.), while the wine production in Victoria is only 223 million litres with a proportion of 17 per cent of the total production in Australia (Victoria State Government, 2017). South Australia has also contributed to 80 per cent of the premium wine production including some brands renowned in China such as Penfolds and Jacob’s Creek (Government of South Australia, 2016).

3.3.3 Sampling strategy

Target participants: The participants that the researcher recruited were categorised in three dimensions: individual (micro) level, community (meso) level, and national (macro) level. This hierarchal classification not only represented the socio-economic attributes and positions of interviewees, but also reflected the scope of the information they can provide. Figure 3.4 shows the individual level included business migrants who mainly shared their personal experience and perspective toward the contexts (Appendix 1). Migration agents, business association leaders, and other relevant agents were viewed as interviewees at the community level. They played a role in linking business migrants at the individual level and government at the macro level. The information they could provide covered the community of business migrants in a specific area (Appendix 2). The macro level included officials at business immigration offices and members of the city councils. They had the most comprehensive information on business migrants, and could influence the policy making at the State or national level (Appendix 3).

Figure 3.4 The hierarchal structure of interview participants



Source: constructed by the author

Seven interviewees had dual identities at different levels. There were two people who were business migrants and then became migration and real estate agents after obtaining their permanent residency. Four people were both business migrants and leaders of business associations. Moreover, a city councillor was also responsible for a local business association. The in-depth interviews with these people took longer and covered questions intertwined at two different levels. Overall, 58 interviewees participated in the fieldwork. In Adelaide, they included 24 business migrants at the individual level, 14 relevant agents at the meso level (eight migration agents, one business agent and five leaders of business associations), and two government officials (one from a South Australian business migration office and another from the city council). In Melbourne, there were 14 business migrants, nine relevant agents (three leaders of business associations, two migration agents, two real estate agents, one exchange company and one fund company), and two government officials from the Victorian business immigration office (Figure 3.4). Table 3.2 lists the background information of business migrants interviewed in the fieldwork.

Recruitment method: The fieldwork was undertaken in Adelaide from May 2019 to September 2019. The fieldwork started from the individual level by interviewing business migrants. A close friend introduced the researcher to the first interviewee (business migrant), who then introduced more business migrants, and so on. The researcher was also brought to the Technical and Further Education (TAFE) college, where business migrants are required to study English for at least 510 hours. More business migrants were recommended by previous interviewees during the TAFE break or lunch time. After establishing a trusted relationship with some of the interviewed business migrants (around six persons), the researcher was allowed to join in their informal social activities and had a chance to get to know and make appointments with more potential interviewees for further in-depth interviews. When getting deeper into the social circle, the researcher also organised some activities for business migrants especially persons who have a strong demand to expand the social networks, by which the recruitment can be processed more smoothly. Table 3.2 shows profile

of interviewees in the fieldwork.

Table 3.2 Interviewees profile

Profiles of interviewees (business migrants)	Adelaide (N=24)	Melbourne (N=14)
Entry visa		
BIIP (e.g. 188A, 188C, 132A)	15	9
BSP (e.g. 163, 892)	9	5
Sex		
Male	12	12
Female	12	2
Age		
34-and below	1	2
35-44	6	2
45-54	8	7
55-and above	9	3
Education attainment		
Bachelor-and above	7	6
Below bachelor	17	8
Arrival year		
Before 2010	5	5
2010-and after	19	9
Business background		
Secondary industry (e.g. manufacturing, real estate)	22	8
Territory industry (e.g. trade, hospitality service)	2	6

Source: constructed by the author

At the community level, agents and business association leaders were introduced by previously interviewed business migrants. However, it was not possible to ask people at the community level to recommend their counterparts and clients to obtain an interview. The researcher asked business migrants and relevant agents for interviews via WeChat, which is the most popular social media app among Chinese people (Appendix 4). Government officials at the macro level were

contacted by email (Appendix 5) at the final stage after the researcher had a deeper understanding of the business migration community. After potential participants agreed to be interviewed, the researcher sent them a consent form (Appendix 6) and participant information sheet (Appendix 7).

Fieldwork in Melbourne was conducted from September 2019 to December 2019. The first and second participants were introduced by interviewees in Adelaide, and then more participants were recommended by the first participant in Melbourne. More people could be contacted by joining a formal activities organised by business associations and relevant agents. These not only allowed the researcher to know more business migrants and agents for potential interviews, but also gave a chance to observe and engage in the community culture of business migrants. The government officials at the Victorian business migration office were introduced by a business association leader and contacted by email (Appendix 5).

3.3.4 In-depth interviews and participant observation

In-depth interviews and participant observation were employed in this research as qualitative methods. The in-depth interviews are one of the most common techniques designed to elicit a vivid picture of the participant's perspective on the research topic. They are useful for learning about the perspectives of individuals and effective for getting people to talk about their personal feelings, opinions, and experiences (Mack et al., 2005). Participants can also share their ideas about connecting with the world. However, sometimes what people say they believe and say that they do is contradicted by their behaviour (Creswell, 2013). This particularly applied to business migrants who are more inclined to exaggerate their business performance and financial capacity. Participant observation is therefore needed because in this method the researcher approaches participants in their own environment through frequent informal contacts rather than having the participants come to the researcher. Generally speaking, the researcher engages in participant observation to learn what life is like for an 'insider' while remaining, inevitably, an 'outsider' (Mack et al., 2005).

As an integral method combined with observing and participating, participant observation can provide a nuanced understanding of the breadth and complexities of the human action interacting with other people and places. The participant observation can be viewed as a supplement and check for the in-depth interviews.

In this research, the in-depth interviews and participant observation were used to gain data, and also to recruit participants. As mentioned in section 3.2, the first interviewee introduced a number of participants and then positive relationships were established after the interview. This allowed the researcher to conduct participant observation by being involved in the business migrant's daily lives and informal social activities, where more participants could be approached for further interviews. This cyclic process allowed the researcher to engage in the community of business migrants.

In-depth interviews: The semi-structured in-depth interviews (Appendixes 1, 2, and 3) were conducted from May 2019 to September 2019 in Adelaide and from September 2019 to December 2019 in Melbourne. Each interview lasted from one to four hours. The language of the interview was mainly Mandarin, except for two Australian interviewees who were interviewed using English. There were no cases of linguistic problems because the researcher is a native Mandarin speaker. After asking for permission from the participants interviews were recorded to keep the information. However, there were nine interviewees who did not accept the recording and with their permission paper notes only were taken. For business migrants, the interviews normally started with their personal background, migration motivation, and family structure of interviewees, and then some sensitive topics such as the detailed business establishment and performance both in China and Australia were discussed after establishing the relationship. There were six people interviewed on multiple occasions. The topics and themes for respondents are shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Interview themes

Level	Target respondents	Interview themes
National Level	Government officials at business immigration offices and city council.	Rationale of business migration policy and changes; perceptions toward business migrants; the role of government in business migrants' business; the transnational connection with China; organisation structure and funding sources.
Local and Community Level	Migration agents; business agents; leaders of business associations; real estate agents; exchange company; fund company.	Characteristics of organisations; perceptions toward business migrants and business migration policy; the linkage with business migrants and government; the role in business migrants' entrepreneurial activities and settlements; transnational linkages with China.
Individual Level	Mainland China business migrants.	Socio-demographic characteristics; educational, business background and skills; entrepreneurial activities before and after immigration; perceptions of the characteristics of different contexts; transnational connections with home country; personal social networks.

Source: constructed by the author

Participant observation: Participation observations are categorised into three stages according to time and locations. The first stage ranged from May 2019 to September 2019 in Adelaide. The researcher had been keeping the most intensive connections with business migrants during this period. Different informal social activities were held around every fortnight such as morning and afternoon tea, dinner and outdoor activities. The researcher became involved in business migrants' daily lives through promoting their businesses, and linking them with potential collaborators and customers. As most business migrants were not proficient in English, the researcher sometimes helped them connect to necessary local organisations such as government and school. With the relationship becoming closer, some of them even opened up to share more about their business and family situations. The role of the researcher had been transformed to the 'friend' at this stage.

The second stage was in Melbourne from September 2019 to December 2019. The researcher was not able to build such a close relationship with participants in Melbourne as in Adelaide, and participant observation was mainly conducted by taking part in a number of formal activities and forums organised by business associations, real estate agents, fund companies and migration agents. These

local organisations hosted conferences and activities to promote their services and products for business migrants. At these events business migrants could also get professional knowledge and information that they need, and expand their social networks. Participant observation in Melbourne allowed the researcher to get a sense of community life and the commercial activities relevant to business migrants. The researcher also kept a remote connection with business migrants in Adelaide, and their updated information could be obtained through online social media such as Wechat.

At the third stage, from December 2019 to 2021, the researcher also kept in contact with a small group of business migrants. However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the writing progress, there were limited face-to-face social activities than previously. Online social media, especially Wechat groups (an online community where the thoughts and behaviours of business migrants can be observed) had become the main method to know about them. The biggest challenge for participant observation is to make careful and objective notes (Mack et al., 2005). In this study, the recordings and photos were taken with the permission of participants. Otherwise, especially in some private and informal circumstances, the notes and information would be kept memorised and typed into the computer as soon as finishing the activities.

3.4. Data analysis

3.4.1. Quantitative analysis

The study used two approaches to analyse the quantitative dataset: descriptive analysis and econometric regression. Descriptive analysis was firstly employed for ACMID 2016 using Stata 14.0 and Excel. The descriptive analysis presented the overall social, economic and demographic characteristics of business migrants. To specify, these include contextual background (visa category, State of residence, and year of arrival), human capital (educational attainment, English proficiency), social capital (Australian citizenship, the length of residence, and family structure), demographic characteristics (age and sex), and

entrepreneurship and economic practices (labour force participation rate, entrepreneurship rate, industrial selection, and personal income). The study also made the comparison and identified differences amongst business migrants by visa type. These intra-group differences could reveal changes in social, economic and demographic profiles, and showcase the dynamic change of economic practices amongst business migrants. The descriptive results are presented in tables and figures in Chapter Four.

Economic regression models were employed to understand the quantitative relationship between contextual and individual factors, and the entrepreneurship of business migrants. The binary logistic regression approach, multinomial logistic regression approach, and linear regression approach were used in sequence on the characteristic of each dependent variable. The regression analysis was carried out using statistical software Stata 14.0. Regression results are presented in Chapter Four, as well as the justification of model selections. The data preprocessing was conducted before the regression analysis including dealing with missing values, variance inflation factor (VIC), normality tests and code transformations, etc.

3.4.2 Qualitative analysis

Qualitative analysis was used to further deepen the understanding and broaden the scope regarding the quantitative results. The thematic analysis (TA) method was employed in this study to analyse the qualitative dataset. As Braun and Clarke (2012:57) indicated:

‘TA is an accessible, flexible, and increasingly popular method of qualitative data analysis. It is a method for systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a data set.’

There are two ways for conducting the TA, the inductive approach and the deductive approach (Braun and Clarke, 2012). The inductive approach is a bottom-up approach and is driven by what is in the data, which means that the codes and themes derive from the content of the data. Conversely the deductive

approach is to code and analyse data from a top-down way, which means that the codes and themes derive more from the concepts and ideas that the researcher brings to the data. However, in reality, coding and analysis often utilises a combination of both the inductive and deductive approach (Braun and Clarke, 2012; Creswell, 2013).

This research started with a deductive approach. Following the theoretical frame of dual embeddedness approach (see Chapter Two), two primary themes were predetermined including the contextual level and individual level. In this research framework, Nvivo 12 software was employed to code the transcripts line by line in an open-coding method. All of the key sentences, words, and events were filtered out and categorised into these two themes, while the repeated, overlapping and ambiguous sentences were deleted. There were no new themes identified during this process.

Sub-themes were then derived in each preliminary theme:

- Contextual theme:
 1. China-Australia bilateral relationship affects business migrants' business.
 2. Economic development in China shapes business migrants' business selections and their profiles.
 3. The utilisation of business migrants' transnational social and financial capital in Australian business.
 4. Business migrants' entrepreneurship in Australia's economic environment.
 5. Change in national institutional policies (e.g. business migration policy, minimum wage, etc.) reshapes the business pattern and profile of business migrants.
 6. Business migrants embedded in different social-economic circumstances between Adelaide and Melbourne.

- Individual theme:
 1. The role of community (relevant agents and business associations) in business migrants' entrepreneurship.

2. Social capital (e.g. family networks, ethnic networks, local networks, etc.).
3. Human capital (e.g. English proficiency, education attainment, business experiences, mental health, etc.).
4. Financial capital (e.g. transnational financial resources, direct investment, etc.).

3.5 Limitations and lessons

There were numerous challenges encountered during the fieldwork and study, as well as limitations to the data gathering work and the mixed methods to be presented. ACMID 2016 had weaknesses in providing sufficient information, and in covering business migrants via the BIIP after 2012. The transnational entrepreneurial activities could not be identified in the ACMID 2016. There were also no specific variables to reflect business performance such as turnover and profit.

The business migration office had more valuable information about the business migration program and business migrants. Moreover, it would be more feasible to conduct the survey with their help. However, the researcher did not build the collaborative relationship with the business migration office.

The tape recording was the major method to keep the information during the interviews, however, nine interviewees refused to record and paper notes were taken with their permission. Some details of the information might have been lost in this circumstance.

It was difficult to contact business migrants and invite them to participate in the research by a traditional way. Establishing a trust relationship was a prerequisite for advancing the research, even though it was also a challenge for the researcher who did not have any previous business experience and was much younger than the participants. The conversational skills were also essential so that the participants could let down their guard and open their mind. In some situations, the participants took charge of the conversation to 'speak less'

and 'listen more'.

Participant observation was needed to further deepen the understanding of the community of business migrants, and to test the validity of information sought from the interview. However, it was a huge challenge for the researcher to make careful and objective notes during the participatory observation. In addition, the time allocated to participant observation and interviews was not enough in Melbourne due to COVID-19, and limitations imposed by restrictions.

3.6 Ethical consideration and confidentiality

The University of Adelaide and its Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) approved this research project in May 2019 (Approval Number: H-2019-091). The committee was provided with detailed information on the qualifications of the researcher, the rationale for the in-depth interview procedures, and sampling, confidentiality, and safety.

The researcher provided each participant with detailed information before the interview, which clarified interviewee information such as the voluntary nature of the research, general details about the study, what they will be expected to do as part of the research, and confidentiality. During the participant observation, each participant had been informed of the role and objective of the researcher. The research notes, recordings, photos and video were taken only under the permission of the participants. Besides, to protect the confidentiality of the respondents, the names or any information that would reveal the participants' identities would not appear in any research output without their consent.

Electronic and printed data and documentation for this research were stored in the following places: 1) Encrypted and password-protected computer drives at the University of Adelaide; 2) Figshare account that is also encrypted; and 3) In office cabinets inside university premises.

The online DataLab safe researcher training was undertaken for getting access to

the micro dataset of ACMID 2016. DataLab training covered 1) shared responsibilities as a DataLab user; 2) Information on the legislative requirements surrounding the DataLab, and 3) guidelines for appropriate output for ABS clearance and data release.

3.7 Concluding remarks

This chapter has detailed the strategy, methodology and specific data collection and analysis methods used in the study. Underpinned by a mixed methods approach, comprehensive qualitative and quantitative methods were employed to solve an array of different, but internal logic and connected questions.

Quantitative data were sought from the secondary dataset of ACMID 2016, and official online documents. The qualitative data collection methods included semi-structured in-depth interviews and participant observation in two study locations: Adelaide and Melbourne. Following the explanatory sequential mixed method (Creswell, 2013), the quantitative analysis including descriptive analysis was first employed to describe the phenomenon and elicit the research questions. The (qualitative) thematic analysis was used further to provide deeper exploratory understanding.

ACMID 2016 has not been used before for studying migration, migrant entrepreneurship and business migrants in Australia. The fieldwork allowed the researcher to consolidate research skills and more importantly, helped in accurately understanding the objectives of the study and demands of different people.

Chapter 4. Social and economic profiles of business migrants and their economic activities

4.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses two questions. First, what are the social and economic profiles of business migrants? Second, how do their social and economic characteristics shape their economic activities after they migrate to Australia?

Answering the first question can capture the profile of business migrants by sub-groups. The chapter starts by presenting the structural background of primary business migrants by visa category, State of residence, and year of arrival. Then individual variables, such as educational attainment, language proficiency, Australian citizenship, the length of residence, and family structure are included. All of these factors are set as independent variables for the subsequent analysis on the economic activities of business migrants. Qualitative analysis is used to explore how recent business migrants have increased their wealth by capitalising on China's economic development over the last decade.

The economic practices and entrepreneurship of business migrants are measured by four variables including labour force participation rate, entrepreneurship rate, industrial selection, and personal income. The binary logistic regression model, multinomial logistic regression model, and linear regression model are applied to explore how the contextual and individual factors of business migrants shape their economic activities. The chapter ends with the research conclusion.

Both ACMID 2016 and statistics from DHA are employed for studying Business Innovation and Investment (BIIP) visa holders. As mentioned in Chapter 3, ACMID 2016 captured business migrants onshore on census night (9 August) in 2016, which reflected demographic, economic and social indicators of this group. However, ACMID 2016 lacks information on BIIP visa holders, especially permanent visa holders and persons arriving in Australia after 2016. Therefore,

DHA statistics, which can cover all BIIP visa holders, are employed to reflect the visa category, State distribution, and age group of business migrants so that the whole picture can be presented. ACMID 2016 is still applicable for Business Skills Program (BSP) visa holders, and for the rest information of BIIP visa holders that cannot be sought from DHA statistics. The chapter only focuses on primary business migrants.

4.2 Contextual background of business migrants

4.2.1 Visa arrangements

The structure of the business migration program has been discussed previously. Chinese business migrants mainly migrated to Australia via BSP from 2003 to 2012, and BIIP from 2012 to 2021. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 show that business migrants were disproportionately found in the Business Owner category with 91.3 per cent of Chinese business migrants immigrating to Australia via this category. Conversely, only 5.4 per cent of business migrants came via the Business Talent category and 3.3 per cent were under the Investor category. However, the proportion of Business Owner visa holders decreased to 56.0 per cent in the recent BIIP (renamed as the Business Innovation stream). With the Investor stream slightly increasing to 8.2 per cent, the remaining business migrants had been flowing into the Significant Investor stream (20.4 per cent) and Business Talent category⁵ (15.4 per cent).

Table 4.1 Number of primary business migrants by visa type of Business Skills Program, 2016

Subclass ⁽¹⁾	Business Owner			Investor		Business Talent	Total
		163	892	890	165	893	132
Persons	1,776	2,028	340	107	42	247	
Total (%)	4,144 (91.3)			149 (3.3)		247 (5.4)	4,540 (100)

(1). Subclass 160, 161, 162, 164, and 891 visas are not included because the total number is less than 1 per cent. 'Not stated' is also excluded.
Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

⁵ The Business Talent category in BIIP is mainly from Significant Business History stream (subclass 132A).

Table 4.2 Number of primary business migrants granted by visa types of Business Innovation and Investment Program, 2012-2021

Subclass ⁽¹⁾	Business Innovation		Investor		Significant Investor		Business Talent	Total
	188A	888A	188B	888B	188C	888C	132A	
Persons	4,720	1,360	865	25	1,573	641	1,671	
Total (%)	6,089 (56.0)		890 (8.2)		2,214 (20.4)		1,671 (15.4)	10,855 (100)

(1). Subclass 188D/888D, 188E/888E, 132B visas are not included because the total number is less than 1 per cent and cannot be estimated.

Source: DHA, 2021a

The Significant Investor stream and Business Talent category were designed to attract UHNWIs and large-medium business owners⁶. Findings above (Tables 4.1 and 4.2) reveal that there was a clear tendency of Chinese business migrants changing from small-medium business owners toward the more qualified super-rich class.

The total number of primary BIIP visa holders was 10,855, which was more than twice the number of BSP visa holders (4,540). As mentioned in previous chapters, Chinese business migrants have been increasing and recent business migrants through BIIP were supposed to be more than their counterparts via BSP. The ACMID 2016 excluded bridging visa holders and business migrants offshore on census night. However, DHA statistics covered all business migrants who have been successfully granted their visa no matter where they are (ABS 2016b; DHA, 2021a).

Visa type is used in this chapter as a key contextual and institutional variable to reflect the policy orientation on business migrants in this study. The economic behaviours of business migrants after migration are highly dependent on the requirements of visa categories with respect to different periods and locations. The selection criteria for different sub-categories can also differentiate business migrants according to their pre-migration background such as personal assets and economic activities in China.

⁶ The classification of the enterprise size is based on definitions from China. It depends on industry. Generally, a large-sized business has more than 2000 employees. A medium-sized business has between 301 and 2000 employees. A small business has fewer than 300 employees.

4.2.2 Geographical distribution

Table 4.3 shows the distribution of BSP visa holders by visa types and States. Aside from 890 visa holders who predominately lived in New South Wales, all of the other visa holders chose Victoria as their first priority. Overall, 63.9 per cent of business migrants chose Victoria, followed by New South Wales (19.4 per cent), South Australia (7.4 per cent), Queensland (4.4 per cent), and Western Australia (4.1 per cent).

Table 4.3 State distributions of primary business migrants by visa type from Business Skills Program, 2016

Subclass	Business Owner			Investor		Business Talent	Total
	163	892	890	165	893	132	
State ⁽¹⁾	N=1,776	N=2,028	N=340	N=107	N=42	N=247	N=4,540
NSW (%)	16.4	12.9	73.8	22.4	14.3	18.6	19.4
VIC (%)	70.8	68.9	16.2	51.4	52.4	46.6	63.9
QLD (%)	4.3	3.1	7.7	12.2	11.9	5.7	4.4
SA (%)	4.5	11.1	0.9	6.5	9.5	6.9	7.4
WA (%)	3.6	3.2	0.9	6.5	11.9	18.6	4.1
Other (%)	0.5	0.7	0.6	0.9	0	3.6	0.8

(1). Other includes ACT and TAS. Not stated and not applicable are also excluded. Totals may not add up due to rounding off
Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

Amongst BIIP visa holders, Victoria was still the first choice for business migrants with 62.7 per cent of the total from 2012 to 2021 (Table 4.4). The exception was Business Talent visa holders. Tables 4.3 and 4.4 show that the top destination for these changed from Victoria (48.3 per cent) in BSP, to South Australia (51.5 per cent) in BIIP. This is mainly due to the friendly policymaking in South Australia, which will be further discussed in the following chapter. It should be noted that the ACMID 2016 showed the usual residence State of BSP visa holders on census night, while the DHA dataset indicated the number of BIIP visas granted in each State. The latter could not reflect the interstate migration of BIIP visa holders, especially after permanent residency.

Table 4.4 State distributions of primary business migrants by visa types from Business Innovation and Investment Program, 2012-2021

Subclass	Business Innovation		Investor		Significant Investor		Business Talent	Total
	188A	888A	188B	888B	188C	888C	132A	
State ⁽¹⁾	N=4,720	N=1,360	N=865	N=25	N=1,573	N=641	N=1,671	N=10,855
NSW (%)	12.3	3.2	27.5	0.0	34.0	33.5	5.9	15.7
VIC (%)	74.8	91.5	56.2	100	58.3	62.7	11.8	62.7
QLD (%)	7.1	1.0	10.8	0.0	4.6	2.2	14.8	7.1
SA (%)	3.6	2.8	3.5	0.0	2.0	0.0	51.5	10.4
WA (%)	2.2	1.6	2.1	0.0	1.1	1.6	15.9	4.0

(1). ACT, TAS and NT are excluded because they cannot be estimated by DHA statistics. Not stated and not applicable are also excluded. Totals may not add up due to rounding off
Source: DHA, 2021a

State distribution is viewed as another important contextual factor to influence entrepreneurial activities of business migrants. There is geographical difference in terms of policy making. Local economic contexts, population structures and the size of the Chinese community are also divergent according to different States and are combined to shape the business behaviours of business migrants.

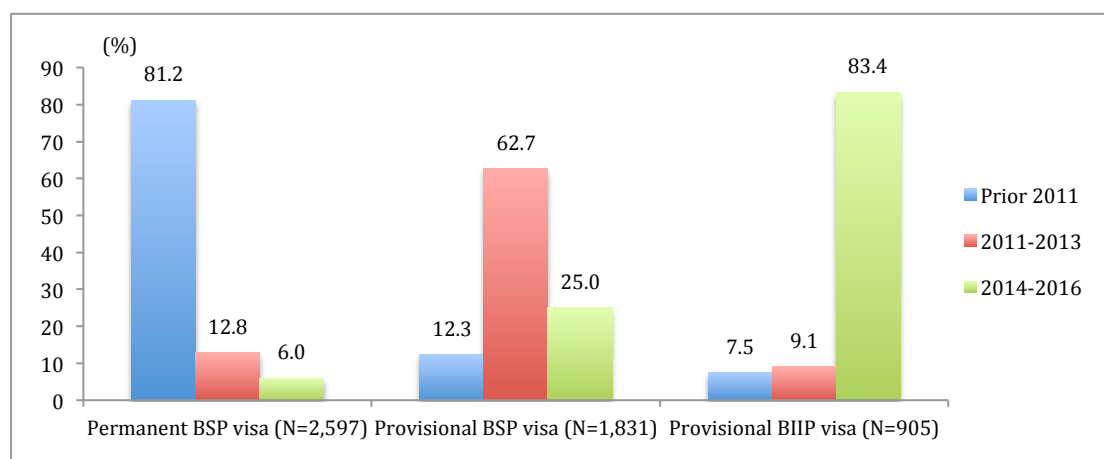
4.2.3 Arrival period

Different visa types not only reflect applicants' pre-migration business background and restrict their economic behaviours, but also are highly related to their arrival time in Australia. The year of arrival is an important factor in explaining the intra-group difference of business migrants from a temporal perspective. The year of arrival can only be sought from ACMID 2016. According to the dataset, the arrival year of business migrants was divergent with respect to provisional BIIP visa holders (188 visa)⁷, provisional BSP visa holders (163 visa and 165 visa), and permanent BSP visa holders (890 visa, 892 visa and 893 visa).

⁷ ACMID 2016 cannot identify specific streams of BIIP (e.g. 188A, 188B, 188C, 188D, 188E).

Figure 4.1 shows that 83.4 per cent of provisional BIIP visa holders arrived in Australia between 2014 and 2016. Even though BIIP was implemented from July 2012, a majority of BIIP applicants arrived one or two years later due to extra time needed for application, evaluation and pre-migration preparation. BSP visa holders arrived in Australia earlier than BIIP visa holders: 81.2 per cent of permanent BSP visa holders arrived in Australia before 2011. This also meant that most provisional BSP visa holders arriving in Australia before 2010 had already been granted permanent residency. The current provisional BSP visa holders were more likely to start their application by the end of BSP around 2011 and 2012. Including the application and preparation time, 62.7 per cent therefore arrived in Australia between 2011 and 2013 and they had not been granted permanent residency by the time of census night in 2016. Temporal effect is worth studying because it is relevant to the dynamic change of economic contexts and institutional arrangements. Migrant economic behaviours are subjected to different temporal contexts.

Figure 4.1 Arrival period of primary business migrants by visa types, 2016
(1)



(1). Not stated and not applicable are excluded. Totals may not add up due to rounding off
Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

4.3 Individual characteristics of business migrants

4.3.1 Age distribution

Table 4.5 shows that 48.3 per cent of business migrants from BSP were aged

between 40-49 years, and 24.2 per cent were aged between 50-54 years. This is the most common stage for many successful businesspersons to achieve their career peak. Applicants would only qualify for business visas if they have already had significant business history and considerable financial capital. Except for some special cases when applicants can get the age requirement exempted⁸, the upper age limit of business migration is 55 years old (DIBP, 2014). This is one of the reasons why only a small number of provisional visa holders were aged above 54 years. However, more permanent visa holders were older than 54 because they had arrived in Australia earlier than provisional visa holders.

Table 4.5 Age distributions primary business migrants by visa types from Business Skills Program, 2016

Subclass	Business Owner			Investor		Business Talent	Total
	163	892	890	165	893	132	
Age ⁽¹⁾	N=1,776	N=2,028	N=340	N=107	N=42	N=247	N=4,540
Below 30 years (%)	5.0	0.6	0.0	3.7	0.0	55.9	5.4
30-39 years (%)	11.2	5.7	5.6	2.8	0.0	5.3	8.0
40-49 years (%)	55.6	44.5	52.1	54.2	26.2	23.1	48.3
50-54 years (%)	20.7	28.8	26.2	23.4	31.0	7.7	24.2
Above 54 years (%)	6.7	20.5	16.2	15.9	42.9	8.1	14.2

(1). Not stated and not applicable are excluded. Totals may not add up due to rounding off.

Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

Business migrants in BIIP show a similar age structure as their counterparts in BSP. Table 4.6 shows that 55.4 per cent of business migrants were between 40-49 years old at the time they applied for a business visa, and 16.1 per cent of them were in the 50-54 years old group. However, there was also a tendency of younger ages seen amongst BIIP visa holders. Over one in five (22.1 per cent) of them were aged 30-39 years old, which was much higher than the proportion of BSP visa holders in this age group with only 10.1 per cent. Due to economic development, people could have more chances to accumulate wealth at a younger age. Some people might have extraordinary talents for business so that

⁸ Business migrants can be exempted from age limits by increasing the amount of investment.

they have such a large asset to migrate before 40 years of age. Compared with BSP visa holders who were more likely to start from scratch, a greater number of young BIIP visa holders have developed their businesses based on their families' resources, or directly inherited businesses and wealth from their parents. It should also be noted that the age of BSP visa holders was counted on census night, while the age of BIIP visa holders sought from DHA statistics was at the time when they were granted their visa. This can mean that to some extent, BIIP visa holders are younger than BSP visa holders.

Table 4.6 Age distributions of primary business migrants by visa types from Business Innovation and Investment Program, from 2012-2017

	Business Innovation	Investor	Significant Investor	Business Talent	Total
Subclass	188A/888A	188B/888B	188C/888C	132A	
Age ⁽¹⁾	N=2,781	N=149	N=1,587	N=571	N=5,088
Below 30 years (%)	0.9	0.0	8.1	0.0	3.0
30-39 years (%)	25.3	14.1	20.6	12.6	22.1
40-49 years (%)	59.3	55.0	48.0	57.3	55.4
50-54 years (%)	12.8	27.5	17.6	25.0	16.1
Above 54 years (%)	1.7	3.4	5.7	5.1	3.4

(1). Not stated and not applicable are excluded. Totals may not add up due to rounding off.

Source: DHA (2017b)

4.3.2 Sex distribution and family structure

Table 4.7 shows a higher proportion (57.3 per cent) of females than males amongst primary business migrants. Specifically, the gender difference existed between provisional visa holders and permanent visa holders. Permanent visa holders via the Business Owner category had a greater proportion of female migrants. Over 70.0 per cent of 892 visa holders and 890 visa holders were female. In contrast, females only contributed to 51.5 per cent of 188 visa holders and 43.7 per cent of 163 visa holders.

Table 4.7 Sex distribution of primary business migrants by visa types, 2016

Subclass	Provisional visa			Permanent visa				Total
	163	165	188	892	893	890	132	
Sex ⁽¹⁾	N=1,776	N=107	N=1,039	N=2,028	N=42	N=340	N=247	N=5,579
Male (%)	56.3	58.9	48.5	28.7	81.0	24.7	47.8	42.7
Female (%)	43.7	41.1	51.5	71.3	19.0	75.3	52.2	57.3

(1). Not stated and not applicable are excluded. Totals may not add up due to rounding off.

Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

A higher percentage of females among permanent business migrant families further reveals that ‘astronaut families’ were more likely to emerge as a result of business migrants receiving permanent residency. As mentioned previously the concept of ‘astronaut families’ is that one or more members (normally husband) of the immigrant family returns to the home country for work or business purposes, while the rest of family (normally wife and children) remains in the host country (Pe-Pua et al., 1996). Business migrants may change the status of the primary applicant from the husband to wife after receiving permanent residency so that the husband can still continue their business in China. This viewpoint can also be substantiated by the cross-tabulation between family structure and sex. The family structure is measured by the variable of ‘Location of Spouse’ in ACMID 2016, which can distinguish families as 1). Couple families with spouses who are present, and 2). Other families (i.e. couple families where the spouses are temporarily absent, one-parent families, and other families) (ABS, 2016b). As calculated by ACMID 2016, 71.6 per cent of business migrants were couple families with spouses living together if the primary applicants were male, however, the proportion decreased to 36.2 per cent when the females were the primary applicants.

4.3.3 Educational attainment

Table 4.8 presents the highest educational attainment of business migrants. Apart from 165 visa holders, a majority of business migrants had a relatively low

education. Over half (55.4 per cent) had achieved a school educational level and below. Disparities of education attainment have also been presented with respect to different visa types. Amongst the Business Owner (Innovation) category, 188 visa holders had a more satisfactory education attainment. 35.3 per cent of 188 visa holders had a bachelor degree and above, compared to 29.5 per cent of 163 visa holders, 25.8 per cent of 892 visa holders, and 32.9 per cent of 890 visa holders. At the bottom of the education spectrum, 48.3 per cent of 188 visa holders had school education and below, which was less than 163 visa holders (56.6 per cent), 892 visa holders (58.0 per cent), and 890 visa holders (53.6 per cent). It appears that relatively recent and young visa holders under BIIP have a better education compared with their counterparts in BSP.

Table 4.8 Education attainments of primary business migrants by visa types, 2016

Subclass	Provisional visa			Permanent visa				Total
	163	165	188	892	893	890	132	
Educational attainment ⁽¹⁾	N=1,701	N=104	N=1,015	N=1,978	N=42	N=336	N=247	N=5,376
Postgraduate degree (%)	6.7	5.8	7.5	3.4	0.0	3.4	7.2	5.6
Graduate diploma (%)	0.7	0.0	1.1	0.6	0.0	1.9	1.5	0.8
Bachelor degree (%)	22.1	42.5	26.7	21.8	30.0	27.6	15.6	23.2
Bachelor degree and above (%)	29.5	48.3	35.3	25.8	30	32.9	24.3	29.6
Advanced diploma (%)	11.9	12.5	15.2	13.7	10.0	9.8	8.1	13.1
Certificate (%)	2.1	0.0	1.1	2.4	0.0	3.7	1.2	1.8
School education (%)	46.8	31.7	41.4	51.1	60.0	48.8	46.2	46.9
Supplementary codes (%)	9.8	7.5	6.9	6.9	0.0	4.8	20.1	8.5

(1). Not stated and not applicable are excluded. Totals may not add up due to rounding off.

Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

When compared with other main source countries, the educational attainment of Chinese business migrants was somewhat better. Table 4.9 shows that only India (44.1 per cent), Viet Nam (35.4 per cent), and Iran (30.2 per cent) had a higher percentage than China (29.6 per cent) of business migrants with a bachelor degree and above. The reason why England and Singapore have a low educational attainment is because that highly educated persons there are more

likely to choose skilled migration program.

Table 4.9 Education attainments of primary business migrants by top source countries, 2016

Countries	England	South Africa	Malaysia	Iran	Singapore	India	Viet Nam	China
Educational attainment ⁽¹⁾	N=603	N=377	N=283	N=232	N=149	N=140	N=122	N=5,376
Postgraduate degree (%)	2.4	5.6	6.4	14.9	8.3	3.1	3.4	5.6
Graduate diploma (%)	1.6	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
Bachelor degree (%)	11.6	18.0	18.2	30.2	9.3	41.0	32.0	23.2
<i>Bachelor degree and above (%)</i>	<i>15.6</i>	<i>24.5</i>	<i>24.6</i>	<i>45.1</i>	<i>17.6</i>	<i>44.1</i>	<i>35.4</i>	<i>29.6</i>
Advanced diploma (%)	17.7	24.7	20.6	11.8	22.6	6.6	2.9	13.1
Certificate (%)	21.8	14.8	5.0	4.9	9.1	0.0	2.8	1.8
School education (%)	40.4	35.2	43.6	24.3	43.3	37.7	44.4	46.9
Supplementary codes (%)	6.0	4.5	3.9	11.5	6.6	9.1	11.2	8.5

(1). Not stated and not applicable are excluded. Totals may not add up due to rounding off.

Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

4.3.4 English proficiency

Unlike educational attainment, there was no intra-group difference in business migrants' language proficiency (Table 4.10). Aside from 132 visa holders, over 72.9 per cent of business migrants were not proficient in English. Specifically, 56.2 per cent of them spoke English not well, and 16.7 per cent did not speak English at all. It appears that business migrants had a lack of high language skills regardless of their visa types.

Chinese business migrants also had a much lower language proficiency in English compared with other major source countries especially Singapore and India, from which around 95.0 per cent of business migrants were proficient in English. This is because English is one of the official languages in these two countries. In addition to Singapore and India, Table 4.11 also shows business migrants from Malaysia (85.7 per cent), Iran (62.0 per cent), and Viet Nam (53.6 per cent) were more proficient in speaking English than Chinese business migrants.

Table 4.10 English proficiency of primary business migrants by visa types, 2016

	Provisional visa			Permanent visa				Total
	163	165	188	892	893	890	132	
English proficiency ⁽¹⁾	N=1,766	N=107	N=1,037	N=2,016	N=42	N=339	N=246	N=5,553
Proficient in English (%)	27.5	26.2	23.7	25.8	19.1	26.6	52.9	27.1
-Very well (%)	3.2	3.1	3.5	3.1	0.0	1.5	7.1	3.7
-Well (%)	24.3	23.1	20.2	22.7	19.1	25.1	45.8	23.4
Not proficient in English (%)	72.5	73.8	76.3	74.2	80.9	73.4	47.2	72.9
-Not well (%)	56.8	57.4	59.2	58.5	57.3	58.5	30.9	56.2
-Not at all (%)	15.7	16.4	17.1	15.7	23.6	14.9	16.3	16.7

(1). Not stated and not applicable are also excluded. Totals may not add up due to rounding off.

Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

Table 4.11 English proficiency of primary business migrants by top source countries, 2016

Countries	Malaysia	Iran	Singapore	India	Viet Nam	China
English proficiency ⁽¹⁾	N=252	N=233	N=103	N=123	N=116	N=5,553
Proficient in English (%)	85.7	62.0	95.5	94.7	53.6	27.1
-Very well (%)	41.2	12.4	62.7	54.8	9.8	3.7
-Well (%)	44.5	49.6	32.8	39.9	43.8	23.4
Not proficient in English (%)	12.8	36.1	4.5	5.3	44.0	72.9
- Not well (%)	12.8	32.0	4.5	5.3	37.8	56.2
- Not at all (%)	0	4.1	0	0	6.2	16.7

(1). Not stated and not applicable are excluded. England and South Africa are excluded because the native language there is English. Totals may not add up due to rounding off.

Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

4.3.5 Wealth expansion

Compared with BSP visa holders, BIIP visa holders are in possession of much higher financial capital and investable assets. A male city councillor in Adelaide, aged between 40-45, who has also been assisting with business migrants for a long time, suggested that the recent 188 and 132A visa holders were much more

affluent than the early 163 visa holders. As he said:

Researcher: Could you please share your knowledge about the profile of business migrants?

Interviewee: I have known these business migrants for a long time, from the early 163 (BSP visa holders), to the recent 188 and 132 (BIIP visa holders). Some of the 163 (BSP visa holders), coming to Australia earlier, even share houses with students. Most of them only have personal assets of around RMB 5 or 6 million, equivalent to A\$ 1 million. What do you think they can do with this small amount of money? They can't do anything. Even though some of them might have over RMB 1 billion in 2005, clearly a big amount, these were rare cases. The regulation on foreign exchange at that time was not as strict as today. It is easy for people at different levels to transfer fund to Australia for immigration and conduct the investment. However, due to their low qualifications, a lot of them got a loss. Nowadays, the policy and regulations are strict and the information is increasingly transparent. Therefore, almost all business migrants have strong capacity and abundant resources. With the requirement of business migration program improving, it is even difficult to meet people who are at low level. If private entrepreneurs can come here (Australia) as business migrants, I can say over 90 per cent of them are qualified, and perhaps 10 per cent are highly successful. [Interviewee A32, 2019]

The wealth expansion of business migrants is not only an individual phenomenon, but is also highly shaped and capitalised by China's economic development in one recent decade. China's economic boom after 2008 provided a chance for rich Chinese to expand their wealth. The China Wealth Report published by Bain Company (Bain, 2009), showed there were 320,000 persons whose investable assets were more than RMB 10 million, and their total assets were RMB 9 trillion by the end of 2008. But in 2018, the number of HNWI's reached 1.97 million, six times what it was in 2008. The total investable assets were RMB 70 trillion, almost eight times as much 2008 (Bain, 2019). China's

HNWIs have had huge benefits from continuously expanding the real estate market, stock market and Internet market since 2008. For example, the big ramp-up in easy credit and the influx of 'hot money' to the real estate market, helped to fuel an asset bubble that sent prices of land and housing steeply upward, more than doubling in some big cities during 2009 and 2010 (Guo and Huang, 2010). A male business migrant with a 188A visa, aged between 40-45, shared his experience in wealth expansion during the economic boom. He arrived in Australia in 2019 at 40 years of age. Before migrating this person had been running a real estate company for over ten years. He said:

Thanks to the economic bubble, my personal assets have increased multiple times. I have a shopping mall in China that covers an area of 20,000 square metres and is valued at RMB 160 million, but it was only around RMB 80 million five or six years ago. [Interviewee A10, 2019]

A male migration agent, aged between 45-50 in Adelaide, also talked about how his clients expanded their wealth in the recent decade. As an agent who is specialised in investor streams, he has observed the capitalisation of HNWIs on China's surge economic development:

You know my clients are mainly the applicants from 188B visa, which is specific for attracting professional investors who have a satisfactory performance and return in the equity market and real estate market. Actually, the refusal rate of 188B (visa) is as high as 53 per cent. It is because the selection process is quite strict especially in assets evaluation. But it is easy for Chinese applicants to achieve the baseline of A\$ 1.5 million. Due to the development of the market in recent years, investors can present beautiful results in asset and (investment) return. One of my clients spent RMB 1.3 million for five apartments in Beijing from 2003 to 2005, but the estimated value for these apartments has increased to RMB 40 million last year when I submitted his application materials. I think that the appreciation of his apartments provides strong evidence to convince migration officials. [Interviewee A33, 2019]

In comparison, a number of early business migrants might lose the opportunity to expand their wealth from the new wave of economic growth. A male business migrant in Melbourne, aged between 40-45, who holds an executive position in the Business Immigrant Association shared his ideas:

It has been common sense that early business migrants via BSP are not as rich as the BIIP visa holders after 2012. Early business migrants never imagined how fast China can develop in these (ten) years, and unfortunately most of them didn't capture the opportunity. A lot of old business migrants are jealous of new business migrants and even defraud them. [Interviewee M16, 2019]

Information on personal assets before migration is not included in ACMID 2016. It was also a sensitive topic during the fieldwork undertaken for this thesis. Business migrants are reluctant to share this kind of information. Even though they would like to, they are more likely to exaggerate their investable assets. However, instead of discussing their own situation, business migrants are more enthusiastic to talk about the overall financial situation of business migrants. By combining the interview information sought from migration agents, government officials and association leaders, it appears clear that recent business migrants are wealthier than early business migrants.

4.4 Economic activities of business migrants

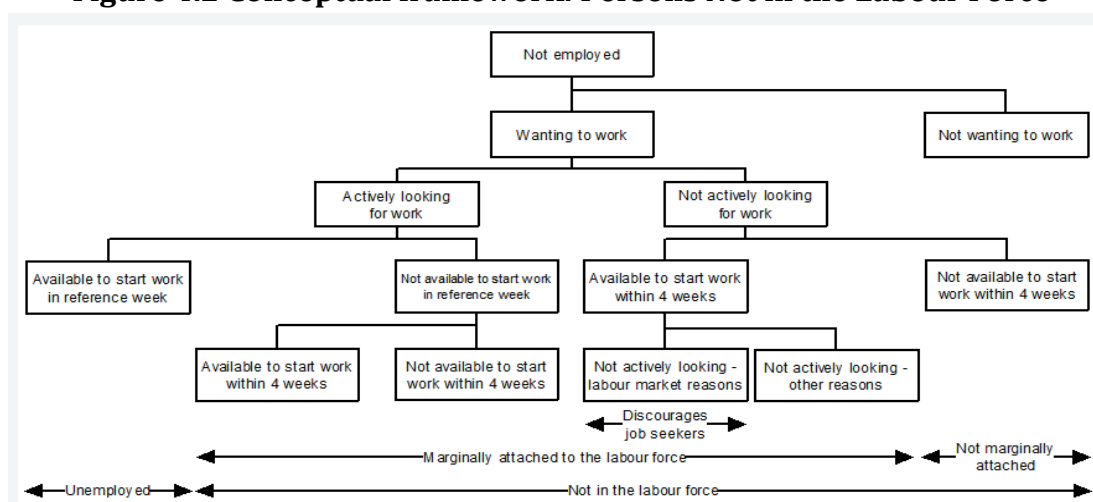
This section presents a comprehensive picture of the economic situation of business migrants in the working-age population (15-64). In addition to Investor visa holders, establishing and running a business is a mandatory condition for business migrants to get permanent residency. However, to get involved in business activities is a dynamic and complex process. Business migrants may have different kinds of economic statuses at different migration and business stages consequently multifaceted variables should be employed to capture the multidimensionality of business migrants' economic activities. Labour force

participation rate, entrepreneurship rate, industrial selection and personal income are described and discussed in this section.

4.4.1 Labour force participation rate

The labour force participation rate is an important indicator reflecting whether business migrants are economically active in the labour market and whether they can be utilised as labour resources to contribute to the economy continuously and sustainably. The participation rate is calculated as the labour force divided by the total working-age population, which refers to people aged 15 to 64 (OECD, 2021). Labour force status in ACMID 2016 is applied to measure the labour force participation rate. According to the definition people who are employed (employed working full-time, part-time or away from work) and unemployed but looking for jobs (unemployed looking for full-time work and looking for part-time work) are categorised as ‘In the labour force’ coded as ‘1’. Others are defined as ‘Not in the labour force’ coded as ‘0’ (see Figure 4.2). As calculated through ACMID 2016, the labour force participation rate was 56.0 per cent amongst all business migrants.

Figure 4.2 Conceptual framework: Persons Not in the Labour Force

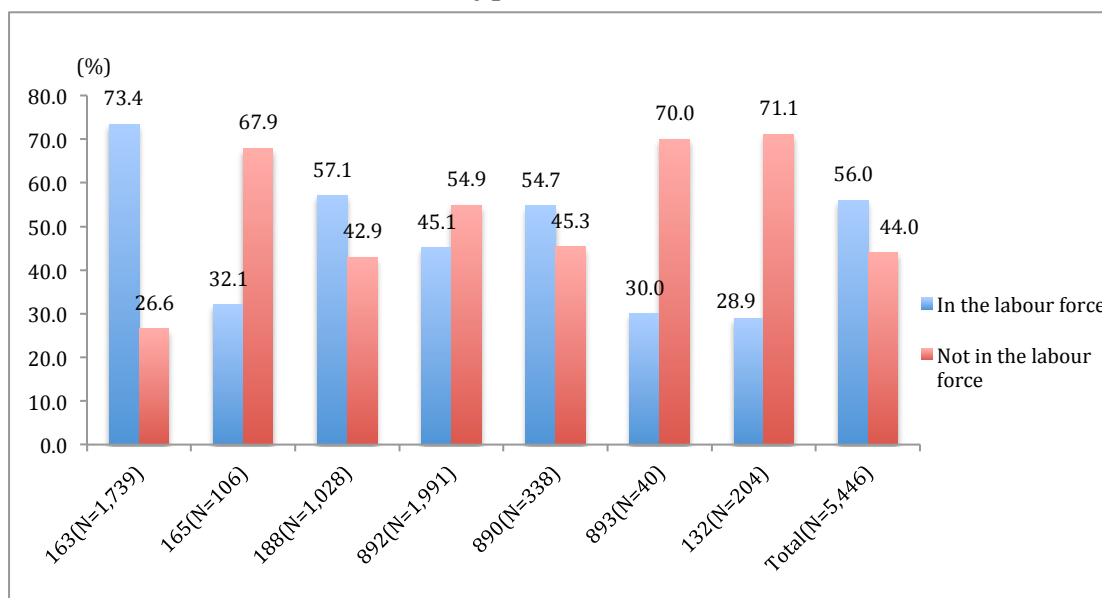


Source: ABS, 2018

Figure 4.3 shows the labour force participation rate in each sub-visa group. Compared with the Business Owner category and the Business Innovation

category, the Investor visa holders had a much lower labour force participation rate. There were only 32.1 per cent of 165 visa holders and 30.0 per cent of 893 visa holders in the labour force. This was because people under the Investor category were merely required to conduct investment instead of being involved in an actual business. There was also a significant difference between permanent visa holders and provisional visa holders. The labour force participation rate was 73.4 per cent amongst 163 visa holders but after they received permanent residency (892 visa), the labour force participation rate decreased to 45.1 per cent. Amongst provisional visa holders, 188 visa holders from BIIP (57.1 per cent) had a lower labour force participation rate compared with 163 visa holders. This was because the 188 visa holders arrived in Australia relatively later and had not started their business by 2016. The sub-categories cannot be specified in the ACMID 2016 and the Significant Investor category and the Investor category were also included, which may lower the labour force participation rate amongst 188 visa holders.

Figure 4.3 Labour participation rates of primary business migrants by visa types, 2016⁽¹⁾



(1). Not stated and not applicable are excluded. Totals may not add up due to rounding off.

Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

4.4.2 Entrepreneurship rate

The entrepreneurship rate normally indicates the probability of being entrepreneurs or of being self-employed, which has been viewed as a key topic in the area of migrant entrepreneurship (Ahmad and Hoffmann, 2008; Beckers and Blumberg, 2013). Employment type in ACMID 2016 can be used to measure the probability of employed business migrants being business owners or not. Four employment types have been identified in the dataset including employees, business owners with employment, business owners without employment, and contributing family workers. Table 4.12 shows the distribution of employment types amongst business migrants by specific visa types. Overall, a large proportion of business migrants who are currently working (42.2 per cent) chose to become business owners with employees. Specifically, provisional visa holders were more likely to own a business. There were 44.3 per cent of 188 visa holders and 46.3 per cent of 163 visa holders who were business owners with employees. Compared with provisional visa holders, the employment type of permanent visa holders was more diversified. A majority of permanent visa holders were still business owners and had created employment opportunities, but a considerable number of them also chose to work as employees, with 21.2 per cent of 890 visa holders and 31.2 per cent of 892 visa holders versus 6.4 per cent of 188 visa holders and 9.4 per cent of 163 visa holders. This disparity was because permanent visa holders were not subjected to the visa-related restrictions and could fully integrate into mainstream society to find more job opportunities.

Business migrants are specifically expected to bring entrepreneurial skills to establish new businesses and generate more employment opportunities. This study therefore has a greater emphasis on the probability of business migrants being business owners with employees. The dependent variable in the following logistic regression is binary. The 'business owner with employment' is coded as '1', and others (employee, business owners without employee and contributing family workers) are accumulated and coded as '0': 42.3 per cent of business migrants were business owners with employment. The distribution is roughly

distributed 50/50, ideally for binary logistic regression analysis.

Table 4.12 Employment types of primary business migrants by visa types, 2016

Subclass	Provisional visa			Permanent visa				Total
	163	165	188	892	893	890	132	
Employment types ⁽¹⁾	N=1,216	N=29	N=548	N=774	N=8	N=169	N=55	N=2,799
Employees (%)	9.4	24.1	6.4	31.3	25.0	21.3	25.5	16.1
Business owners with employees (%)	46.3	10.3	44.3	33.0	25.0	58.0	30.9	42.2
Business owners no employees (%)	19.5	34.5	19.3	18.6	25.0	7.7	16.4	18.6
Contributing family workers (%)	24.8	31.0	30.0	17.2	25.0	13.0	27.3	23.1

(1). Not stated and not applicable (not in the labour force and unemployed) are excluded. Totals may not add up due to rounding off.

Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

4.4.3 Industry selection

Industrial selection is an important indicator to measure the economic activities of migrant entrepreneurs, which can reflect what areas business migrants with entrepreneurial skills and capital flow into. In recent years, the business migration program has had clear policy guidance to drive business migrants toward the growth of critical sectors (e.g. Health, Agriculture, Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics), venture capital, innovation, and emerging enterprises (e.g. High-tech start ups) (DHA, 2021b). This aims to bring in the investment and entrepreneurship of business migrants to support Australia's economic bounce back from the COVID-19 pandemic. Studying the industrial section of business migrants based on the existing dataset in 2016 could provide insights to understand driving forces behind migrants economic behaviours, and assist with further policy implications.

Table 4.13 shows the industrial distribution of business migrants who were currently working and employed. The two most prominent sectors for business migrants were retail trade and accommodation and food services, both of which measured 52.9 per cent of the total of industry selection of business migrants. Major and Specific businesses in these two sectors included supermarkets and grocery stores, liquor retailing, cafes and restaurants and take-away food

services. Within these two areas, the majority of business migrants were in supermarkets and grocery stores, liquor retailing, general store-based retailing, cafes and restaurants, and take-away food services (ABS, 2016a). All of these businesses have relatively lower risks and barriers to entry, which therefore became the first priority for a majority of business migrants. Wholesale trade, following retail trade and accommodation and food services, accounted for 14.0 per cent of the total. Over 33.0 per cent of persons in the wholesale trade chose the liquor and tobacco product wholesaling (ABS, 2016a). Compared with other business migrants, 188 visa holders were more inclined to choose the wholesale trade, with 18.0 per cent of them being in this industry. High-threshold sectors such as construction, manufacturing, real estate and professional and technical services followed equaling 18.7 per cent of the total industry selections of employed business migrants. Compared with provisional visa holders, permanent visa holders were more likely to get into high-threshold industries.

The industry types are reclassified into three categories as follows. The wholesale trade is classified as the first group coded as '1'. As defined, the wholesale trade division in ACMID 2016 can be distinguished into two types of wholesalers, 1). Merchant wholesalers who take title of the goods they sell, including import/export merchants; and 2). Units whose main activity is the commission based buying and/or the commission based selling of goods, acting as wholesale agents or brokers, or business to business electronic markets, both of whom arrange the sales of goods on behalf of others for a commission or fee without taking title to the goods (ABS, 2014). Even though the import/export business is included as a subdivision of the wholesale trade division, a BIIP inquiry report indicates that business migrants in import/export businesses have contributed to the majority of wholesalers ((Joint Standing Committee on Migration, 2015). Import/export business, as cross-border business activities, is a kind of transnational economic practice that requires business migrants to utilise multi-local resources in host and home countries simultaneously. The wholesale trade, as a broader realm of the import/export business, is therefore exclusively set as a group to reflect the degree of transnationalisation of business migrants (Müller and Wehrhahn, 2013; Wong and Ng, 2002).

Retail trade and accommodation and food services, as the traditional sectors for business migrants, are classified as the second group coded as '2'. Retail trade and hospitality industry (i.e. small-scale retail, snack bars and restaurants, etc.) have always been viewed as the most appealing industries for migrant entrepreneurs due to the low initial capital and know-how (Beckers and Blumberg, 2013; Shneikat and Alrawadieh, 2019). However, this industry is also commonly discredited on the grounds of being low value-added, rarely innovative and marginally profitable (Beckers and Blumberg, 2013).

Table 4.13 Industry of primary business migrants by visa types, 2016

Subclass	Provisional visa			Permanent visa				Total
	163	165	188	892	893	890	132	
Industry ⁽¹⁾	N=1,044	N=22	N=443	N=672	N=7	N=139	N=44	N=2,371
Retail Trade (%)	34.1	4.6	34.7	23.6	14.3	25.7	9.1	30.0
Accommodation and Food Services (%)	26.7	9.1	17.1	20.8	42.9	27.1	11.4	22.9
Wholesale Trade (%)	13.3	18.2	18.0	12.3	0.0	16.4	6.8	14.0
Rental, Hiring and Real Estate (%)	3.4	9.1	2.5	8.8	28.6	4.3	25.0	5.3
Construction (%)	3.4	18.2	3.8	6.7	0.0	4.3	27.3	5.0
Manufacturing (%)	5.1	0.0	3.2	5.4	0.0	4.3	2.3	4.6
Professional and Technical Services (%)	3.2	4.6	5.9	4.0	0.0	2.9	0.0	3.8
Administrative and Support Services (%)	2.1	0.0	2.9	3.4	0.0	2.9	0.0	2.6
Transport, Postal and Warehousing (%)	2.5	0.0	1.6	3.6	0.0	2.1	0.0	2.5
Health Care and Social Assistance (%)	1.4	9.1	1.6	3.0	0.0	3.6	2.3	2.1
Financial and Insurance Services (%)	0.4	18.2	1.8	2.5	14.3	0.7	9.1	1.6
Education and Training (%)	0.8	4.6	1.8	1.9	0.0	0.7	0.0	1.3
Agriculture etc. (%)	0.5	4.6	1.4	0.5	0.0	0.7	4.6	0.8
Other Services (%)	3.0	0.0	3.9	3.0	0.0	4.3	2.3	3.5

(1). Not stated and not applicable (not in the labour force and unemployed) are excluded. Totals may not add up due to rounding off.

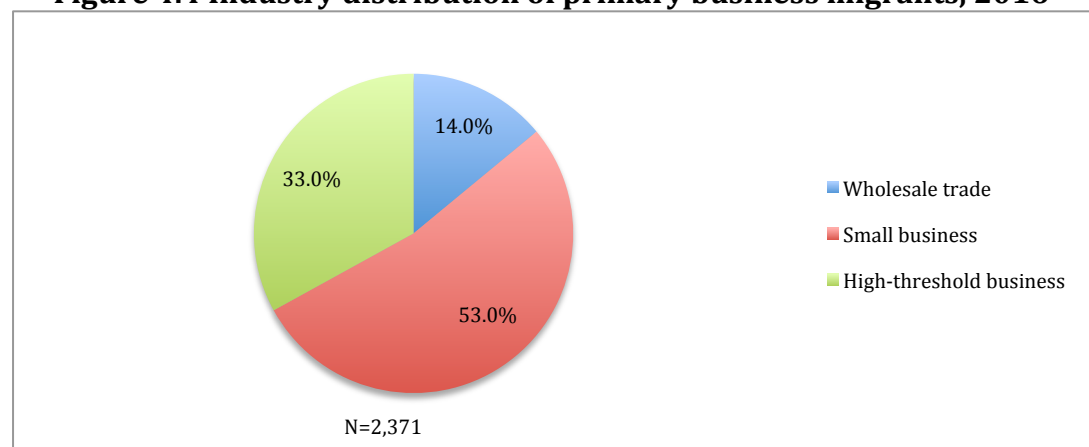
Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

Even though they have considerable financial capital and business experience, business migrants also adopt the retail trade and hospitality industry as their

first priority during their provisional period so that risks undertaken can be minimised. Nonetheless, these kinds of vacancy-chain openings, characterised as low threshold and economic rewards and high competition, also increase the likelihood of business migrants exiting the market after permanent residency is granted (Waldinger et al., 1990).

Construction, manufacturing, real estate and all other sectors are categorised as the third group coded as '3'. Compared with the second group, sectors in the third group have a higher threshold with labour- and capital-intensive characteristics. Some areas in promising markets, such as financial services and high-tech sectors, may require businesspersons and investors to have high qualifications and host country-specific skills. The remaining 16 of 19 sectors included in the third group can also indicate the degree of industrial diversification of business migrants. The distribution of the reclassified industry variable is shown in Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4 Industry distribution of primary business migrants, 2016⁽¹⁾



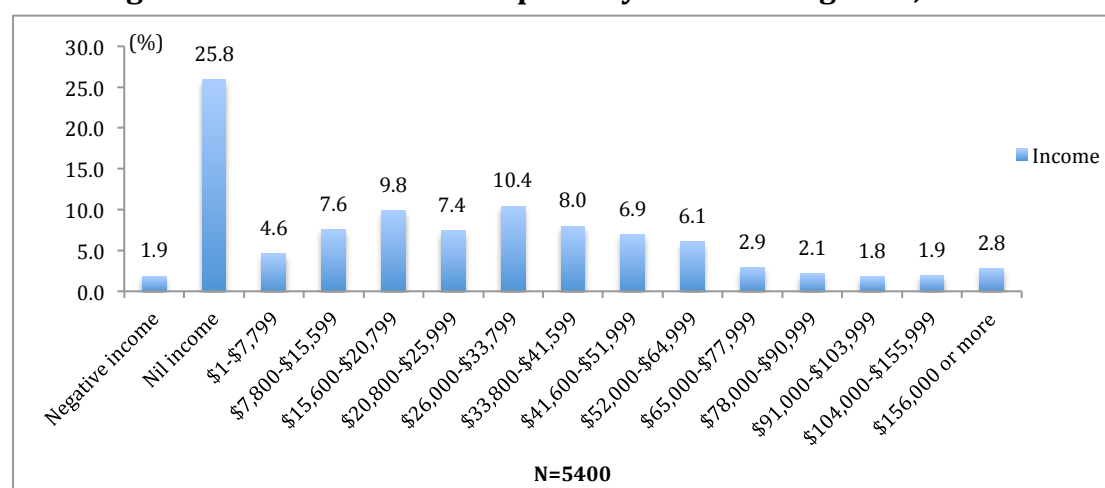
(1). Not stated and not applicable (not in the labour force and unemployed) is excluded. Totals may not add up due to rounding off.
Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

4.4.4 Personal income

The personal income defined in ACMID 2016 not only includes profit or loss from business, but also covers wages and salaries, government pensions, benefits and allowances, dividends from shares, private pensions, interest and

other revenue sources. Figure 4.5 shows the overall income distribution of business migrants. 27.7 per cent of business migrants had nil income or negative income, however over 32.5 per cent of business migrants earned more than the median income of 2016 in Australia, which was AUD 34,424 annually (ABS, 2016c). Approximately 4.7 per cent of business migrants had almost reached or were more than the high-income threshold, which was \$A 136,700 annually in July 1 2016 (Tobin, 2016). Amongst the high-income group, 1.9 per cent of business migrants had an income ranging from A\$ 104,000 to A\$ 155,999 annually, and 2.8 per cent of them had A\$ 156,000 or more annually.

Figure 4.5 Annual income of primary business migrants, 2016⁽¹⁾



(1). Not stated and not applicable is excluded. Totals may not add up due to rounding off.

Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

Even though the coverage of the personal income was broader than the profit or loss obtained from running the business, this variable could actually reflect the economic situation of business migrants more comprehensively. For someone who was not in the labour force, especially Investor visa holders, they might also have profitable returns from passive investment in government bonds and real estate, or bonuses from emerging companies. In a sense, even though the migrants were not operating businesses, their economic contribution resulting from their large-scale investment could not be underestimated. The income variable was then quinquesectioned as ascending levels (Level 1: Nil income and negative income; Level 2: \$1-\$20,799; Level 3: \$20,800-\$33,799; Level 4: \$33,800-\$51,999; Level 5: Above \$52,000), and tabulated with 'labour force

participation'. As Table 4.14 shows, although the income level of business migrants not in the labour force was much lower than their counterparts in the labour force, there were still 11.1 per cent of business migrants not in the labour force having highest income.

Table 4.14 Income level of primary business migrants by labour force participation, 2016

Labour force status ⁽¹⁾	Not in the labour force	In the labour force
	N=2,371	N=3,022
Income level		
Nil and negative income (%)	52.2	8.5
A\$1-A\$20,799 (%)	19.3	24.1
A\$20,800-A\$33,799 (%)	10.8	23.3
A\$33,800-A\$51,999 (%)	6.7	21.3
Above A\$51,999 (%)	11.1	22.8

(1). Not stated and not applicable is excluded. Totals may not add up due to rounding off.

Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

In the subsequent regression analysis, the variable personal income is derived as a semi-continuous variable on the basis of mid-point income in each income band.

4.5 The effect of contextual and individual factors on the economic activities of business migrants

This section explores how contextual and individual factors influence the economic activities of business migrants, including their labour force participation rate, entrepreneurship rate, industrial selection, and personal income. Binary regression analysis was employed to study the labour force participation rate and entrepreneurship rate, multinomial regression analysis is for industrial selection, and the linear regression model was for personal income.

4.5.1 Variable definitions

Table 4.15 shows the summary statistics of dependent variables and independent variables. The rationale for the classification of dependent variables has been discussed in a previous section. Social and economic characteristics of Chinese business migrants are recoded as independent variables as shown below. The numbers of business migrants are too small amongst the Investor and Business Talent category and ACMID 2016 cannot identify sub-categories of BIIP and few permanent visa holders are included. Visa types are therefore reclassified into three types: permanent BSP visa holders (coded as '1'), provisional BSP visa holders (coded as '2'), and provisional BIIP holders (coded as '3'). This classification reflects the different visa types mainly from two dimensions, early BSP versus recent BIIP, and permanent visa versus provisional visa.

The geographical distribution by State is also grouped into three types, New South Wales (coded as '1'), Victoria (coded as '2'), and the remaining three States Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia (coded as '3'). Different States have specific institutional arrangements and economic contexts. Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia are categorised together because the numbers of Chinese business migrants in these three States are small.

The arrival time is categorised as 2012 and pre-2012 (coded as '0'), and post-2012 (coded as '1'). The business visa-related policy revamp was in 2012, and China has also experienced dramatic economic development and change in the last decade. The year 2012 is therefore applied to distinguish the macro contexts shaped by economic and institutional change both in Australia and China.

Table 4.15 Summary statistics of variables

Variable	Value	Mean	S.D	Min	Max	Obs.
Dependent variable						
Labour participation rate	Not in the labour force=0; In the labour force=1	0.56	0.50	0	1	5,126
Entrepreneurship rate	Others=0; Business owners with employees=1	0.42	0.49	0	1	2,799
Industry	Wholesale trade=1; Small business=2; High-threshold business=3	2.19	0.66	1	3	2,371
Income	Semi-continuous variable	29,552	35,001	0	156,000	5,400
Independent variable						
Visa types	Permanent BSP=1; Provisional BSP =2; Provisional BSP=3	1.72	0.75	1	3	5,469
State	NSW=1; VIC=2; QLD, SA, WA=3	1.96	0.57	1	3	5,435
Arrival period	Arrive in and before 2012=0; Arrive after 2012=1	0.36	0.48	0	1	5,233
Individual variable						
Human capital						
English proficiency	Not proficient=0; Proficient=1	0.27	0.44	0	1	5,455
Education attainment	Below bachelor=0; Bachelor and above bachelor=1	0.32	0.47	0	1	5,041
Social capital						
Years of residence	Continuous variable	5.45	3.90	0	36	5,233
Australian citizenship	Non-Australian citizen=0; Australian citizen=1	0.15	0.35	0	1	5,435
Family structure	Others=0; Couple family living together=1	0.52	0.50	0	1	5,469
Demographic variable						
Sex	Female=0; Male=1	0.43	0.49	0	1	5,469
Age	Continuous variable	46.29	7.87	15	64	5,469

Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

At the individual level, English proficiency and education attainment are

combined to measure the human capital of business migrants. The social capital is categorised by variables of years of residence, Australian citizenship, and family structure. Australian citizenship is employed to measure the degree of business migrants integrating into the host country (Chávez et al, 2006), and the family structure is to reflect the role of core family closeness and networks. Finally, the age and sex of business migrants are brought in as demographic variables. All independent variables have passed the multicollinearity test. The mean variance inflation factor (VIF) of independent variables is 1.49, and all variables have a low VIF value suggesting that there is no multicollinearity issue amongst the independent variables (Long and Freese, 2014).

4.5.2 Analytical method

The binary logit model can be used to explore how each explanatory variable affects the probability of an event occurring (Long and Freese, 2014: 187). In this study, the binary logit model is applied to explore the impact of independent variables on the labour force participation rate and entrepreneurship rate. Both of these two dependent variables are binary outcome and fit to the binary logit model. The model can be specified as:

$$\Pr (y=1|x_j) = \frac{\exp(\beta_0 + \beta_1 x_j)}{(1 + \exp(\beta_0 + \beta_1 x_j))}, j=1,2,3,\dots,n$$

Where Pr in this study denotes the probability of 'being in the labour force' or 'being an entrepreneur with employment', x_j is a vector of independent variables, and j denotes the observation (Long and Freese, 2014: 188).

The multinomial logit model (MLogit) is employed to investigate the industrial selection of business migrants. The MLogit model is ideal for dealing with situations with multi-choice dependent variables, because it could simultaneously estimate binary logits for all comparisons among the choices (Long and Freese, 2014: 386-389). According to Long and Freese (2014: 390), the MLogit model is expressed as followed:

$$\Pr (y = m|x) = \frac{\exp (x\beta_j)}{\sum_{j=1}^3 \exp (x\beta_j)}, j = 1, 2, 3$$

Where Pr denotes probability, m denotes the dependent variable categories (1, 2 and 3), x is a vector of independent variables. The dependent variables are classified into three categories in MLogit models: Wholesale trade (y=1), Small business (y=2), High-threshold and other sector (y=3).

The linear regression model is applied to measure the effect of independent variables on personal income. As a semi-continuous variable, personal income can be analysed with the linear regression model. The model specification is:

$$Y_j = a + \beta x_j + \varepsilon_j, j=1,2,3,\dots,n$$

Where Y_j denotes the personal income, which is a semi-continuous variable, based on the mid-point of income in each income band in Figure 4.5. x_j are vectors of explanatory variables that include contextual factors, individual factors, and demographic characteristics. ε_j is the error term, and j denotes the observation.

4.5.3 Results and discussion

Labour force participation rate. Table 4.16 has provided the estimated effects of factors at multiple levels on the labour force participation rate of business migrants. The binary logistic regression model has been employed for analysis. At the contextual dimension, visa types played a significant role in influencing whether people were in the labour force or not. Controlling for other variables in the model, provisional visa holders were more likely to be in the labour force than permanent visa holders. As Model 1 in Table 4.16 shows, the odds for provisional BIIP visa holders being in the labour force were about 44.0 per cent higher than the odds for permanent BSP visa holders. The odds of provisional BSP visa holders being in the labour force were even higher, about 1.46 times higher than permanent BSP visa holders.

Table 4.16 Binary logistic regression results: labour force participation rate

Dependent variable (Labour participation rate) Unemployed=0; Employed=1	Model1 Odds Ratio	Model2 Odds Ratio
Contextual variables		
Visa (Base=Permanent BSP)		
Provisional BSP	2.46***	1.09
Provisional BIIP	1.44***	1.03
State (Base=VIC)		
NSW	1.14	1.36***
QLD, SA, WA	1.08	1.39***
Year of Arrival (Base=2012 and pre-2012)	1.46***	0.80
Individual variables		
Human capital		
English proficiency (Base=Not proficient in English)	1.82***	1.84***
Education attainment (Base=Below bachelor degree)	1.11	1.09
Social capital		
Australian citizenship (Base=non-Australian citizen)	0.90	0.96
Year of residence	1.05***	1.04***
Family structure (Base=non-couple families living together)	1.12*	1.43***
Demographic variables		
Sex (Base=Female)	1.83***	2.95***
Age	1.31***	1.32***
Age ²	0.99***	0.10***
Constant	0.001***	0.001***
Interaction effect		
Visa*State (Base=Permanent BSP in VIC)		
Provisional BSP in NSW		1.19
Provisional BSP in QLD, SA, WA		0.60**
Provisional BIIP in NSW		0.19***
Provisional BIIP in QLD, SA, WA		0.62*
Visa*Family structure (Base=Permanent BSP with couple living together)		
Provisional BSP with couple not living together		1.97***
Provisional BIIP with couple not living together		1.15
Visa*Sex (Base=Permanent BSP visa for male)		
Provisional BSP for female		2.15***
Provisional BIIP for female		2.50***
Visa*Year of arrival (Base=Permanent BSP prior 2012)		
Provisional BSP after 2012		1.94***
Provisional BIIP after 2012		1.54
Observations	4,740	4,740
Pseudo R square	0.08	0.11
P value of Hosmer-Lemeshow Chi ² Statistics	0.0005	0.27
AIC	5968.361	5849.611

Note: All regressions include a constant term; t-statistics in parentheses are based on robust standard errors; ***denotes significance at $p < 0.01$; **at $p < 0.05$; *at $p < 0.10$

Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

Another contextual factor of arrival period, as Model 1 in Table 4.16 shows, also significantly influenced the labour force participation rate. Business migrants arriving after 2012 were more likely to be in the labour force, with the odds 46

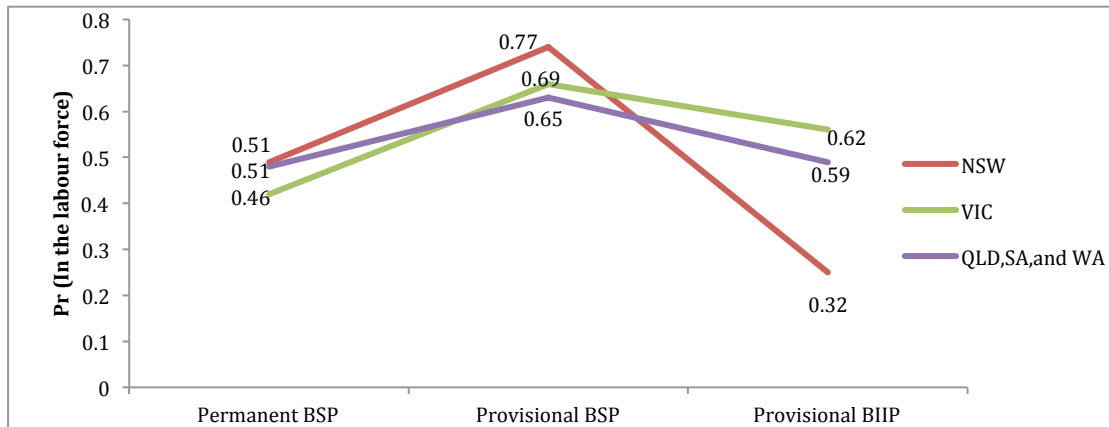
per cent higher than business migrants before 2012. However, there was no statistical significant difference among States in Model 1.

At the individual level, English proficiency was more significantly and positively associated with labour force participation. The odds of being in the labour force were 82 per cent higher for business migrants with proficient English skills than persons who were not. The length of residence was also positively related to the labour force participation rate. Moreover, there was an inverted U-shaped relationship between age and labour participation force meaning business migrants were more likely to be in the labour force in the middle age groups.

When testing the goodness of fit, the p-value of Hosmer-Lemeshow Chi-Squared statistics was 0.0005, which meant that the model did not fit the data very well (Long and Freese, 2014). Considering the interaction effect of determinant factors, the study further adds and selects the significant interaction items in the model. The interaction between visa type and State, family structure, sex and the year of arrival were statistically significant. The p-value of Hosmer-Lemeshow Chi-Squared statistics was improved to 0.27 in the new model. The Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) decreased from 5968.36 in the baseline model (Model 1) to 5849.61 in the interaction model (Model 2), suggesting that the Model 2 with interaction variables can better fit the data.

After adding the interaction variables, the variable 'State' was more significantly influencing the labour force participation rate, while the influence of visa arrangements was compromised. Figure 4.6 shows the predictive margin of labour force participation of business migrants by visa type and State, which represents the average predicted probability of respondents in a specific group (Long and Freese, 2014). There was a significant interaction effect between visa types and States showing that the probability of labour force participation was particularly low amongst provisional BIIP visa holders in New South Wales. This was because many business migrants in New South Wales were Significant Investment visa holders who were only required to conduct investment rather than running an actual business.

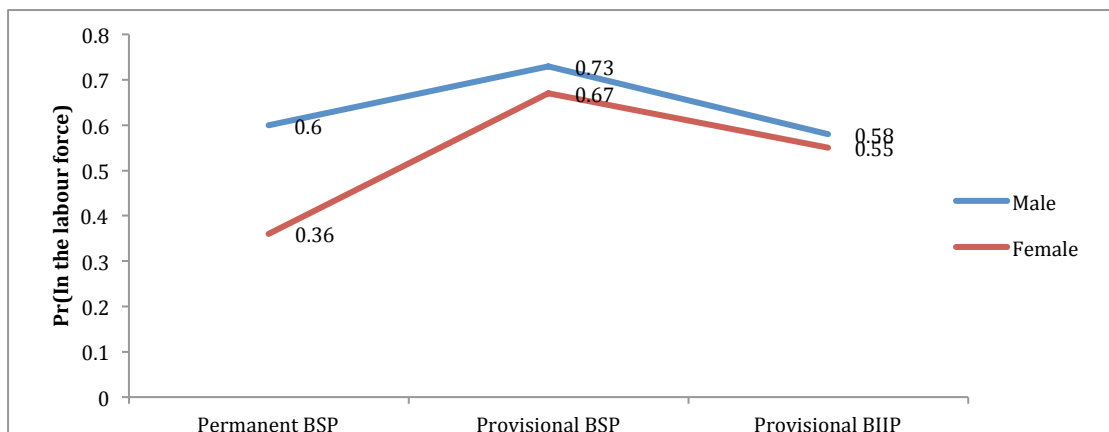
Figure 4.6 Predictive Margins of visa types interacting with States on labour force participation rate



Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

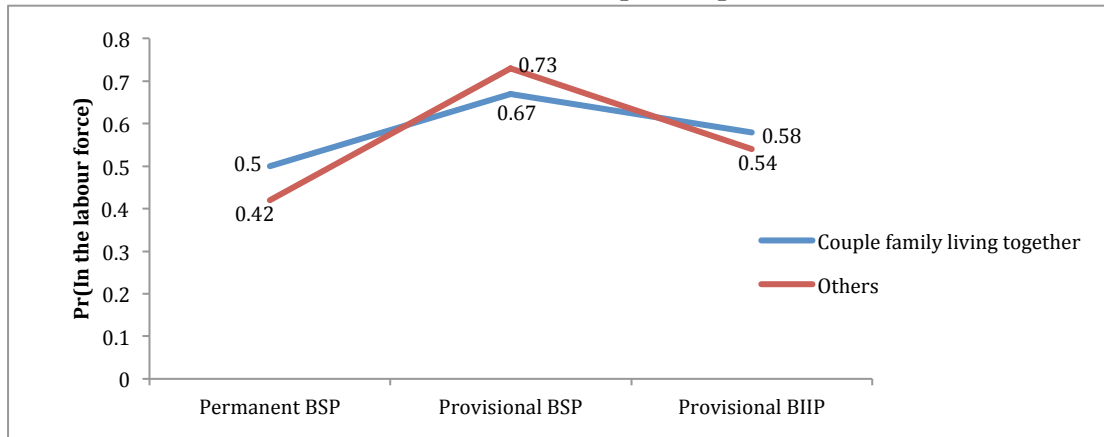
Figures 4.7 and 4.8 show the interaction effect between visa types and sex, and between visa types and family structure on the probability of labour force rate. A business migrant family, with the primary applicant being male and a couple living together, were less likely to be an ‘astronaut family’ and were more inclined to be in the labour force. The roles of sex and family structure were particularly prominent amongst permanent visa holders. Keeping the business running is a required condition for all of provisional visa holders, however, it is actually more meaningful to see whether business migrants are in the labour force and keep their business sustainable after they receive permanent residency. The result shows that the core family closeness and networks played a positive role in the business sustainability of business migrants.

Figure 4.7 Predictive Margins of visa types interacting with sex on labour force participation rate



Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

Figure 4.8 Predictive Margins of visa types interacting with family structure on labour force participation rate



Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

Entrepreneurship rate. Table 4.17 shows the effect of multilevel determinant factors on the entrepreneurship rate. A binary logistic regression model was employed to estimate the probability of being business owners with employment.

At the contextual dimension, there were significant institutional and geographical influences on the entrepreneurship rate. Business migrants in New South Wales and other States were more likely to be business owners with employees, than their counterparts in Victoria. The odds of provisional visa holders being business owners with employment were also higher than permanent visa holders. This makes sense because business migrants have to meet the business requirements to operate their businesses and create job opportunities during the provisional period. However, the year of arrival, i.e arrival before or after 2012, was not significantly associated with the entrepreneurship rate.

At the individual level, the entrepreneurship rate was independent of human capital and social capital. In comparison, demographic variables were associated with the probability of being business owners and having employment. As Table 4.17 shows, a middle aged male business migrant was more likely to own a business and hire employees. The model has shown a favourable fit for the data,

with the Hosmer-Lemeshow Chi-Squared P-value of 0.62. There was no significant interaction effect predicting the entrepreneurship rate in the model.

Table 4.17 Binary logistic regression results: entrepreneurship rate

Dependent variable (Entrepreneurship rate) Business owners with employment=1; Others=0	Model1 Odds Ratio
<i>Contextual variables</i>	
Visa (Base=Permanent BSP)	
Provisional BSP	1.32***
Provisional BIIP	1.38**
State (Base=VIC)	
NSW	2.11***
QLD, SA, WA	1.44***
Arrival period (Base=2012 and pre-2012)	1.20
<i>Individual variables</i>	
<i>Human capital</i>	
English proficiency (Base=Not proficient in English)	1.05
Education attainment (Base=Below bachelor degree)	0.92
<i>Social capital</i>	
Australian citizenship (Base=non-Australian citizen)	0.90
Year of residence	0.99
Family structure (Base=non-couple families living together)	0.97
<i>Demographic variables</i>	
Sex (Base=Female)	1.14
Age	1.24***
Age ²	0.99***
Constant	0.003
Observations	2,470
Pseudo R square	0.03
P value of Hosmer-Lemeshow Chi ² Statistics	0.62
AIC	3298.656

Note: All regressions include a constant term; t-statistics in parentheses are based on robust standard errors; ***denotes significance at $p < 0.01$; **at $p < 0.05$; *at $p < 0.10$

Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

Industry Selection. Table 4.18 shows the effect of factors at different level on the industrial selection of business migrants. The multinomial logistic regression model is employed for analysis. The second group of small business is firstly viewed as the reference group. The regression model aims to explore what factors can drive business migrants to break out of the marginalised business field and move toward the high-threshold sectors.

Table 4.18 Multinomial logit regression results: industry selection

	Wholesale trade Vs. Small business Coef.	High-threshold sector Vs. Small business Coef.	High-threshold sector Vs. Wholesale trade Coef.
Contextual variables			
Visa (Base=Provisional BSP)			
Permanent BSP	0.33*	0.38***	0.05
Provisional BIIP	0.36**	0.32**	0.04
State (Base=VIC)			
NSW	0.45**	0.27**	-0.18
QLD, SA, WA	0.28	0.43***	0.15
Arrival period (Base=2012 and pre-2012)	0.17	-0.18	-0.35
Individual variables			
Human capital			
English proficiency (Base=Not proficient in English)	0.10	0.17*	0.06
Education attainment (Base=Below bachelor degree)	0.44***	0.26**	-0.18
Social capital			
Australian citizenship (Base=non-Australian citizen)	0.34	0.35**	0.02
Year of residence	-0.006	0.02	0.03
Family structure (Base=non-couple families living together)	-0.85***	-0.38***	0.47***
Demographic variables			
Sex (Base=Female)	0.33**	0.39***	0.06
Age	0.32***	-0.04	-0.36***
Age ²	-0.004***	0.0002	0.004***
Control variable			
Employment type (Base=Business Owners with employment)			
Employee	0.17	0.82***	0.65***
Business Owners without employment	0.88***	0.06	-0.82***
Contributing family worker	0.74***	-0.1	-0.84***
Constant	-9.29***	-0.06	9.23***
Observations	2088		
Pseudo R square	0.07		

Note: All regressions include a constant term; ***denotes significance at $p < 0.01$; **at $p < 0.05$; *at $p < 0.10$

Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

Structural factors play an important role in industry selection. Compared with provisional BSP visa holders, both provisional BIIP visa holders and permanent BSP visa holders were less likely to engage in small business. In particular, recent provisional BIIP visa holders were more inclined to engage in the wholesale trade. The emerging consumption market in China has been driving business migrants to seek opportunities back in their homeland. As for permanent BSP visa holders, they had much stronger propensity to get into the high-threshold industries. This was because permanent visa holders were more familiar with

the Australian business environment and are supposed to have extensive country-specific resources.

There was also a significant geographical impact on industry selection. Business migrants in Victoria were more likely to engage in small business, but showed a stronger propensity toward the wholesale trade and high-threshold sectors if they were in New South Wales or other States. Local institutional arrangements and industrial structures might have shaped the economic behaviours of business migrants in choosing industries.

Individual factors were less associated with business migrants choosing wholesale trade. It is worth noting that non-couple families had a higher probability of doing wholesale trade than couple families. This was due to the transnational characteristics of wholesale trade. One family member could export products from the host country, and another establishes the sale channel in the home country. In addition, the wholesale trade may not be a labour-intensive industry. Compared with small business, a greater number of business migrants in the wholesale trade do not have to hire employees especially with the extra services from local traders for export. On the contrary, the probability of choosing high-threshold business over small business was mostly shaped by individual factors. Business migrants, with proficient English, higher educational attainment, and Australian citizenship showed a much stronger propensity toward high-threshold sectors. This meant that host-country specific skills and native resources could facilitate business migrants engagement in high-end and more diversified sectors.

Nevertheless, as Table 4.18 shows, there was no significant contextual and individual influence on business migrants choosing high-end industry or wholesale trade business, except for the family structure. With other independent variables controlled, couple families living together in Australia were more likely to enter into the high-end industry, while 'astronaut families' preferred wholesale trade. It could also suggest that business migrants in high-end industry and wholesale trade had similar characteristics.

Personal income. The regression model was employed to investigate how structural and individual factors influence the income of business migrants. As shown in Table 4.19, Model 1 is based on the full sample of business migrants. The income of persons in the labour force was significantly higher than those not in the labour force showing that the main income source of business migrants was still from their daily work. Model 2 specifically focuses on business migrants who were in the labour force and in employment. Business characteristics such as industry selection and employment types were also included in the model as independent variables. Model 2 shows that income was highly related to the business types and industry of business migrants. Business migrants were more likely to have a higher income level if they were business owners with employment in wholesale and high-high threshold industries.

Both models have found that factors at an individual level including educational attainment, English proficiency and Australian citizenship were significantly and positively associated with the income of business migrants. This can show the importance of host-country specific skills and resources for business migrants. Conversely, contextual factors such as visa arrangements and geographical distribution were not significantly associated with the income of business migrants, especially for persons who were currently employed. The exception was New South Wales. The income level of business migrants was particularly high in New South Wales compared with Victoria and the other States. This was due to the higher visa requirements and more developed economy in New South Wales.

Table 4.19 Linear regression results: personal income

Dependent variable (Income)	Model1 Coef.	Model2 Coef.
Contextual variables		
Visa (Base=Permanent BSP)		
Provisional BSP	888.27	-20.15
Provisional BIIP	10513.95***	2878.21
State (Base=VIC)		
NSW	9589.8***	7939.70***
QLD, SA, WA	2486.04**	140.58
Arrival period (Base=2012 and pre-2012)	1581.66	2544.73
Individual variables		
Human capital		
English proficiency (Base=Not proficient in English)	2580.18**	1437.14
Education attainment (Base=Below bachelor degree)	6619.19***	3942.70***
Social capital		
Australian citizenship (Base=non-Australian citizen)	3349.57**	5748.26***
Year of residence	40.54	216.18
Family structure (Base=non-couple families living together)	-1720.73*	-2760.16*
Demographic variables		
Sex (Base=Female)	5927.94***	4011.51***
Age	1862.17***	654.38
Age ²	-19.84***	-7.01
Control variable		
Labour force (Base=Not in the labour force)	17651.06***	
Employment type (Base=Business Owners with employment)		
Employee		-8309.02***
Business Owners without employment		-5933.50***
Contributing family worker		-13346.18***
Industry (Base=Small business)		
Wholesale trade business		8578.99***
High-threshold business		14648.01***
Constant	-32910.51***	17168.57
Observations	4700	2075
R square	0.13	0.10

Note: All regressions include a constant term; ***denotes significance at $p < 0.01$; **at $p < 0.05$; *at $p < 0.10$
Source: ABS: ACMID 2016.

4.6 Conclusion and limitations

This chapter firstly presented the socio-economic characteristics of Chinese business migrants at structural and individual dimensions respectively. Qualitative analysis is further employed to illustrate that recent business migrants are more affluent and qualified than early business migrants. The structural and individual characteristics were then set as independent variables to explore how economic activities of business migrants are shaped.

Economic activities are measured by four variables including labour force participation rate, entrepreneurship rate, industrial selection and personal income so that different dimensions centred on business characteristics can be covered. The roles of multilevel determinant factors are divergent with respect to different dependent variables. At the contextual dimension, the role of visa types is particularly important in the labour force participation rate, entrepreneurship rate, and industrial selection. Provisional visa holders are more likely to be in the labour force and be business owners with employment, however permanent visa holders show a stronger propensity toward high-threshold industry and are more likely to have diversified industrial selection. Amongst provisional visa holders, most recent BIIP visa holders are more inclined to engage in wholesale trade business and high-threshold business. There is also a significant geographical influence on business migrants. Business migrants in New South Wales have higher income levels and entrepreneurship rates, and are more likely to be in high-end industry. In comparison, albeit as the most popular State for Chinese business migrants, people in Victoria prefer to engage in small business and have lower entrepreneurship rates and personal income levels.

Contextual factors play a role in influencing the labour participation rate, entrepreneurship rate, and the opportunity structure of industry. However, personal income and motivations in industry selection are mostly shaped by individual characteristics. Business migrants with higher educational attainment, proficient English and Australian citizenship show a stronger propensity toward high-threshold industries and are more likely to have higher income. Family structure and closeness are also related to the labour participation rate and industry selection.

Quantitative analysis, based on ACMID 2016, has two limitations. Firstly, deeper mechanisms behind the static statistics cannot be obtained by merely relying on a quantitative approach. Secondly, ACMID 2016 lacks information about business migrants after 2016 since when an array of policy revamps have been initiated and Adelaide become the emerging city for Business Talent visa holders. In the

following chapters, qualitative analysis via fieldwork from Adelaide and Melbourne is therefore employed to balance the shortcomings of quantitative analysis.

Chapter 5. How do contextual factors shape the entrepreneurship of business migrants from the Chinese mainland?

5.1 Introduction

Although economic behaviours are viewed as individual actions, they are actually subject to external economic and institutional factors. Business patterns and activities are therefore divergent with respect to different temporal, spatial, economic and institutional spheres. The previous chapter has revealed that the contextual factors, especially the policymaking of business migration programs and geographical differences, have a statistically significant influence on the economic activities of Chinese business migrants in Australia. This chapter, mainly based on primary qualitative data collected in Adelaide and Melbourne, further elaborates how these contextual factors are intertwined to shape the economic activities of business migrants. Information relevant to business migrants after 2016 to the present, and the influence of economic development in China, which cannot be covered by ACMID 2016, will also be discussed in this chapter through qualitative analysis of interviews.

Research materials for this chapter are mainly sought from the interviewees' responses about the perception of institutions and economic contexts from different stakeholders (business migrants, community leaders and relevant agents, and government officials). This information will provide a more comprehensive and systematic research perspective of contextual embeddedness. Economic contexts refer to China's economic development and Australia's industrial structure, while institutional factors indicate the change and revamp of business migration programs.

The chapter starts by exploring the role of policymaking in the business migration program and the international trade relationship in the economic activities of business migrants. It discusses how economic development in China and the geographically distinctive industrial structure in Australia combined to

affect the opportunities of export business for business migrants. The mechanism of the dynamics is then analysed. The chapter concludes by stressing the interaction effect of contextual factors in national and local dimensions of business activity.

5.2 Institutional arrangements

Quantitative results show that business migrants have different business activities with respect to their visa types. Indeed, business migration programs not only select potential applicants but also shape their entrepreneurship by establishing an array of business requirements and restrictions according to different visa categories. Chinese business migrants are mainly attracted to three categories: Business Innovation (Owner) stream (subclass 188A(provisional)/888A(permanent), Significant Investor stream (subclass 188C(provisional)/888C(permanent) and Significant Business history stream (subclass 132A (permanent)). These three sub-categories have different business requirements for business migrants during the provisional period after their arrival in Australia. For example, Business Innovation visa holders and Significant Business history visa holders are required to establish a business and conduct the daily management of the business to bring business skills or employment to Australia, while Significant Investor visa holders only need to invest a certain amount of money into designated projects. The following section will explore how policymaking shapes the business activities and labour status of business migrants. It can also be viewed as a process for business migrants to address and respond to the selection criteria of the business migration program.

The overhauling of these three most popular sub-categories are discussed separately to reveal how institutional factors play a role in the entrepreneurship of business migrants. Changes included improving the requirements of Business Innovation stream, the geographical differentiation of the Significant Business history stream, and the introduction and revamp of the Significant Investor stream. Finally, the effect of obtaining a permanent visa is explored by comparing business activities between provisional visa holders and permanent

visa holders.

5.2.1 Revamp of Business Innovation stream – From Business Skills Program (BSP) to Business Innovation and Investment Program (BIIP)

It was found in the previous quantitative analysis that the Business Owner category has overwhelmingly dominated the BSP, which accounts for 92.0 per cent of applications in total. Victoria is the most attractive State with 65.6 per cent of these visas granted nationally. In addition to a basic turnover requirement of a minimum of A\$ 200,000, business migrants also need to meet at least two of the following requirements: 1) Employ at least the equivalent of one full-time employee who is an Australian citizen, an Australian permanent resident or New Zealand passport holder; 2). The net value of personal and business assets in Australia should be at least A\$ 250,000; 3). The net value of business assets should be at least A\$ 75,000. These are not actually high thresholds for most entrepreneurs in Australia. They can be met by running small-scale businesses. As required, business migrants have to establish the businesses no later than two years after their arrival in Australia. For both these reasons, low-end industries such as hospitality and retail businesses have become the most common choices for the majority of Business Owner visa holders, especially during the visa's provisional period. According to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) annual report in 2010, the most popular industries for business migrants were the hospitality industry such as accommodation, cafes, and restaurants (27.0 per cent), retail service (26.2 per cent), and agriculture, forestry and fishing (12.6 per cent) (DIAC, 2010). These industries have a lower barrier of entry and can be more accessible for business migrants to minimise and control any risks. These factors can also further explain the quantitative findings that provisional BSP visa holders are more likely to engage in small businesses compared to permanent BSP visa holders and provisional BIIP visa holders.

Due to an intensive focus of business migrants on small domestic businesses, the business migration program has been criticised as not being an effective way to

promote innovation and investment by the public (Fitzsimmons, 2021). However, this is also a response to the fact that business migrants aim to fulfil the requirements of obtaining permanent residency within such a short period. In addition, the relatively low business threshold makes it achievable. A government official, who had also participated in the policymaking, explained this situation:

The reason why their businesses are only skewed toward specific areas such as restaurants and shops is also relevant to the policy. Applicants only have two years to establish businesses. It might be risky if choosing a large-investment and a more complicated business. It can even take several months to just get the business approval. [Interviewee A25, 2019]

In BIIP, the Business Owner category was renamed the Business Innovation stream and increased the minimum business turnover in Australia from A\$ 200,000 to A\$ 300,000. There were three options established: the threshold of personal and business assets has been increased from A\$ 250,000 to A\$ 600,000; the business assets value has been raised from A\$ 75,000 to A\$ 200,000; and the minimum employment increased from one person to two persons (DIBP, 2014). Business Innovation visa holders still consider Melbourne to be their first location priority, with 75 per cent of the national applications (ABS, 2016a). However, industrial selection has become more diversified amongst Business Innovation visa holders with an increasing number choosing to conduct cross-border businesses such as import/export trade. A 2015 report into BIIP indicates that over 14.0 per cent of business migrants arriving in Melbourne between 2012 and 2014 intended to engage in the import/export business, while the percentage of BSP visa holders in transnational business was not estimated due to the low number (Joint Standing Committee on Migration, 2015). This standpoint has been strengthened by the quantitative results showing that provisional BIIP visa holders were more likely to engage in the wholesale trade business.

In addition to the changing economic context both in China and Australia, policy

change and the improvements mentioned above at an institutional level have played a significant role in the business transnationalisation of migrants. With improvements in business requirements to achieve permanent residency, an increasing number of people are more prudent in choosing their first business. They have begun to consider whether their existing resources in China can be utilised to facilitate and expand their Australian businesses. Over half of the 38 fieldwork respondents mentioned that it was more difficult to achieve the turnover requirement if only relying on host country-based businesses such as restaurants and shops exclusively. Some people may establish their main business in hospitality or retail businesses, and take the export business as a second one to help the turnover gap. A growing number of people also only conduct an export business, which can allow them to avoid higher labour costs (a minimum of two employees) even though a larger initial business investment is needed. As estimated by a male 188A visa holder in Melbourne, aged between 46-50:

At least A\$ 1 million initial investment is needed. It includes the payment on the wine, tax, labour cost, and the transportation expense. [Interviewee M21, 2019]

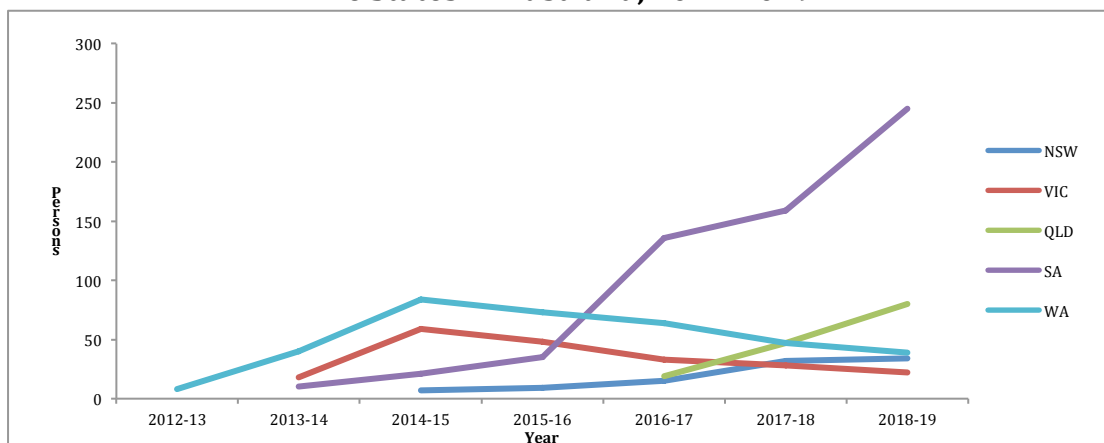
The Business Innovation stream is also adjusted locally to maximise the economic potential that business migrants can bring in to the nominated State. This may further affect their entrepreneurship and business operation. For example, as Victoria is the most populous State for Business Innovation visa holders, it has had two changes to the Business Innovation stream. From 22 July 2019, business migrants engaging in export activities must export 100 per cent of Victorian products and all applicants must agree to employ at least 1 full-time employee in the main business: this was previously an optional requirement (TST, n.d.). Even though there is no recent data on the industrial selection of Business Innovation applicants in Melbourne, it can be expected that the proportion of export activities in Melbourne might decline due to recent restrictions.

5.2.2 Significant Business History stream – State differences

Given the overrepresentation of Business Innovation visa holders in Melbourne, the role of the policymaking in the entrepreneurship of business migrants is more focused within Victoria. In South Australia specifically, business migrants who mainly migrate via the Significant Business history stream, a subcategory of the Business Talent category, are also subjected to the visa requirement and have a much stronger leaning toward export businesses.

As Figure 5.1 shows, Significant Business history stream applicants have increased sharply in Adelaide since 2016 contributing to over 50 per cent of applicants granted nationally.

Figure 5.1 Number of Significant Business history stream granted in top five States in Australia, 2012-2019



Source: DHA, 2021a

This is due to the relatively accessible and flexible policymaking in Adelaide, which was revamped to increase the city's competitiveness and attractiveness. An male official in South Australia's business migration office explained:

As for policymaking, we normally follow the Federal criteria. However, each State has its own requirements. We cannot set as high an investment requirement as Sydney and Melbourne. It is impossible for us to compete with Sydney and Melbourne in terms of city size, economic development or others, as both of these two cities are financial centres. What we can do is to lower

the threshold and to attract most needed businessmen to specific industrial areas. For example, their minimum investment may be A\$ 2 million, but we can set only A\$ 700,000. [Interviewee A25, 2019]

As a business visa specific for exceptional business talents, the Significant Business history stream has a higher selection requirement in business turnover with a minimum of A\$ 3 million annually in home countries. Even though the Significant Business history stream is a one-path visa directly to permanent residency, applicants need to be under supervision regarding specific business activities during the first two years after their arrival. In the supervision period, Significant Business history visa holders are highly constrained by the visa restriction. Earlier, Melbourne was popular for Significant Business history stream applicants, where there were no specific industry requirements but a minimum of A\$ 2 million was required to invest into the main businesses (Live in Melbourne, n.d.). Such an amount of investment therefore had to be poured into labour- and capital- intensive industries rather than restaurants and cafes so that profitable returns could be generated. The inquiry report of BIIP between July 2012 and July 2014, revealed that the three most popular intended industries amongst Business Talent visa holders were professional services (36.0 per cent), manufacturing (20.0 per cent), and primary industry (12.0 per cent) (Joint Standing Committee on Migration, 2015). Quantitative results also showed that a majority of Significant Business history stream visa holders were engaging in capital-intensive industries such as real estate (26.7 per cent) and construction (19.9 per cent), which was a significant contrast to the industry selection of Business Innovation visa holders who were mainly in hospitality and retail services (ABS, 2016a). Even though these industries were seen to create more employment, higher turnover, and profitable revenue tax, only a very small number of Significant Business history visa holders chose to migrate to Melbourne due to the high threshold applied there.

The threshold to obtain a Significant Business history stream entry is more flexible in Adelaide. Applicants can choose one of four options: 1). Exporting Australian products at a value of A\$ 600,000; 2). Engaging in project

development and invest at least A\$ 1.5 million; 3). Conducting an investment of at least A\$ 1.5 million into a business; 4). Creating four job opportunities (see Table 2.4). Wine export has become the first priority for business migrants due to the lower investment requirement, which means that business migrants can undertake relatively low risks in business compared to directly investing A\$ 1.5 million into project development. Importantly, the wine industry has characteristics of storability and value-added, which can be viewed as investment goods for appreciation if business migrants cannot sell the wine in a short time. It is therefore more accessible for business migrants to conduct this export business in South Australia. Even though there is a lack of statistics about business migrants after 2016, government officials contacted during fieldwork have provided reliable information. A South Australia business migration official, who is responsible for the nomination and evaluation of business migrants, indicated that:

I cannot tell you the exact data about their industrial distribution, but I can say over 80 per cent of Chinese business immigrants in Adelaide choose wine exportation after they migrate to Australia. [Interviewee A25, 2019]

A male city councillor, aged between 41-45, who is also a leader of the Chinese business association in Adelaide and has close connections with Chinese business migrants further stressed that:

If you prohibit the wine export business in Adelaide, 90 per cent of Chinese business immigrants have to go back home. If you cancel the real estate business, the remaining Chinese business immigrants will go home. [Interviewee A32, 2019]

It is evident that business migrants in Adelaide have been highly skewed toward the wine export industry. In order to stimulate the economic potential of business migrants and diversify the exported products in Adelaide, in July 2018 the government set an additional impediment on the Significant Business history stream category, deciding that the majority cannot be wine if total exports are

less than A\$ 1 million (Move to South Australia, n.d.). In response to this policy revamp, business migrants have increased the diversity of export products to include lobster, honey, and tuna etc. As the official at the business migration office in South Australia stressed:

If you are 132A visa holders and your export commodities only include red wine, our minimum requirement is A\$ 1 million. If the commodities are a combination of 50 per cent of red wine and 50 per cent of others, or 70 per cent of red wine and 30 per cent of others, our requirement will be A\$ 600,000. [Interviewee A25, 2019]

In contrast, to create four job opportunities is viewed as a challenge for most business migrants in Adelaide. The demand for a larger number of employees means a relatively complicated labour relationship and specific industrial selections are needed to generate amounts of revenue to cover the high labour cost. This does not only require support of the vigorous local economy, but also exposes challenges for business migrants as newcomers in Australia. As expressed by a lady, aged 51-55, who was an experienced migration agent in Adelaide, said:

South Australia (132A) is quite easy and 99 per cent of business migrants choose the export business. If you choose to establish a shop, at least four employees are required. From my understanding, you cannot afford four employees if your business turnover is lower than A\$ 800,000. However, it is a challenge to achieve this amount in Adelaide. [Interviewee A24, 2019]

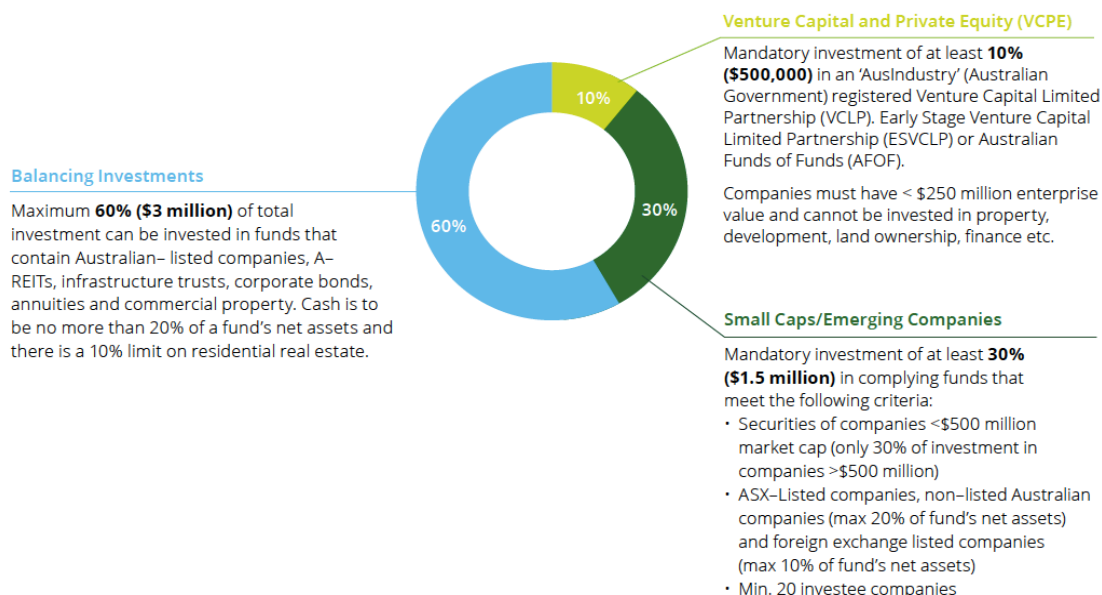
Overall, the above findings show how policy requirements and changes can shape the decisions of the Significant Business history visa holders. Their entrepreneurship is also different between Adelaide and Melbourne due to the local policy differences.

5.2.3 Initiative and revamp of the Significant Investor stream

The establishment of the Significant Investor stream in 2012 has provided an express channel for super wealthy families. With a minimum of A\$ 5 million investment for four years, Significant Investor visa holders can quickly obtain permanent residency with an exemption from business activities and a strict selection process. By 30 June 2020, a total number of 2,349 primary Significant Investor visa holders had contributed to A\$ 11.75 billion as the direct investment and incalculable follow-up investment (DHA, n.d.). A majority of them choose to migrate to Melbourne (57.2 per cent) and Sydney (33.5 per cent) (DHA, 2021a).

The investment direction of Significant Investor visa holders has also changed with the initiative of the Complying Investment Framework (CIF) on 1 July 2015. Under the new framework, the Significant Investor visa holders are required to inject their investment into specific areas including balancing investments, venture capital and private equity (VCPE), and small caps/emerging companies (DHA, n.d.). Figure 5.2 provides the investment details.

Figure 5.2 New complying investment framework



Source: Deloitte Private (2019: 9)

As required, a maximum 60 per cent (A\$ 3 million) of total investment can be

invested in balancing investments, at least 10 per cent (A\$ 500,000) should be invested in VCPE, and at least 30 per cent (A\$ 1.5 million) should be invested in emerging companies. The framework was introduced with the purpose of redirecting Significant Investor stream investments into sectors of the economy where an injection of capital could spur growth, innovation and entrepreneurship.

The CIF initiative has been verified to be effective by an economic survey conducted by Deloitte Company, specifically for Significant Investor visa holders. The report shows that there has been a shift away from managed funds and government bonds to emerging businesses, equities and corporate bonds and venture capital—in line with the new mandated framework (Deloitte Private, 2019). The national investment VCPE also rose between 2008 and 2017 (Deloitte Private, 2019). Since changes were made to the CIF, the Significant Investor visa has provided a major source of capital for the VCPE sector. In particular, in 2017, 180 Significant Investor visas were granted in accordance with the new complying investment framework, providing approximately A\$ 90 million worth of capital to the VCPE sector, which represented approximately 3 per cent of total VCPE funds raised in Australia in that year (Deloitte Private, 2019).

Obviously, mandatory Significant Investor visa investments into venture capital have the potential to provide an alternative source of funding to assist new and innovative Australian businesses to navigate through the high-risk and start-up period. A survey of 75 respondents in 2019 showed that 66 per cent of them indicated that they had enabled innovation in Australia with their investments bringing new products, processes, and business models (Deloitte Private, 2019). The CIF plays a role in directing investment toward the emerging and innovation area. On 1 July 2021, the latest reform of SIV further improved the minimum threshold of VCPE investment from A\$ 500,000 to A\$ 1 million. The revamp of the SIV category has also benefited fund managers and an array of service providers. In order to qualify for the Significant Investor stream, applicants must invest into a range of asset classes as outlined by CIF. All Significant Investor stream investments must be provided by an Australian Financial Services (AFS)

licenced manager domiciled in Australia. Overall, policymaking in the Significant Investor stream has played an important role in directing business migrants to invest into high-risk and innovative emerging areas.

5.2.4 Diversified business activities after permanent residency

There are policy implications for business migrants, with an emphasis on the role played by the revamp of sub-visa categories during the provisional period. However, it is more important to pay attention to the business performance of business migrants after they obtain permanent residency, which can reflect whether they have made a long-term economic contribution to Australian society. The datasets and statistics on BIIP permanent visa holders are limited and therefore the overall quantitative analysis is not available. But with regard to BSP visa holders, three characteristics have appeared amongst permanent residents compared with provisional visa holders according to the quantitative results. First, there was a higher percentage of permanent visa holders who were not in the labour force: second, they had more diversified employment types not merely for business owners: third the industrial distribution was more diversified and inclined toward high-end industries amongst permanent visa holders.

Even though quantitative results show that permanent visa holders were less likely to be in the labour force compared to provisional visa holders when holding all the variables constant, it is still arbitrary to conclude that the economic contribution of business migrants is just a short-term one that dissipates after they achieve the right to live permanently in Australia. Actually, there is considerable mental pressure for a majority of business migrants during this provisional period because they may not only have to establish and run businesses within a short period, but they also are anxiously waiting for the approval of their permanent residency. Therefore, the majority of them may suspend their businesses to take a rest when they achieve their first goal in Australia. As mentioned above, small businesses might be the first priority for most business migrants at the beginning, however, this is more like a transition

instead of a long-term business goal. It also takes time for business migrants to seek and establish new businesses after getting permanent residency, during which time they are not 'in the labour force'.

Without restrictions imposed by provisional visas, permanent visa holders can be free to choose whether they become employees or business owners. They also have more time to select their businesses. Their industry selections therefore become more diversified. Compared with provisional visa holders, permanent visa holders who arrived in Australia earlier are more familiar with Australia, and are more likely to integrate into the local environment. Rather than only engaging in hospitality and retail services, permanent visa holders begin to engage in some professional, higher-end and major investment areas such as manufacturing, construction and real estate.

The respondents to the fieldwork have shown a similar business pattern as that presented in the ACMID 2016 statistics. Amongst 38 business migrant respondents, 17 persons had already been granted permanent residency or had passed the 'supervision period'. There was only one person who discontinued the wine export business directly after receiving permanent residency. This migrant was a female, aged 61-65, living in Adelaide with a 892 visa. Initially, she would have like to export iron ore back to support her factory in China. After consulting with her migration agent, she realised that it was not feasible to do so because there was a high threshold for iron ore export. This would mean more challenges when applying for permanent residency. Therefore, she changed to the wine export business and still kept focusing on her factory in China which she immediately left once she received permanent residency.

Seven permanent residents still continued their provisional businesses after obtaining permanent residency. All of them were engaged in the hospitality and retail service industries. After a while, they left their businesses due to retirement or other personal plans, but were still active in other positions. For example, a female business migrant, aged 65-70, arrived in Adelaide in 2007 and obtained permanent residency in 2011. She continued her business until 2017

and then stopped due to retirement. Since then, she has been enthusiastically engaging in the Chinese association to strive to enhance closeness within the Chinese diaspora, and to bridge the most recent business migrants with ethnic and local networks. In a sense, this participant is still making a contribution to the business migrants community even though she is not involved in her business any more [Interviewee A19, 2019].

The remaining nine research participants were still engaging in economic activities and had more diverse and flexible business patterns. Most of them changed to new businesses after getting permanent residency such as wine exports, real estate and renewable energy. They have parallel businesses and different identities at the same time. They can be business owners, business partners, investors and employees simultaneously. For example, a permanent visa holder in Adelaide who was 51-55 years, was engaged in large-scale manufacturing industry in China but in a small yogurt shop in Australia during the provisional period. As mentioned above, conducting this kind of small business is the safest way to get permanent residency. As he explained:

My friend told me that I had to be patient to do business in Australia. Before permanent residency, it was better to do the small-investment and low risk business. The first goal is always to get permanent residency. [Interviewee A9, 2019]

However, people are not always satisfied with these kinds of small businesses. This participant further stressed:

Of course there is a gap compared with my previous business. It is impossible for us to consider this kind of small business in China. I had over 100 employees before, but I cannot make money hiring others in my yogurt shop in Adelaide. [Interviewee A9, 2019]

Therefore, after being granted permanent residency, this business migrant stopped his yogurt shop to engage in other businesses with multiple identities.

He has been an investor of a large winery, an owner of a tobacco shop, and a salesperson in a Chinese solar energy company.

Another participant had a similar business experience. She was a female permanent visa holder who was aged between 55-60. Before moving to Australia, she owned a large-scale shoe-making factory in China. During the provisional period in Australia, this business migrant operated a small restaurant. After obtaining the permanent residency, she changed to the wine export and also worked for a local migration agent. As she said:

Permanent residency can provide safety, certainty and a sense of belonging. There is no pressure on achieving business outcomes within a specific period. I can do more things, as well as having multiple channels for income.
[Interviewee A7, 2019]

These examples show that although the entrepreneurship rate may be lower amongst permanent visa holders, they may actively engage in the economy in different roles.

Permanent residency also has a positive impact on the investment behaviours of Significant Investor visa holders. It is anticipated that as this group transition to permanent residency, they will be provided with greater certainty to undertake additional investment. As the Deloitte report indicates, most Significant Investor stream applicants indicate that they intend to make more investment once they obtain permanent residency in Australia. Some of the areas they would like to invest in are: real estate, health science, medical and clinical research, renewable energy and environmental management (Deloitte Private, 2019).

In summary, institutional arrangements, specifically the change and revamp of the business migration program, influence the economic activities of business migrants. The business pattern of business migrants during the provisional period is measurable by submitting the application materials, however what migrants would have done after permanent residency is not visible. By

comparing the difference between provisional visa holders and permanent visa holders, this study reveals that being granted permanent residency has a positive influence on the entrepreneurship of business migrants. Based on existing statistics and fieldwork materials, Business Innovation and Business Owner visa holders are seen to be more diversified in industry selection and are inclined toward labour- and capital-intensive areas, and transnational businesses. In addition, Significant Investor visa holders are also committed to conducting long-term investment after permanent residency is granted.

5.3 Economic contexts

Previous literature has discussed the role of economic contexts in shaping the business performance of migrant entrepreneurs. Economic contexts can be conceptualised as economic reform, industrial structure, market accessibility, and business regulation, which have specific temporal and geographical patterns. Obviously, business migrants are highly dependent on economic spheres constituted by these factors. As previous quantitative results indicate, the business performance of business migrants is affected by where they live in Australia and when they arrive. The following qualitative analysis further explains how changing economic contexts both in China and Australia shape the business pattern of Chinese business migrants.

5.3.1 China's economic development expanding the demand market of Australian products

China's economic development not only spawned the HNWIs, but also resulted in the rise of the upper-middle class with strong consumption potential. As distinct from other social classes, the upper-middle class, highly exposed to western culture, has a stronger appetite toward imported food and beverage characterised by its high quality and safety. According to Mckinsey's report (Barton, 2013), China's upper middle-class, with an annual household income ranging from RMB 110,000 (A\$ 2,200) to RMB 229,000 (A\$ 45,800), only accounted for 2 per cent of the total households (3.3 million) in 2002, but

increased to 14 per cent (36 million) by 2012. The Mckinsey Company also forecasted that the proportion of upper middle class would make up 54 per cent of total urban households (193 million) in 2022 (Barton, 2013). The rise of the Chinese upper-middle class has therefore been expanding the demand market for business migrants to export Australian products.

A male business agent in Adelaide, aged between 36-40, came to Australia as an international student in 2006 and then established a company to link local products with Chinese business migrants for export. He has observed China's increasingly growing demand for Australian products and said:

They say you can only have the third-level orange because the first-level orange and the second-level orange have been exported to China. According to the degree of sugar, moisture and acid ratio, the first level is the best one. China has changed from the export-oriented economy to import-oriented economy due to the rise of the middle-class. This is a huge change and it is totally different from the past. Therefore, Australian agricultural products including wine can be exported to China. [Interviewee A21, 2019]

In recent years, red wine has been viewed as a first priority by business migrants due to its storability, value preservation, and ease of transport. Further, China's high degree of acceptance of red wine, especially imported wine, is the guarantee for business migrants to conduct the export business. According to the statistics, out of an urban mid-to-high income population of around 112 million, around 52 million Chinese drank imported wine at least twice a year in 2018 (Lyons, 2019). By 2019, China had become the biggest trading partner with Australia in terms of red wine. The total value of Australian exported wine in 2019 amounted to 2.91 billion, and China is the top destination accounting to 44 per cent of the total with 1.28 billion (Austrade, 2019). On China's side, Australia has also replaced France as the top source country. Business migrants have perceived and seized the business opportunities resulting from the expansion of the demand market, and proposed an optimistic perspective toward the future export trade.

For example, a female 892 permanent visa holder, aged between 56-60, arrived in Adelaide in 2009. She initially took over a restaurant in June 2010, but changed to wine exports after getting permanent residency granted in 2014. As she said:

The wine export is good. We have sold half of a container that is around 5,000 bottles of wine within several months. Currently, China has a rising demand for red wine especially from 'five-star' wineries. Normally, the customers are from large hotels or dealers and they always have a great number of orders for renowned South Australian wine. [Interviewee A7, 2019]

Another business migrant, aged between 46-50, arrived in Melbourne in 2019. He is a male 188A provisional visa holder and has been running a restaurant in Shanghai for over 20 years. He said:

For people who have good living conditions and broad horizons, you must have something good for them. Especially for people at the high level, they always view the quality of food as the first priority. China's consumption of wine is increasing annually. I have a say in this matter because I have run restaurants and hotels for over 20 years. I have witnessed that my clients, especially in Shanghai, gradually changed their tastes from Chinese spirits, beer, to red wine. Some people, such as the government officials, they only drink red wine. My friend who works for the government can drink almost 750 ml of Chinese spirits at one time, which affects his physical and psychological health severely. Now, he also changes to the red wine. To be honest, the red wine is leaving a good impression for an increasing number of people in China. [Interviewee M21, 2019]

China's economic development has obviously instigated a series of chain reactions for industrial selection of business migrants. In addition to the explosive wealth growth of HNWIs, a greater number of upper middle-class people who have strong appetites for Australian products have been generated. The expanding China's demand market provides business migrants with

transnational business opportunities and further drives them to chase profits in their home country.

5.3.2 Industrial structure in Adelaide and Melbourne shaping the entrepreneurship of business migrants

Economic contexts and structures in Australia also play a significant role in the entrepreneurship of business migrants as the supply side. This can reflect the geographical difference between Adelaide and Melbourne in terms of industrial structure. Even though business migrants in both of these two cities have a tendency toward transnational business, Adelaide has a higher proportion than Melbourne.

Chinese business migrants are more inclined to conduct the wine export business in Adelaide. In addition to institutional factors mentioned in previous sections, the developed wine production industry also facilitates business migrants choosing wine exports by providing high-quality and famous brand wine. As the largest wine production State in Australia, South Australia has more than 3,400 grape growers, over 700 wineries and an estimated 76,000 hectares under vine. The 18 wine regions within SA produce 610 million litres of wine each year, equivalent to 820 million bottles and account for 50 per cent of Australia's total wine production (Wine Australia, n.d.), while the wine production in Victoria is only 223 million litres with a proportion of 17 per cent to the total production in Australia (Victoria State Government, 2017). South Australia also contributed 80 per cent of the premium wine production including renowned brands such as Penfolds and Jacob's Creek (Government of South Australia, 2016). Development of the wine industry in South Australia has initiated a mature industrial chain for Chinese clients, which is more accessible for business migrants to engage in. A majority of wineries have Mandarin-speaking employees and can provide one-stop service from sales, to sea transportation and custom clearance. The low entry barrier allows business migrants to be engaged in the business within a short time, even though they do not have any previous business experience and cannot speak English.

A female business migrant, aged between 46-50, arrived in Adelaide in 2019. As a secondary applicant, she was an accountant in a state-owned enterprise and did not have any business experience before. Her husband is still running a chemical factory in Nanjing, and she deals with the Australian business independently. This participant said:

We don't need anyone else's help in establishing a wine export business in Australia. Each winery has Chinese employees and they are also responsible for the custom clearance. What we need to do is to just choose the brand and pay for it. It is not required to be proficient in English. It is also low-risk compared to other products because wine can be stored. [Interviewee A5, 2019]

A developed wine industry not only lowers the threshold to get access to the wine export business, but also generates multiple business patterns catering for business migrants with respect to their demands, which makes more people consider wine export as their first priority.

A female migration agent, aged 36-40, who has had over ten years working experience in Adelaide summarised three types of business pattern for business migrants relevant to wine:

1) Becoming the dealer for 'big brands' such as Penfolds, 2) Establishing a long-term collaboration relationship with local wineries and to create original labels, 3) Directly exporting wine to China and depending on Chinese market and customers. [Interviewee A20, 2019]

In comparison with Adelaide, Melbourne has a much higher economic output and larger population base resulting in a more vigorous domestic economy. In 2019, over 604,379 local small businesses were registered in Victoria, three times larger than the 143,000 small businesses registered in South Australia (Business Victoria, 2019; SA Business Information Hub, n.d.). Even though

Victoria also has an export-oriented economy, it is not as competitive as South Australia in the wine industry in terms of quality, price, and brands.

A female migration agent in Melbourne, aged 56-60, with almost 30 years experience explained:

There is not too much wine in Melbourne for exporting, and therefore business migrants are more inclined to conduct retail business or just run a restaurant. If they want to do export business in Melbourne, their products have to be produced in Victoria. The choices are thus decreased to a large extent. In China, the wine will compete with products from other countries such as France and Spain. I don't think that Victoria's wine is competitive. Most of them will make a loss, unless they have existing sale channels. Also, the warehousing might generate extra cost. To keep the quality of the wine, the temperature, location, and an array of uncertain factors should be considered. When we organise some activities, we normally buy the wine from business migrants because their wine is much cheaper than wineries in Australia. It appears that setting a low price is the only way for them to decrease the loss. Therefore, Victoria might not be a good place for the wine export business. Most people still consider taking over existing businesses. [Interviewee M25, 2019]

In Melbourne, indeed, an increasing number of business migrants are considering exporting wine back to China, but it is still not comparable with business persons in Adelaide due to this situation. Although there are a lot of advantages for business migrants in exporting wine, especially during the provisional period, a considerable initial investment, at least A\$ 1 million is needed. In addition to the required export value, a number of extra costs should also be added including tariffs, taxes, and storage charges. As elaborated by a female 188A visa holder in Melbourne, aged 41-45 years:

You know how much you need to pay for wine? You need to continuously export wine for three years. At least A\$ 330,000 is needed for wine each year,

and the total amount is over A\$ 1 million. You also need to add up the tax, the labour cost, the storage and transportation expense both in China and Australia. So I think a minimum of A\$ 1.5 million is required if conducting wine export trade. [Interviewee M4, 2019]

Local economic contexts, indeed, play a role in shaping the entrepreneurship of business migrants. It also can be viewed as a process that business migrants have weighed the cost-benefit and made the most optimal decision according to the environment they are embedded in. Amongst 14 of the business migrant interviewees in Melbourne, only three of them have been engaging in the wine export business and all of them have a trade background or food and beverage relevant industry. The remaining persons, except for Significant Business History visa holders and Significant Investor visa holders, are all in the small domestic businesses during the provisional period. Engaging in domestic businesses, in their view, would not get a loss. While for the wine export, the initial investment may bring high risks, especially as at the moment only Victorian wine can be exported. Conversely the more vigorous urban economy and higher population flow in Melbourne have created a supportive opportunity structure for doing domestic business. This makes business migrants in Melbourne appear more profitable in the hospitality and retail services than wine export.

5.4 Conclusion

Based on qualitative analysis and anchored into macro factors, this chapter mainly discusses how institutional arrangements and economic contexts both in China and Australia shape business behaviours and the economic activities of Chinese business migrants. The chapter, on the one hand, further explains the mechanisms behind some quantitative findings including why recent BIIP visa holders are more likely to engage in wholesale trade business, and why permanent visa holders have a stronger propensity toward high-end industry and diversified employment types despite a low labour force participation rate. The findings have filled the research gap that cannot be covered by quantitative analysis. For example, the influence of the revamp of the Significant Business

History stream and Significant Investor stream on business migrants is discussed. Interviews in two different cities, Adelaide and Melbourne, further illustrate how contextual factors at the local level result in the geographically distinctive business pattern amongst business migrants.

Overall, the study reveals the interactive relationship between structural factors and the entrepreneurship of business migrants. The contextual impact covers the home country (China) and the host country (Australia) simultaneously at different spatial scales (i.e transnational level, national level, and local level). Factors at different dimensions are also interconnected. For example, the upgrade of the business migration program in Australia is a response to the rise of HNWIs in China. The local policymaking is actually on the basis of specific industrial demand in each State of Australia. Although the study is based on the theoretical assumption that the economic actions of business migrants are subjected to the multilevel circumstances that they are embedded in, it is worth noting that this is the subjective and individual behaviour that business migrants perform to cope with the changing external environment.

Chapter 6. The role of social and human capital in developing the businesses of Chinese business migrants

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores how business migrants utilise their social capital and human capital to develop businesses in the host-country specific contexts. Social capital comprises social networks, norms of reciprocity or social support and social trust. Among these dimensions, social networks have received most attention and been viewed as the core element of social capital (Ferlander, 2007; Putnam, 1993). Human capital includes knowledge, education, vocational qualifications, professional certifications, work-related experiences, and even the competencies of the workforce (Sanders and Nee, 1996). Educational attainment, language proficiency and business experience are included to study migrant entrepreneurs (Solano, 2016a, 2016b).

The qualitative method is used in this chapter. It studies the role of various types of social networks with respect to different industries and development stages. The chapter then examines how human capital affects the business performance of migrants. The chapter further explores how business migrants perform divergently with a business (mis)match according to different industries and economic contexts. The chapter concludes with an emphasis on the interactive relationship between social capital and human capital.

6.2 The role of social networks

Based on the characteristics of the social network including its direction, formality, strength, and diversity, the social network is commonly classified as bonding and bridging networks in migration studies (Davidsson and Honig, 2003; Cheong et al., 2007; Nannestad et al., 2008; Katila and Wahlbeck, 2011). Bonding capital represents the strong ties and ethnic resources. It refers to the value assigned to social networks between homogenous groups of people such as families or ethnic groups (Cheong et al., 2007; Lancee, 2010, 2012). Conversely,

bridging capital refers to the social network between socially heterogeneous groups or non co-ethnic groups, such as to what extent migrants can engage in native networks in destination countries (Lancee, 2010, 2012).

The traditional dichotomy, bonding networks and bridging networks, appears to be oversimplified when applied to studying business migrants. It is because connections, relationships and mutual trust based on emotion are intricate and unpredictable. Connected with diverse circumstances, they are changeable and fluctuated continuums rather than fixed dichotomies. For example, members in a business association could be bridging capital initially, but they may further have close collaboration and develop into the bonding capital. The ethnicity, cultural background and ethnic networks will not be emphasised. These do not represent an asset for migrant entrepreneurs per se. As Pécoud (2004: 12) puts it:

‘Business is business: shop owners are understandably concerned with their economic fate and are not obsessed with ethnicity and identity matters’.

The ethnic social capital emerging out of social interactions with co-ethnic networks becomes relevant for migrant business owners only when it is implemented in business activities. For migrant entrepreneurs, what they mainly think about is how to get access to social resources and how to utilise specific resources in corresponding sectors to maximise their profit. The role of different networks is supposed to be divergent with respect to different stages and types of specific businesses.

In this study, the inherent attributes (characteristics and accessibility) and territoriality of social networks (transnational networks in China and local networks in Australia) are therefore emphasised. Social networks are further categorised into four types on the basis of this principle:

- Family networks: core families and kin relationship *in China or in Australia*.
- Transnational networks: friends, business partners, clients, and any potential acquaintances *in China*.

- Ethnic networks: other Chinese migrants, businesspersons, and organisations and companies *in Australia*.
- Native networks: people who were born and live *in Australia*.

6.2.1 Family networks

Different from most migrant entrepreneurs who rely strongly on family networks in terms of recruiting employees, providing financial loans and valuable information especially at the start-up stage, business migrants have a minimal reliance on family networks for physical support. As Davidsson and Honig (2003: 308) indicate: ‘The more personal resources one has, the less likely one is to rely on strong ties and the more attractive weak ties become.’ This also applies to the business migrants interviewed in this study. Owning an abundant amount of personal and household assets enables business migrants to not necessarily have to ask for financial support from other family members. Few business migrants have family members (except for core families) in Australia, which means that it is not feasible to receive business information from their relatives and recruit them as cheap labour like other migrant entrepreneurs have done in previous studies (Katila and Wahlbeck, 2011; Kloosterman and Rath, 2018). As for business migrants who conduct export businesses, their family members in China may provide initial help such as purchasing or distributing the imported products via their personal networks, but this assistance will not last too long.

The focus of the family networks relevant to business migrants should be narrowed within the structure of core families. Applicants for a business migration program are required to include businesspersons as main applicants and their spouse and children under 23 years old as secondary applicants. The degree of nuclear family closeness is directly relevant to the migration motivation and business pro-activeness of business migrants, which further affect and reflect their long-term plans and business sustainability.

A number of business migrants migrate to Australia as ‘astronaut families’, which

mostly describes business migrants' families when one member (normally the husband) runs businesses in the home country while the spouse (normally the wife) stays in the destination country to take care of their children and strive for permanent residency. They are tagged as 'astronauts' because the husband needs to fly between home countries and destination countries frequently (Pe-Pua et al., 1996). In this situation, two pathways emerge depending on the closeness of the relationships within core families. If a husband keeps focusing on his main business in China and only provides financial support for his wife and children, he may seldom come to Australia. In this case, Australian businesses will be discontinued after the migrants achieve permanent residency. Conversely, if families are more important for the husband, he will stop his Chinese company and fully devote himself to running the Australian business. A female migrant agent in Adelaide, aged 51-55, shared her ideas about this:

Researcher: What kinds of persons are more likely to sustain their businesses?

Interviewee: It depends on their goals. If what business migrants need is only about permanent residency, they may give up the businesses after achieving it. Nevertheless, the role of the family has been increasingly important. For example, if the husband does not care about his wife and children, leaving them alone and perhaps only coming back to Australia once a year, this person would not continue his Australian business after obtaining permanent residency. Some of them might be too busy to go to Australia for their families and they cannot maintain the businesses either. However, for another group, they care about their families and would like to take the responsibility for their wives and children, even though they still have the businesses in China, they will finally focus themselves in Australia and commit to do long-term businesses. [Interviewee A24, 2019]

Business migrants will also be more pro-active in Australian business if they have a long-term plan for their children. They will keep their business sustainable so that their children can take it over in the future. For example, a successful businessman in automobile making, male and aged 56-60, holds a 163

provisional visa in Adelaide. However, he had sold his sizeable business before migrating to Australia. He explained:

My business is for my children. I need to understand the Australian society and business environment via a small business. It takes a long time to learn because it includes business details such as the relevant procedures, profit points and business skills. When I can handle this business, I will give it to my children and guide them to manage the business and the team, and to deal with the balance between supply and demand. If they would like to engage in other industries, I can also provide advice and make investment. [Interviewee A37, 2019]

Qualitative results outlined above can further support previous quantitative findings that business migrants with couples living together were more likely to be economically active in the labour force especially after securing permanent residency. In contrast to many migrant entrepreneurs, business migrants have a minimal physical reliance on family networks. There were no fieldwork respondents who had asked for financial or labour assistance from their relatives. As successful businesspersons are strictly selected by the government, business migrants have already owned abundant resources. The nuclear family, however, has played an important role in affecting migrants' pro-activeness, migration and business motivation, and business sustainability. A close relationship within the nuclear family indirectly means that business migrants are more inclined to maintain and sustain their Australian businesses.

6.2.2 Transnational networks

Transnational networks in this study specifically refer to the social networks of business migrants in China. The networks can be existing connections including previous friends, clients, business partners and other acquaintances, or new networks attained from developing transnational businesses. Transnational networks have been playing an increasingly important role in trade or domestic businesses with transnational linkages. Transnational networks are crucial for

export businesses.

As discussed in Chapter Five, business migrants in the wine export business mainly benefit from the expanding consumer market in China. Transnational networks are therefore of vital importance for business migrants to distribute and sell the Australian products to Chinese consumers. Persons who conduct export business or have relevant backgrounds before migration can directly employ their existing networks and channels to sell the exported commodities. There is a representative example in Melbourne, a male business migrant aged 51-55 years. Before moving to Australia, he was engaged in the import/export business and had a number of supermarkets in China as a sales channel to distribute the imported products. Using his experience and professional trade knowledge, he had already established a collaborative relationship with Australian partners before migrating and could directly sell Australian products using his existing distribution networks.

Researcher: Could you please talk about how you started your business in Australia?

Interviewee: I am different from them (other migrants). My business background is in food trade. I have business connections with America, Japan, and Australia. Permanent residency is more like a facilitator for my business rather than a final goal. Because I have been engaging in trade for a long time, I have already built up the sales channel through a number of supermarkets in China. The suppliers are mainly the local wineries and companies. They also hope to enter into the Chinese market via my channel. [Interviewee M23, 2019]

This business migrant had an existing and large-scale sale networks (supermarkets). With his trade background and knowledge, it was very manageable for him to capture the market and maintain profit from his exported products. By 2019 when the interview was conducted, he had been running his company continuously for 13 years. There is no doubt that stable distribution

networks are the cornerstone of the sustainability of his business, however not everyone happens to have similar trade experience and existing sales networks. Others have to spend more time on developing their transnational networks to establish stable and long-term channels for exporting products to China. Normally starting from the most closest and familiar networks such as relatives, friends, and business partners, business migrants gradually spread their circles, from informal distribution networks based on personal relationships to formal and wider networks constituted by a number of sales and dealers.

Another example is a male and 46-50 years' 188A visa holder in Melbourne, who ran a hotel in China but did not have any previous experience in trade. However, on the basis of his hotel experience, he had established a complete sales chain for distributing wine in China. There were three main steps taken by this business migrant to construct this distribution network. Firstly, he introduced the wine to his close friends and business partners privately and they were able to distribute it to more people. This step is mainly for initial promotion and testing the degree of public acceptance instead of profit-oriented activities. Secondly, he further promoted the wine to his customers in the hotel via an array of sales activities. After having established the brands reputations, he started the most important third step to seek the dealers and establish a reliable sales team to keep the business sustainable. Below, he details how to promote the wine to his clients and how to build the sales channels step by step:

Researcher: How did you establish your distribution networks for your wine in China?

Interviewee: I firstly introduced the wine to my friends and business partners, and by then all of the wine in my hotel has already been replaced by Australian wine. There are mainly three ways to promote the wine. Firstly, I have a solid and extensive customer base from so many years of running the hotel. At the beginning, we invited them to take part in wine tasting parties. It is free. During the activities, we shared introduction materials with them and promoted the wine and wineries. Of course, the wineries should have good

reputations. The second way is by group buying, which can minimise the basic expense. Normally, staffs in our hotel circulate the information and knowledge of group buying to clients. The staffs can get bonuses for encouragement. The third way is to seek the dealers and build the sales channel. Dealers purchase the products from me. This is the most important way to sustain the business. It depends on the ability of dealers. Some exceptional dealers may be capable of establishing branches all over the country. For most of the dealers, it is also good if they can take full advantage of resources around them. They can further expand after that. It is like a war and you only need to control the key steps. The distribution network can be viewed as a hierarchical pyramid. [Interviewee M21, 2019]

The way of this participant established transnational networks in export business can be viewed as a general model for business migrants to construct sales networks in China. According to the research reported in Chapters Four and Five, an increasing number of business migrants are considering and engaging in transnational business especially in the wine export business regardless of their previous business background. Social networks have placed heavy importance on doing business embedded in the Chinese social and economic environment. Even though some of the business migrants do not have trade or food and beverage relevant experience, they still have confidence that they can distribute exported wine through their strong personal networks. In comparison, it might be more challenging for them to establish a business in Australia within such a short period. For businesspersons who have a trade background or existing distribution networks, the first two steps are not necessary. However, for people without previous experiences and resources in trade, they might not even proceed to the second stage. The business development and sustainability depends on their pro-activeness, market insights and opportunities.

Quantitative findings have revealed that export businesses were increasingly popular amongst recent business migrants from Business Innovation and Investment Program (BIIP). However, there is a lack of statistics on how

business migrants draw on their cross-border resources to establish and develop their export businesses. Qualitative analysis discussed in this chapter aims to fill this gap. Examples above have shown that the key to the development of export trade business is to establish and stabilise a long-term sales channel in China. It is the precondition of business sustainability because this is where the revenue comes from. The utilisation and relevance of transnational networks are therefore crucial especially in the export business. In addition to the macroeconomic environment, business migrants are more inclined to consider how to maximise the use of their existing resources in Australian businesses. Obviously, taking full advantage of previous transnational networks in export trade is more practicable for business migrants to help them start in a new environment. Conversely, the role of transitional networks pale in comparison in import businesses, which mainly depend on the consumer market in Australia. Only one interviewee in this study chose the import trade business. He utilised transitional networks at the beginning to obtain products but focused more on the Australian market after that. Indeed, the transnational network may only play a greater role in import business when it is in the sellers' market.

6.2.3 Ethnic networks

As discussed above, transnational networks play a key role in export business however, ethnic networks and native networks are more important for business migrants if their business activities are mainly based in Australia. Ethnic networks have been addressed in many studies of migrant entrepreneurship due to their importance especially at the early stage (Katila and Wahlbeck, 2011; Tolciu, 2011; Wahlbeck, 2018; Zhou, 1992; Zolin et al., 2011). The same culture and language allow business migrants to get easier access to ethnic networks. As newcomers, most business migrants lack language proficiency and knowledge of Australian culture, and they are therefore more inclined to rely on ethnic networks to obtain business and investment information, seek business partners, recruit employees, and integrate into mainstream society. Ethnic networks can be categorised as Chinese graduates, the community of business migrants, and Chinese companies and associations in Australia.

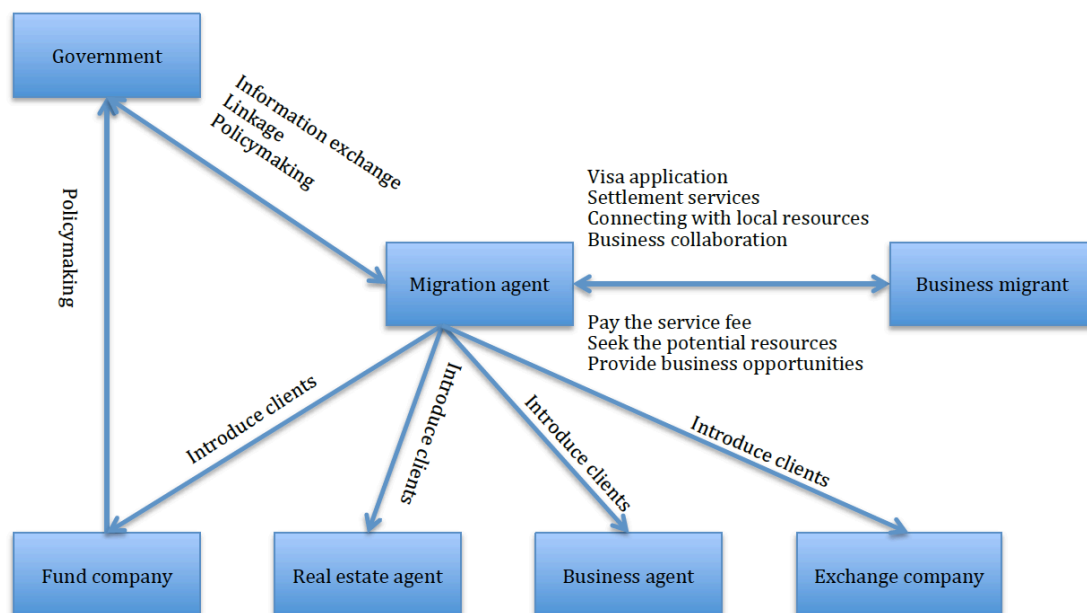
Most Chinese graduates have proficient English and specific knowledge in relevant industries and many of them may stay in Australia after graduation via the skilled migration program. The business collaboration between business migrants and graduates can be viewed as a kind of resource matching of financial capital and human capital. Business migrants provide funding as shareholders and business owners, while graduates offer technical expertise and support for daily business management and operation as managers. Chinese graduates can be employees or shareholders. This business pattern is particularly popular amongst business migrants in high-end industries such as real estate and manufacturing. Business migrants can get access to graduates via online resources, acquaintance introduction, and various social activities. Chinese graduates sometimes can also be viewed as a link for business migrants to get access to native networks.

Business migrants are also eager to know each other using a range of opportunities. They can meet each other when studying at Technical and Further Education (TAFE), participating in formal and informal social activities, and joining clubs organised by migration agents. Similar characteristics and migration trajectories drive them to become friends, clients, business partners, and fund providers for sharing business information and further collaboration. For example, a business migrant, aged 35 years old, worked in steel manufacturing in China. When studying at TAFE, he got to know two partners who had also just arrived in Australia via the business migration program. Due to their similar backgrounds they collaborated to conduct the wine export trade. More stakeholders in business can lower the risks, accumulate more investments, and expand the demands. Compared with other business migrants, their performances are supposed to be more satisfactory.

A number of Chinese companies, as intermediate organisations embedded in the Chinese economic enclaves, are also enthusiastic in attracting business migrants as their clients. With the high barrier of entry to get access to the native networks and resources, ethnic communities represented by professional

organisations and agents are the first priority for business migrants to utilise to establish and promote their business. Migration agents are the first contact that business migrants get access to before and after immigration. The agents are not only responsible for each client's application, but also provide settlement services. A completed industrial chain is then initiated including fund companies, business associations, accounting companies and business agents to meet the specific needs of particular business migrants (Figure 6.1). There are also geographical differences in terms of ethnic communities and commercial chains for business migrants. As a traditional destination for business migrants as well as Chinese migrants, the ethnic Chinese economic enclave and commercial chain is more powerful and vigorous in Melbourne. In comparison, such a large-scale and targeted industrial cluster has not yet developed in Adelaide. Even though migration agents or other relevant agents can provide the initial help, most business migrants still have to rely more on themselves to develop their business.

Figure 6.1 The industrial chain for business migrants



Source: constructed by the author

Most founders of these organisations have been in Australia for a long time and have professional knowledge in their specific areas, own a large number of local

resources and have a deep understanding of Australian society. It can therefore be seen that ethnic organisations are capable of providing business migrants with valuable business information and connecting them with local resources. For example, even though the developed local wine industry may reduce business migrants' dependence on their ethnic community, some professional organisations are still like the icing on the cake.

A male business migrant in the wine export industry, aged 46-50 years, introduced how a business association enabled him to find quality wine in Melbourne and said:

In Melbourne, we have to choose at least four to five wineries for exporting wine. It is a challenge for our business migrants without linguistic ability. This association captures this point that help us bridge with local wineries so that we can save time and cost to pick up the high-quality wine. This platform has become a nexus between local wineries and business migrants. Of course, we need to pay a membership fee, so do local wineries. [Interviewee M21, 2019]

Ethnic networks are crucial for business migrants, especially for those whose main business activities are based in Australia. As mentioned above, none of the business migrants engaged in the fieldwork had asked for financial assistance from their family. However, as newcomers to Australia, they relied on Chinese communities to obtain the necessary business information and resources to establish and develop their businesses. These examples and findings have shown how business migrants get access to and utilise different types of ethnic networks, including Chinese graduates, other business migrants, and relevant agents, to expand their Australian businesses.

6.2.4 Native networks

Ethnic networks normally play a fundamental role in the start-up stage for migrant entrepreneurs, especially for someone with limited resources. However,

with the development and expansion of their business, migrant entrepreneurs have an urgent need to integrate into the host society and to utilise the native networks and resources, and at this stage the ethnic networks may have a minimal or even negative impact on their business (Tolciu, 2011). In essence the ethnic niche therefore becomes a relatively narrow and isolated system where opportunities generated are inferior to the native networks because the resources accessed through co-ethnic networks may not provide unique information (Lancee, 2012).

A male 188A visa holder, aged 51-55 years, exporting wine and onions from Melbourne, explained this:

I have participated in a lot of Chinese business associations. In their online groups, presidents of these organisations always send low-level information. The community remains chaotic and I can't get any help from these organisations. Some groups are full of complaints if someone has troubles in business. However, I have also joined a local onion business association. It is very formal and there are elections each year. I can get valuable business and industrial information and seek business partners in this group. I am the only Chinese member there. [Interviewee M2, 2019]

In some large-scale and specialised products used in specific areas, local customers in the wider mainstream market are necessary for obtaining revenue. In this situation, native employees can be more accessible to the mainstream market compared with Chinese employees. A male, aged 41-45 years, and a 132A visa holder showcased a typical example of this. In Melbourne, he is engaged in importing tractors from China to Australia. In the two years from 2017 to 2019, he has undertaken a total investment of over A\$ 2.3 million into his three branches in Sydney, Melbourne, and Newcastle. He shared his experience of selling tractors in Australia:

You should know that selling tractors in Australia depends on your face, especially in some highly professional and specialised areas such as

agriculture manufacturing. If you are native looking, it is much easier for you to distribute the tractors. Therefore, it is necessary for us to have native sales people to do the marketing. Chinese sales people cannot sell the tractors. I guess it might be discrimination or something. I am not sure. I have to pay around A\$ 90,000 to A\$ 100,000 to each local sales person. In order to communicate with them, I also need to hire the students as assistants or translators. [Interviewee M24, 2019]

In comparison with this business migrant who needs to recruit native employees to enter into the mainstream market, someone with a much larger investment is more reliant on native networks to accomplish their project in real estate. A female aged 46-50 years, and a 188C visa holder in Adelaide indicated that:

We are in the real estate industry. I cannot get any valuable resources from other Chinese people in Adelaide. The real estate industry has a higher threshold in qualifications and investment. It is totally different from what we have done in China. We have to rely on native networks to contact the government for building approval, the bank for loans, and with local companies for construction teams. We have recruited some Chinese employees at the beginning but it seems that they are not adequately qualified. [Interviewee A8, 2019]

The examples above explain that native networks place more emphasis on some high-threshold and capital-intensive industries such as real estate and the machinery business. Valuable country-specific resources sought from native networks are needed because Chinese networks and communities cannot provide the unique information and resources no matter in qualities and quantities. The impact of different networks is divergent with respect to the development stage of the business. Ethnic networks might be enough to support the business at the initial stage, but wider networks with more specialised resources are required for further growth. The native network is more difficult for business migrants to get access to. It can partially reflect why there appears to be a mismatch meaning that an increasing number of successful business

persons flock into the small-scale businesses.

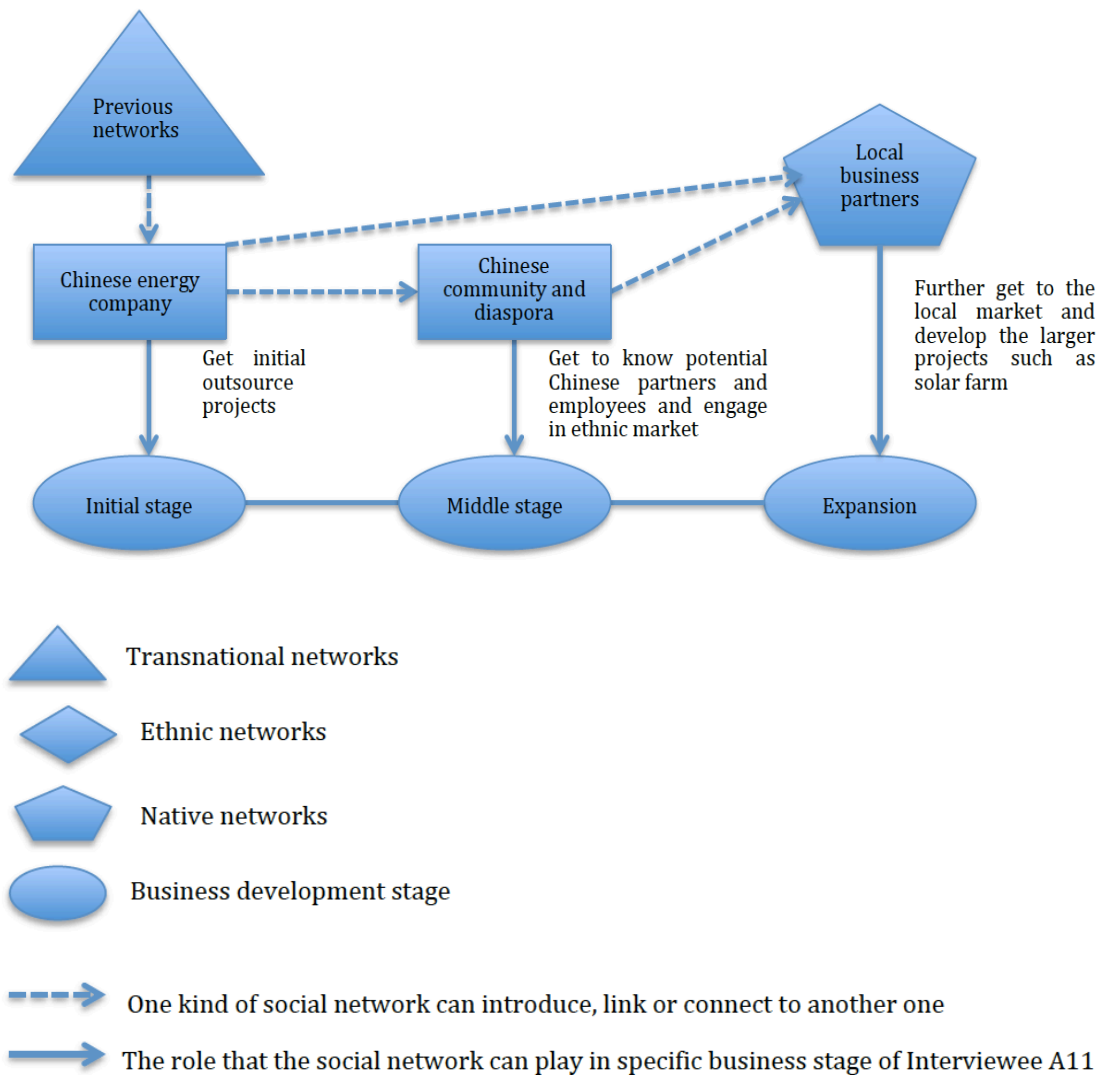
6.2.5 Different social networks intertwined at different business stages

With the development of globalisation, social networks, in a sense, can be interchangeable with breaking the geographical restrictions. In fact, the best way for business migrants to get access to the native networks is via the transnational and ethnic networks. The label 'social networks' (e.g. bonding networks, bridging networks and ethnic networks) should also be understated. A successful businessperson considers how to obtain and utilise the social resources and maximise the potential of specific scenarios and will not pay too much attention to ethnicity and identity matters.

To illustrate this point, a young business migrant aged 36-40 years in Adelaide with a Master's degree in economics is a representative example. He had a real estate and construction company in China. Even though his fixed assets were huge, this individual did not have abundant cash flow investing in Australia. Before arrival, he planned to establish a new solar energy business completely depending on his social networks. Figure 6.2 shows how he gets access to social networks, establishes the company and generates profits at different stages.

Initially, he obtained the outsourced opportunities of installation projects from a Chinese renewable energy company in Australia (*ethnic networks*), which was introduced by his previous connections with some state-owned enterprises (*transnational networks*). Through studying at TAFE and frequently joining in formal and informal social activities, he made contact with some skilled migrants (*ethnic networks*) as business partners and soon established his own installation company to accomplish the outsourced projects.

Figure 6.2 Multi-staged social networks



Source: Constructed by the author.

The business nexus was between his transnational networks and ethnic networks. He then contacted several native companies (*native networks*) via the Chinese company (*ethnic networks*) to further expand the business: his business partner helped him overcome the language barrier. This allowed him to achieve the minimum requirement for permanent residency, nonetheless, he was more ambitious and planned to further integrate his resources to build a solar farm. On the Australian side, he gets to know some influential persons (*native networks*) to connect with local government, companies and banks to get the business approval for a solar farm. On the Chinese side, he has utilised his previous networks (*transnational networks*) to bring in the large-scale

investment to the approved solar farm. He aims to maximise the potential of diverse types of social networks with respect to different business stages. This can also be viewed as a combination and integration between native networks in Australia and transnational networks in China [*Interviewee A11, 2019*].

In summary, social networks in this study are classified as family networks, transnational networks, ethnic networks, and native networks. The role of each network is further examined according to its functionality and accessibility with respect to different business scenarios (business industries and development stages). It appears there is a trade-off between ethnic networks and native networks. Ethnic networks are more accessible for business migrants, but the impact might be relatively weak. Conversely, business migrants have language and cultural barriers to get access to the native networks, which are otherwise essential in obtaining unique and host-country specific resources. Consequently business migrants can establish businesses merely relying on ethnic networks, but native networks are necessary if a wider range of business-related information, knowledge, ideas and unique resources are required to further grow the businesses. In addition the role of family networks in business migration is mainly in mental and emotional support from core family members instead of physical support from other family members. This is different from most of the migrant entrepreneurs in previous studies. It is also important to consider the specific circumstances when analysing how social networks are utilised in the development of business. For example, transnational networks are emphasised more in export business because the consumer market is mainly in China where networks and relationships play an important role in business development. In comparison, native networks are important in domestic businesses especially large-investment and high-threshold industries in Australia.

6.3 The role of human capital

In migration studies, educational attainment, business experience and language proficiency are three common dimensions for measuring the human capital of

migrant entrepreneurs (Beckers and Blumberg, 2013; Terjesen and Elam, 2009). Both English proficiency and educational attainment have been proved to be positively associated with the business outcome of business migrants, while English proficiency has a more significant influence. Based on qualitative analysis, this section will further discuss the role of human capital and relevant problems.

6.3.1 Language proficiency

Through descriptive analysis based on ACMID 2016, it has been shown that business migrants have limited English skills. Over 70 per cent of business migrants identified in ACMID 2016 responded that they were not proficient in English. During the fieldwork, 37 of the 38 interviewees stated that 'they are not good at English', 'it is a challenge for them to learn English' and 'English is the largest barrier for them to develop the business and to integrate into the mainstream society'. Even though the Australian government requires business migrants to study at TAFE for at least 510 hours, it is still an almost insurmountable challenge for them to develop fluent language skills no matter how long they have been living in Australia. Literature reviews in Chapter Two revealed that it is the special historical period that results in the extremely low enrolment rate of businesspersons in 1955-1970's cohort. Compared with business migrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan, Chinese mainland business migrants therefore present a profile of low educational attainment and English proficiency.

A lack of linguistic ability prevents business migrants from integrating into the mainstream society to a large extent. It is difficult for them to understand the local business regulations and environment, which limits them to a relatively narrow opportunity structure and restricts their business development. For example, a female migration agent in Adelaide, aged 41-45 years, explained the reasons why business migrants do not hire more employees to grow their business:

Actually, the high minimum wage is not the major reason. More importantly, the complicated laws and regulations may bring more trouble for business migrants if they prefer to hire more employees. For instance, minimum wages are distinctive with respect to different industries. Even though it is the same industry, it still includes different employment types such as part-time contract, casual contract, and long-term contract. These contracts also have different rules and regulations. Without a deeper and comprehensive understanding of the regulations, you are likely to break the law unconsciously. It is even difficult for local people, not to mention business migrants who are not proficient in English. Therefore, an increasing number of business migrants choose to hire few employees at the expense of their enterprise growth. [Interviewee A20, 2019]

Actually, the language problem has been particularly highlighted in large-investment and high-threshold industries. A high language requirement is needed to deal with issues occurring in business operations. A male 188A visa holder, aged 46-50 years, had invested over A\$ 5 million into a farm in Adelaide, however, he encountered a lot of difficulties due to his lack of English proficiency. He indicated:

Because my English level is limited, it is pretty difficult for me to communicate with my local employees. Sometimes it brings huge troubles in irrigation and planting. Last time, I would like to install some fences in my farm, but I cannot contact the government for approval directly. In order to do that, I spent a lot of money in asking for a translator to help me contact the government. However, the translator misunderstood the government policies. It took me an extra six months in application approval due to the language barrier. [Interviewee A2, 2019]

It is also difficult for business migrants to get further access to the native networks without language proficiency. Some of them could have a basic conversation with local people, but it is impossible for them to discuss more complicated business issues and establish the deeper connections. However,

from another perspective, language barriers indirectly result in business migrants' dependence on ethnic networks, which can become a bridge for them to get access to the native networks.

The previous quantitative findings have shown that business migrants who are proficient in English are more likely to be economically active in the labour force, to engage in higher-end industry and to have a higher income level. A majority of fieldwork respondents, most of whom are not good at English, otherwise provide negative cases of how business migrants have challenges in doing business without language abilities. These examples show the important role of English in business establishment and development.

6.3.2 Business experience

The adaptation of migrants' business experience to the host country environment is an important topic. It can reflect the extent migrant entrepreneurs match with host-specific countries and release the economic potential of their business experience. This is especially crucial for business migrants as one of the objectives of the business migration program is to encourage economic activity by increasing entrepreneurial talent and diversifying business expertise in Australia (DHA, 2021b).

Chapter Three presented background information of interviewees, and showed that 30 out of 38 interviewees mainly engage in labour- and capital-intensive industries such as chemical engineering, real estate, and automobile making. The other eight persons are in tertiary industry including import/export trade, hospitality services, communication industry, and property management. All interviewees have shown exceptional business talents and experience. The average annual turnover of business in China is A\$ 8 million to A\$ 10 million and the continuous business operation is at least ten years. For some of business migrants, their annual turnover can achieve over A\$ 20 million. Of course, business experience cannot only be measured by quantitative indicators such as industry, business turnover and operation duration. Some mental and

intellectual traits should also be considered such as business wisdom, mentality, willpower, pro-activeness, and opportunities. Among the 38 interviewees, 31 have changed their businesses or have chosen businesses without any connections to their enterprises in China. Three of them have engaged in multiple businesses. The experience mismatch issues are discussed below according to different industries as follows:

Small-investment businesses – retail and hospitality services. There are 18 interviewees in this study engaging in small-investment and domestic businesses, and none of them had any previous relevant experience. These businesses have an annual turnover of A\$ 300,000, average employment of two persons, and average investment less than A\$ 200,000. The business scale is much smaller than the business migrants' enterprises in China. In a sense, the potential of business migrants in small businesses has been limited to some extent. Obviously, their business and management experience in large enterprises is out of proportion to small restaurants, shops and cafés. The majority of business migrants actually have a desire to select businesses similar to their Chinese businesses or establish the linkage with China initially, but they soon come to realise that this is full of risks in a distinctive environment. A female business migrant, aged 61-65, who runs a factory with over 300 workers in China but changed to a small shop in Adelaide stated:

We have a construction and steel factory in China. At the beginning, we hope to export Australian steel back to our factory. However, the pre-investment for exporting steel is too large to achieve permanent residency. Also, it may take a longer time to apply for the approval and to seek the qualified steel sources. To avoid the risks, we changed to the restaurant. [Interviewee A12, 2019]

A business migration officer in Adelaide also supported this claim:

To conduct large-investment and high-threshold businesses at the beginning is full of risks. It may take several months to get the approval and the time

will be not enough to apply for permanent residency. Business migrants only have two years to choose the business. Therefore, small business may be much safer. [Interviewee A25, 2019]

Indeed, these two quotations can represent the true inner thoughts of most of the business migrants who downgrade to small-scale businesses. Even though they have a strong feeling of loss, they have to do it because it might be the most rational option to get their permanent residency in the safest way. However, this mismatch obviously results in a kind of waste of entrepreneurial resources as the economic potential of business migrants has been suppressed. Some business migrants even have mental health issues and are in a state of depression and dissatisfaction. But for persons who have a long-term plan and a clear perception of contexts and themselves, small business is just a temporary stage and bridge for them to know about the Australian business environment. They will conduct larger investment and entrepreneurial activities after obtaining permanent residency.

Transnational businesses – wine export businesses. 14 interviewees have chosen the wine export businesses while ten of them did not have previous relevant experience. Compared with small and domestic businesses, a larger initial investment is required in the wine export businesses. A female 188A visa holder in Melbourne, aged 41-45 years, explained the situation:

You know how much you need to pay for wine? You need to continuously export wine for three years. At least A\$ 330,000 is needed for wine each year, and the total amount is over A\$ 1 million. You also need to add in the tax, the labour cost, and the storage and transportation expenses both in China and Australia. So I think a minimum of A\$ 1.5 million is required when conducting wine export trade. [Interviewee M4, 2019]

As mentioned in Chapter Five, the emerging demand market in China and developed supply chain in Australia combine to expand the opportunity structure of business migrants in the wine export trade. Transnational networks

are fully utilised to facilitate the distribution networks in China. The large pre-investment also acts to drive business migrants to maintain the sale networks. However, the business performance and sustainability are different between people with and without relevant trade or sales knowledge in beverages.

Obviously, businesspersons with a trade background, or engaging in the retail and hospitality industry have more advantages in export business. They have more existing relevant networks and resources in marketing imported products. With a good understanding and knowledge in the whole trade process, these business migrants can better maximise their existing resources and networks in different corresponding stages. They know how to turn diverse resources into good account. However, for other business migrants, such as persons from manufacturing industries, it is more difficult for them to reintegrate their resources in a new area even though they may have more abundant social and financial capital. Most of these people, starting to rely on friends and relatives, might give up the business immediately upon receiving permanent residency if they do not have good opportunities or establish a longstanding sales chain.

A male 132A visa holder, aged, 51-55 years, who engaged in papermaking previously and has changed to wine export in Adelaide, explained the business advantage of persons with a trade background:

I can give you an example. I do not have any trade experience before. When I export wine back China, I have paid 41 per cent for various taxes. I have to ask for the help of my friends and relatives to sell the wine. However, this kind of help will not last too long. I still have around 600 bottles stored in the cellar. If you have background in trade, for example, you can know how to reduce the tariff. Some persons (with trade background) have social resources in Singapore, Malaysia, and Vietnam. They can transfer their products to these third countries and then send them back to China. The tax might be decreased to only 15 per cent, not mention to their sales channels. [Interviewee A38, 2019]

Large-investment and high-threshold businesses. Nine interviewees have engaged in large-investment and high-threshold industries including farms, renewable energy, real estate, significant investment and tractor imports and sales. Two of the business migrants have only conducted an investment in designated projects as 188C visa holders (Significant Investment Visa). Both indicated that their follow-up investment is several times the minimum investment requirement of A\$ 5 million. With a large amount of financial investment, they are not required to devote time to be physically involved in the business and verifying their management abilities and skills. Three business migrants have chosen high-threshold industries that are different from their previous business background. This is feasible because all of them have the chance to collaborate with experienced and trustworthy business partners and they are more like investors instead of business operators.

The other four businesspersons have engaged in the same industries in Australia as they do in China, or established the business linkage with their Chinese businesses. They have not only conducted a large scale of investment, but also devote themselves to the business. However, it appears that their successful business experience does not work very well in Australia. The mismatch of business experience has been magnified in the host context.

For example, a female business migrant was a very successful owner of a large-scale real estate company in Yunnan province. She was aged 46-50 years and a 188C visa holder. After arrival in Australia, she still chose to run the real estate company and started her projects. However, she soon realised how different it was to run a real estate company in Australia:

I have a real estate company in China and I also do it in Australia. To be honest, it is not difficult to establish a real estate company in Australia because the minimum requirement and threshold in investment is much lower than what I have done in China. Challenges came after I formally started the project. The first trouble was to find suitable design companies.

This is not a problem in China, but I never imagine that only a small number of design companies are authorised to provide services to my company. Without the preparation, I have to wait for them to next year. The second problem is about the funds. The pre-sale is not allowed, which means that I have to conduct the larger investment and take more risks in capital chain rupture. Even though it is easy to establish the business (real estate), it is challengeable to run and develop it. My previous experience does not match with the new business environment, which results in some mistakes in planning, investment and making decisions. [Interviewee A8, 2019]

In summary, previous studies have stressed that only host country-specific skills, including language and business experience in host countries, play a positive role in migrant entrepreneurship, because these can be matched with the social and economic context of the host country. The mismatch problem for business migrants is more highlighted in high-threshold industries. To avoid risks, almost half of the business migrants interviewed in the fieldwork tend to downgrade to small-investment businesses that also results in a depression of entrepreneurial and business resources. Some people who chose export businesses still have their main business activities occurring in China to reduce the mismatch issues. The findings have shown that only businesspersons with a background relevant to trade can have a better performance. Of course, to establish and develop a business is a gradual, long-term and uncertain process. Compared with specific business skills and experience, pro-activeness, adaptability, mentality and intelligence play a more important role. These are more likely to be reflected in business migrants arriving in Australia over a longer period.

6.4 Concluding remarks

This chapter has discussed how business migrants exploit their individual resources, social capital and human capital, to develop their businesses. Contextual factors discussed in Chapter Five shape the opportunity structure of business migrants and further affect their business choices. However, to what extent business migrants can efficiently integrate, exploit, and match their

individual resources with respect to the host-specific environment, plays a more fundamental role in their business performance and sustainability.

On the basis of the quantitative findings, this chapter has further discussed how social capital and human capital influence business migrants. Different social networks (family networks, transnational networks, ethnic networks and native networks) and individual attributes (English proficiency and business experience) are discussed based on diverse situations and scenarios. In addition, the accessibility of native networks highly relies on the linguistic abilities and educational attainment of business migrants. People with a deeper understanding of specific industries are more likely to maximise the economic potential of relevant social resources.

Chapter 7 Discussions and implications for policy and scholarship

7.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the key findings related to the stated research objectives. On the basis of the research findings, the chapter then forecasts the performance and potential risks for business migrants under the current uncertain economic and geo-political circumstances in the future. The study also offers policy and practical recommendations that can maximise the economic potential of the business migration program and business migrants. This is followed by theoretical implications for the scholarship of migrant entrepreneurship. Finally, the research limitations are outlined.

7.2 Summary of the main findings

This section brings together the results from previous chapters and assesses the extent to which these results contribute to achieving the research objectives of this study. Based on research findings, the study moves forward to explain how and to what extent business migrants can make an economic, social and cultural contribution to Australian society. This can further be applied as a reference to state the effectiveness of the business migration program. The overarching aim is to understand how factors at contextual and individual levels shape the entrepreneurship of Chinese mainland business migrants, and to provide policy and practical recommendations. Table 7.1 summarises the research objectives, key findings and contributions, and also the implications of these findings.

Table 7.1: Summary of key findings and contributions and implications of these findings

Research objectives	Key findings	Contribution and implications
1. To identify the socio-economic characteristics of business migrants and compare the differences by visa type.	(1). Socio-economic characteristics and geographical distributions of Chinese business migrants differ according to visa type. (2). The qualification of business migrants is improving due to China's development and increased requirements of the business migration program.	(1). Understand the intra-group difference of the profile of business migrants and their economic contributions. (2). Evaluate the revamps of the business migration program. (3). Provide specific recommendations to different visa groups.
2. To explore how institutional arrangements and economic contexts shape the entrepreneurship of business migrants.	(1). Changes to the business migration program, economic structures both in China and Australia drive business migrants to present geographically distinctive business patterns. (2). Permanent residency grants more certainties and securities for business migrants to achieve a better performance.	(1). Understand the mechanism between macro factors and business migrants. (2). Predict the outcome of business migrants under the uncertain macro circumstances in future and provide policy recommendations.
3. To examine how business migrants get access and utilise their individual resources to start up and develop their businesses embedded in different circumstances.	(1). The role of various social networks differs with respect to different circumstances. (2). Both educational attainment and English proficiency are positively related to business performance. (3). The pre-migration business experience of business migrants does not match with their new business in Australia.	(1). Understand how business migrants get access, utilise and rely on their individual resources. (2). Provide practical and policy advice to enhance their social and economic integration.
4. To evaluate social and economic contributions of business migrants and the effectiveness of business migration program.	(1). Business migrants have direct economic contributions related to investment, export, and employment. (2). Business migrants have indirect social and cultural contribution in enhancing the linkages between China and Australia, and supporting the local economy. (3). Permanent business migrants have a larger contribution.	(1). Understand how and what extent business migrants can benefit Australian economy and society. (2). Understand the effectiveness of the business migration program.

Source: constructed by author

7.2.1. The socio-economic characteristics of business migrants

The first objective was to identify the socio-economic characteristics of business migrants and reveal the intra-group heterogeneity. Business migrants have specific social and economic profiles by visa type. An overwhelming majority of early business migrants from the Business Skills Program (BSP), chose the Business Owner category. For the recent Business Innovation and Investment Program (BIIP), the sub-category distribution becomes more dispersed with an increasing number of people choosing the Significant Business History stream and the Significant Investor stream. Both of these two visa types aim to attract exceptional business talents and the super-rich. Victoria is the most popular State for business migrants, followed by New South Wales and then South Australia. The exception is the Significant Business History stream in BIIP, and over half of them (51.5 per cent) select South Australia as their first priority.

By analysing the ACMID 2016, it was found that approximately 70 per cent of business migrants were aged between 40-54 years. At this stage they already had abundant financial capital and extraordinary business experience. It was found that around 30 per cent of Chinese business migrants had a bachelor degree or higher, which is comparable with business migrants from other countries. However, Chinese business migrants were found to have limited English proficiency, with only 3.7 per cent of them speaking English very well, 23.4 per cent speaking English well, 56.2 per cent speaking English not well and 16.7 per cent not speaking English at all. The proportion of people not proficient in English is much higher than business migrants from other major source countries such as Malaysia, Iran, India and Viet Nam. Recent business migrants, compared with earlier cohorts arriving prior to 2010, have higher educational attainment and are more proficient in English. This is due to the increasing popularisation of China's higher education since the political reforms and opening-up of the country in 1978. Through the fieldwork, the study found that the pre-migration background of business migrants mainly covers the labour- and capital- intensive industries in the secondary sector, and tertiary industry such as import/export trade, hospitality services and property management.

Recent business migrants have stronger economic capabilities than their predecessors. After arriving in Australia, however, provisional visa holders are likely to be engaged in retail trade, accommodation and food services, and wholesale trade regardless of what they have done in China before migration. In comparison, despite a lower labour participation rate, permanent visa holders are more likely to be in high-end industries.

7.2.2 The influence of institutional arrangements and economic contexts on business migrants

The second objective was to explore how institutional arrangements and economic contexts, both in China and Australia, shape the economic activities of business migrants. Chinese mainland business migrants are economic actors embedded in multilevel political and economic contexts. Institutional arrangements and economic contexts are combined to constitute a sphere that shapes the economic activities of business migrants. It is also viewed as business migrants' individual strategies and responses toward the uncertain macro circumstances.

Entrepreneurial and investment actions of business migrants are highly related to the business migration program, especially during the provisional period. In order to successfully achieve permanent residency, business migrants, via a diversity of sub-categories, have to satisfy an array of specific business requirements. This results in the temporal- and geographically-distinctive business patterns amongst business migrants. It is more important to pay attention to whether business migrants sustain their businesses and engage in economic activities after they secure permanent residency. It can reflect the long-term economic contribution of business migrants. The findings show that permanent business migrants are more likely to engage in high-threshold and diversified industry, and have higher income levels. Permanent residency can grant business migrants more autonomies and securities, so that they can make larger investment into high-end areas. The business migration program can be viewed as a powerful tool to regulate business migrants and shape their

economic activities. Effective revamps of the business migration program have been conducted. Subsequently, an array of policy adjustments have improved the overall qualifications of business migrants. These changes also drive more business migrants, with financial capital and entrepreneurial skills, into more demanding industries. The policy influence is reflected in improvements to the financial requirement of the Business Innovation (Owner) stream, and the initiative of a Complying Investment Framework (CIF) that requires more Significant Investor stream investment to flow into the venture capital and private equity (VCPE) and emerging, innovation and high-growth critical sectors (e.g. Health, Agriculture, STEM and High-tech start-ups). State requirements have also been set differently so that business migrants can meet specific industry needs of respective States.

As rational economic individuals, business migrants are more subjected to a wider economic context. Previous literature has shown that migrant entrepreneurs are inclined to seize the opportunities in advantageous industries at the host locations (Solano, 2016a, 2016b) and this also applies to business migrants. For example, the wine industry has been particularly popular amongst business migrants to South Australia due to the developed wine industry there. With rapid globalisation, the economic practices of business migrants are not only shaped by industrial structures in host countries, but are also affected by economic conditions and contexts in their home countries. A number of fieldwork interviewees mentioned that China's surge in economic development and the initiative of the China-Australia Free Trade Agreement (ChAFTA) have driven them to chase the profitable opportunities back in China. The ACMID 2016 and other reports have also indicated that recent business migrants are likely to engage in trade business capitalised by the rise of China's economy.

In conclusion, the study explores the interrelationship between macro factors and the economic practices of business migrants. This can be viewed as a benchmark to predict the potential outcome and risks of the new business migration program. On the basis of the results, future policy and practical implications can be provided to further stimulate the economic potential of

business migrants in the rapidly changing future context.

7.2.3 The role of individual resources in the business development of business migrants

The third objective was to examine how business migrants get access to utilise their individual resources to start up and develop their businesses. Individual resources refer to social capital and human capital identified by business migrants. Social capital in this study covers transnational networks, ethnic networks, native networks and family networks. The classification is based on the accessibility and functionality of these networks. A variety of social networks play different roles with respect to various business stages and scenarios. Transnational networks have played an important role in export businesses, which can be utilised to establish long-term distribution networks. Ethnic Chinese networks are necessary social resources for business migrants to start up, while native networks can facilitate the further growth of business by providing more valuable and unique host-specific information and resources. The closeness of the core family networks is positively related to the long-term willingness on doing business, especially after permanent residency is granted.

Human capital refers to educational attainment, English proficiency and entrepreneurial background. Both quantitative and qualitative results found that educational attainment and English proficiency have a significant and positive impact on the economic performance of business migrants. With higher educational attainment and English proficiency, business migrants are more likely to integrate into the host environment and to gain extensive resources. However, findings have also shown that there is a mismatch between the pre-migration entrepreneurial background of business migrants and their new businesses in Australia. There is also a complicated relationship between human capital and social capital. High language proficiency and educational attainment might decrease reliance on the ethnic networks, but facilitate access to native networks.

7.2.4 Social and economic contribution of business migrants to Australia

What Australia can gain from the business migration program, and what business migrants can contribute to the Australian economy are issues always worth discussing. This section comprehensively evaluates the direct and indirect economic contribution of business migrants to the Australian economy. According to the ACMID 2016 dataset, 42.2 per cent of business migrants in the labour force are business owners and have generated employment opportunities. Qualitative analysis further stresses that permanent business migrants are more likely to sustain their businesses and engage in labour- and capital-intensive sectors such as construction and manufacturing. These findings imply that business migrants can directly contribute to the economy by bringing business skills and financial capital into Australia for entrepreneurial activities and generating employment opportunities. In recent years, Chinese business migrants have been contributing to the increase in the export of Australian goods and services, and further developed the links with international markets (mainly with China). The typical case is the wine export business. Since 2015 China has been the largest importer of Australian wine and the export value reached peak of \$A 1.2 billion by the end of 2019, accounting for 37 per cent of the total Australian exported wine (Wine Australia, 2020). The role of Chinese business migrants cannot be underestimated. As the qualitative findings show, a minimum of \$A 1 million is needed to invest into wine exports for each business migrant. An increasing number of business migrants have also been conducting continuous investment into wineries or wine export businesses after being granted permanent residency: the contribution of this income source is inestimable.

Substantial financial investment is another notable contribution brought by business migrants in the business migration program. Business migrants are different from other migrant entrepreneurs, and investment is key to any country's economic development, as it fuels productivity, provides employment and expands the economy. These benefits flow to the entire community, benefiting people, industry and communities through higher wages and greater

choice of products. The profits generated by the investments also create additional tax revenues that in turn increase the provision of government services., Significant Investor visa holders make the most remarkable contribution to investment amongst all business migrants. Despite only accounting for 0.1 per cent of all visas to Australia granted each year, the Significant Investor stream has delivered \$A 11.75 billion of direct investment into complying investments in Australia since its inception (DHA, n.d.). Subsequent investment is even more considerable as it is several times as much as the direct investment. Andrew Marin, managing director of asset management at Moelis Australia, stressed the continuous investment of the Significant Investor stream in Australia (Gothe-Snape, 2019):

‘It has been estimated that the follow-up investment from Significant Investor visa holders has been up to four to five times more than the mandatory \$A 5 million, meaning capital invested into Australia could be as much as \$A 50 billion.’

More investment has been directed toward emerging critical sectors and venture capital under the new mandatory framework. Significant Investor stream investments into these sectors obviously have the potential to assist the development of innovative businesses especially during the nascent stage with the associated high risks. With the support of the investments, emerging companies can maintain the employees, expand the scale of production and increase research and development (R&D) expenditure (Deloitte Private, 2019). The Significant Investor stream investments are crucial to spur more innovation and prosperity, and create employment opportunities.

The weights of financial capital and entrepreneurship brought by business migrants differ according to visas. The Significant Investor stream emphasises the amount of investable capital, while the Business Innovation stream places more importance on the entrepreneurial skills. The policy restrictions are exempted after permanent residency is granted. The research findings show that permanent business migrants continue with subsequent investment and generate higher tax revenue and more employment opportunities.

In addition to a direct economic contribution, business migrants can also have an indirect social and cultural contribution by initiating the transnational linkages between China and Australia, and benefiting the local intermediaries and industrial chains. What business migrants have contributed in import/export is not only about the direct export value, but also enhanced long-term and broader interconnections between China and Australia. The key to the success of export businesses is to create stable distribution networks, and to establish the brand reputation amongst clients in China. Albeit it is difficult to sell out the exported products in a short time, the process of business migrants promoting their products by utilising their social resources, from relatives and friends to extensive clients, can also be viewed as a powerful tool for marketing. This can further enhance the appetites of Chinese consumers toward a broader range of Australian commodities. The emerging, vigorous and enormous Chinese consumption market can provide significant future benefits for Australian trade.

A variety of cultural and economic activities can be generated based on export activity. Take wine as an example. To further enhance the acceptance and appetite of Chinese clients for Australian wine, business migrants host an array of wine tastings and organise cultural tourism activities about Australia so that potential clients can have a deeper understanding of Australian culture, and show stronger interest in Australian commodities. Actually, each business migrant can be viewed as an important nexus to intensify the transnational linkages at multi-dimensions. Some business migrants interviewed for the fieldwork, especially those who have migrated to Australia earlier, are enthusiastically creating links between China and Australia not only in the economic domain, but also in political and cultural areas. They further establish very valuable channels to promote cooperation in multiple areas and create potential business and trade opportunities and, over time, facilitate economic and social intersections between the two countries.

Australia's business migration program has also initiated a large number of intermediaries and industrial chains centred on business migrants. These are

intermediaries and agencies that provide settlement services for business migrants include migration agents, fund companies, business agents, real estate agents, and money transfer companies. Business migrants are major clients and generate a revenue source for these intermediaries, which further generates considerable profits and abundant job opportunities. Different from skilled migrants, most business migrants are not proficient in English. As they have to establish their business within a maximum of two years after arrival, they are more reliant on a variety of intermediaries as a bridge to start up the business and to get access to the Australian market. Various urgent demands of business migrants have therefore created growth and diversity of intermediary agencies.

7.3 Predictions regarding business migrants in future

Higher requirements for economic activities have been imposed in the new program that was initiated on 1 July 2021. The bilateral trade relationship between China and Australia has also fluctuated since the COVID-19 pandemic began. Given the structural influence on business migrants, it will be interesting to see how new business migrants cope with the uncertain macro environment, and in particular whether they can bring their business skills and investment into Australian emerging sectors, and maximise their economic potential over coming decades. This section discusses how business migrants perform now and are likely to do so in the future. It specifically explores how the uncertain political-economic sphere and latest revamps of the business migration program will influence the economic behaviour of business migrants.

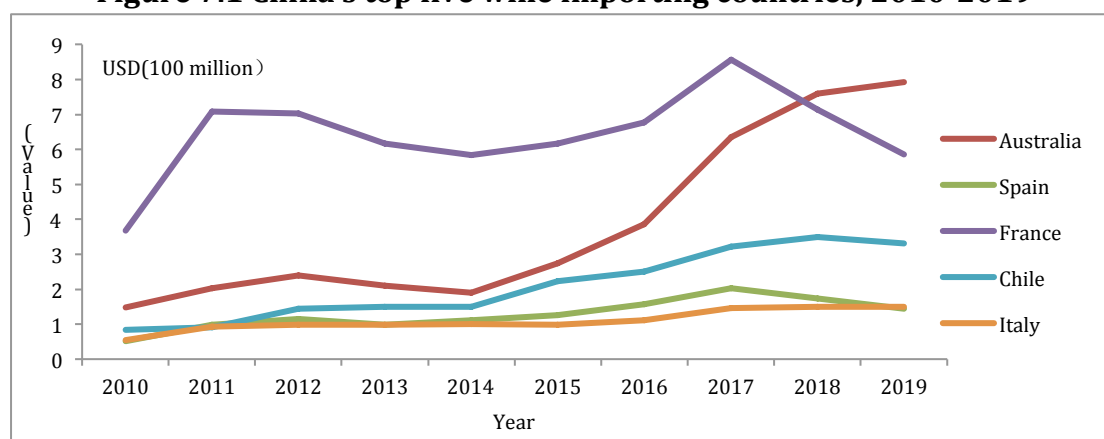
7.3.1 Uncertain international political and economic environment as a destabilising factor

The economic activities of business migrants in the next decade are likely to be influenced by the uncertain bilateral trade relationship between Australia and China as well as the latest business migration policy. The initiative of ChAFTA is an important impetus for export business. Many Chinese entrepreneurs were excited about the signing of the ChAFTA that came into force on 20 December

2015, and consider the agreement an invigorating business opportunity. From the start date, ChAFTA set China's tariffs at zero for more than 85 per cent (by 2015 value) of Australian exports. This proportion rose to 93 per cent coverage by 1 January 2019 and 98 per cent once ChAFTA was fully implemented (Australian Government, 2014).

As wine was the most popular exported product for business migrants, the import tariff of 14 per cent for bottled wine and 20 per cent for bulk wine was gradually phased down over four years. By January 2018, the tariff was 2.8 per cent for bottled wine and 4 per cent for bulk wine, and the rate had been decreased to zero in January 2019 (AusTrade, 2019). Strong demand in China for Australian bottled wine coincided with the phased removal of import tariffs on Australian wine. From 2015 to 2019, Australian wine's market share in China increased by 9.7 per cent. During 2019 under the zero tariff, Australia's total wine export increased by 3.0 per cent to \$A 2.91 billion, and the export value to the top destination, China, increased by 12 per cent to \$A 1.28 billion (AusTrade, 2019). The exemption of the tariff has further enhanced the competitiveness of Australian wine. A growing number of Chinese business migrants therefore believed that the wine export business was a promising field and have increasingly engaged in this sector. The trend of the Chinese wine market share between Australia and four other major competitors is shown in Figure 7.1, showing that Australia has a turning point in 2015 and became the top wine export country for China in 2019.

Figure 7.1 China's top five wine importing countries, 2010-2019



Source: UN Comtrade

However, the Ministry of Commerce in China issued an announcement to implement anti-dumping investigations on seven Australian products – wine , coal, barley, copper ore, sugar, timber, and lobster – on 18 August 2020 (Ministry of Commerce of China, 2020). On November 27 2020, Australian wine was preliminarily adjudicated to be a dumping product. The Chinese government then changed the deposit ranging from 107.1 per cent to 212.1 per cent for wine in containers that are less than two litres. Specifically, the deposit is 107.1 per cent, 160.2 per cent, 169.3 per cent and 212.1 per cent to different companies (Ministry of Commerce of China, 2020). For example, the red wine valued at \$A 10 million only required around \$A 11.3 million before the investigation, but now the deposit is ranges from \$A 28.1 million to \$A 33.9 million. On 26 March 2021, China announced final decisions on its anti-dumping and countervailing duty investigations into imported wine from Australia. The anti-dumping duties, range from 116.2 per cent to 218.4 per cent with the rate varying by the supplying company, will apply to wine in containers of 2 litres or less for five years from 28 March 2021 (Ministry of Commerce of China, 2021).

The anti-dumping investigation obviously increases the threshold and barrier for Chinese business migrants to conduct the wine export business, despite it being a good opportunity for people whose wine has already been shipped to China. In this case, a lot of migration agents and business migrants, especially in South Australia, have begun taking measures to deal with potential uncertainties. Currently the wine export business, has become a high-risk project for Chinese business migrants and in coming years may not be as popular as previously. Some migrants plan to transfer their products to third countries such as Singapore, Malaysia, and Viet Nam to avoid the high deposit. However, most business migrants and migration agents are considering alternative plans including seeking to substitute products for export and changing to real estate development. Consequently, it is foreseeable that the previous lucrative wine trade between China and Australia will go downhill if the bilateral relationship keeps deteriorating. The imposition of anti-dumping duties has already dramatically and negatively influenced the wine exports between Australia and

China. According to the latest statistics, Australian wine exports to the Chinese mainland declined by 45 per cent in value to \$A 606 million and by 57 per cent in volume to 52 million litres in 2020-21 (Wine Australia, 2021). Of course, international relations are full of uncertainties. It is anticipated that the bilateral relationship between China and Australia can recover in the future and business migrants can continue to play a crucial role in this bilateral linkage someday.

7.3.2 The impact of the new business migration program on business migrants

The revamps of BIIP on 1 July 2021 will have a dramatic influence on the economic activities and geographical distribution of Chinese business migrants in the coming decade. The new program is streamlined from the previous seven categories to four categories. This change only keeps the Business Innovation stream, Entrepreneur stream, Investor stream and Significant Investor stream (DHA, 2021b). The complexity and variety of previous sub-categories were potentially confusing to prospective applicants and some have been extremely underutilised, especially the Premium Investor stream and Venture Capital Entrepreneurial stream. The simplification of the visa system should reduce the administrative costs of the business migration program and save more allocations for other visa categories. Albeit with a scarce number of applications, the Entrepreneur category, which aims to attract entrepreneurs without the requirement of financial capital, has been kept and the threshold lowered. This change shows that the new program puts more emphasis on entrepreneurship, however the Significant Business History stream has been abolished in the new program. As the most popular visa category in South Australia, the abolition of the Significant Business History stream may reduce the competitiveness of South Australia to some extent.

The requirements on pre-migration background have been increased in the new program. The minimum personal asset for the Business Innovation stream has increased from \$A 800,000 to \$A 1.25 million and the minimum business turnover has increased from \$A 500,000 to \$A 800,000. The Investor stream also

has increased the investment threshold from \$A 1.5 million to \$A 2.5 million (DHA, 2021b). The upgrade of the financial requirement accords with the research finding, showing that the number of Chinese HNWI and their total investable assets are rapidly expanding due to China's economic development in the last decade. However, it is also necessary to consider the negative impact of COVID-19 on China's economy. A report from the Migration Institute of Australia (MIA, 2020) on Chinese investment behaviours indicates that high net wealth investors are making more mature asset allocation investments and shifting their focus back to investments in China, due to the global economic uncertainty caused by COVID-19 and the fluctuating international environment. With improvements in selection threshold in BIIP, Australia may not be as competitive as other destination countries and total application numbers are likely to decline.

More specific adjustments in selection criteria, especially for the personal qualifications for the Business Innovation stream, are actually implemented at the State level. This action may change the distribution of business migrants by State and visa type. For example, as the most popular and traditional State for business migrants, Victoria has placed more emphasis on human capital (English proficiency, educational attainment and business experience). To successfully apply for a provisional visa, applicants must have achieved vocational English level, and meet at least one of three options: 1) Have a Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) qualification; 2) Have an MBA; 3) Have relevant business history in a target sector (health, medical research, and life sciences; digital; agri-food; advanced manufacturing; new energy, emissions reduction and circular economy) (Live in Melbourne, n.d.). By increasing the threshold of English, business and education background, business migrants are more likely to get into high-value and productive sectors. Compared with educational attainment and business experience as optional criteria, more weighting has been given to English proficiency as a mandatory requirement. This adjustment is in line with one of the key findings of the thesis that business migrants with proficient English and higher educational attainment are more inclined to be in the labour force, to engage in high-end industry and to have

higher incomes. This type of business migrant can have a greater potential to meet the strict business requirements in Victoria. In comparison, the requirements in New South Wales and South Australia are not as strict as Victoria. In spite of a higher financial requirement, New South Wales only requires applicants to have a bachelor degree and above, and has a more relaxed condition on their business background (New South Wales Government, n.d.). There are no special requirements on the qualifications of applicants in South Australia. In this case, the distribution of Business Innovation visa holders will be more dispersed rather than concentrating in Victoria as previously.

Additional conditions on economic activities have been set for provisional visa holders by State as well. This will increase the geographically distinctive business pattern. In Victoria, Business Innovation visa holders can be granted their permanent residency only if they have a minimum turnover of \$A 1 million annually or have created at least two employment opportunities, brought in product innovation and process innovation, and have connections with previous business. In addition when choosing the export business, business migrants have to verify that the export business activity can provide a direct contribution to the Victorian economy, other than only taxation and payroll revenue. Parallel exporting activity is also not allowed any more. The stringent requirements in export business, combined with the imposition of anti-dumping duties, will further discourage business migrants from conducting export business in Victoria. However, qualified exporters, who can maintain a long-term and stable trade linkage between Victoria and China, may be selected for this scheme. In South Australia, there are no additional requirements for the Business Innovation category, which are consistent with the Federal requirements. However, some requirements in the Business Talent category, which have been abolished in the new program, have been inherited by the Business Innovation stream in South Australia. In order to obtain permanent residency, Business Innovation visa holders have to choose one of the following conditions: 1). Investment into a business of \$A 300,000 and three full-time employees; 2). \$A 1.5 million in property development; 3). Export ranging from \$A 750,000 to \$A 1.25 million (Move to South Australia, n.d.).

Economic activities will be dramatically influenced by these institutional revamps especially during the provisional period. The higher policy requirements can directly bring benefits to the Australian economy. A particular concentration of small-scale businesses will be replaced by an inclination toward high value and threshold in Victoria. In South Australia, even though export business is still one of the options for business migrants to secure permanent residency, the heated wine export business will cool off due to the anti-dumping duties. Business migrants there may flow into property development or some other emerging areas such as renewable energy. With the provisional period extended from four to five years (DHA, 2021b), business migrants will have more time to start up enterprises in high-threshold sectors. However, more support is still needed to facilitate business migrants to adapt to the stricter program.

7.4 Policy and practical recommendations

Policy and practical recommendations are provided in this section. Based on research findings, the study argues that sustainable and enduring economic outputs of business migrants are actually spurred on by their self-motivation and inner driving forces to maintain long-term businesses in Australia. This is strongly related to what extent their personal needs can be met. It specifically refers to the gain of happiness, safety sense and subjective wellbeing in the host country, which is connected to the degree of integration into mainstream society. Difficulties in integration may generate a mismatch issue for business migrants, and further result in their dissatisfaction, psychological gap, and mental pressure. It should also be noted that entrepreneurial and investment behaviours are rational and profit-driven. Business migrants will spontaneously conduct long-term economic and investment activities only if targeted projects in Australia are accessible and profitable. Policy and practical recommendations in this section aim to offer more suggestions based on the demands of business migrants. The business migration program is not a simple migration project to 'sell permanent residency and citizenship'. Only the win-win and mutual benefits to all, instead of the unilateral payment and transfer, can maximise the value of

business migration program.

The policy adjustments can increase the qualification of business migrants by arranging higher requirements, but it cannot assure people can better integrate into the host society, which is particularly crucial for business migrants in operating business in high-end sectors and sustaining the business after permanent residency is granted. The importance of intermediary agencies will be further strengthened in the next decade. The new business migration program has improved the threshold. Business migrants are more likely to engage in high-end sectors, in which higher business acumen, and more abundant investment are needed. In this case, the reliance on intermediary agencies should be increased. This also means that migration agents and relevant intermediaries need to improve their qualifications and services, and recruit professional employees to cater to potential demands of their clients.

Migration agents and a variety of intermediaries can facilitate business migrants in the start up of their business, as well as assist with their family's settlement. As a link to get access to mainstream society, these intermediary agencies, mainly embedded in the Chinese diaspora, can satisfy the basic business and daily demands of business migrants. In this case, business migrants are more likely to have a better economic outcome with the support of these organisations and companies. Of course, strict supervision and regulations should be imposed on intermediary agencies. Unqualified consultants and services could not only result in the economic loss of business migrants, but also leave them with unfavourable life and business experiences and further dampen their enthusiasm for conducting long-term business in Australia. A special institution, established by the government, may be necessary to deal with all matters relevant to business migrants. Through accumulating a diversity of information and resources, such as investable projects in emerging sectors, language assistance and business regulation consultations, a comprehensive system can be established to provide more reliable guidance for business migrants. In a sense, post-migration services provided by official institutions can enhance the sense of security for business migrants, which could further stimulate their

long-term investment and entrepreneurial motivations. This is particularly important at the initial business stage for business migrants. In addition, long-term collaboration between academia and government should be established for more feasible policy suggestions.

As for the policy recommendations, the minimum length of the provisional period and the processing time for permanent residency applications could be shortened. This adjustment should be applied specifically for business migrants who have shown commitment in engaging with high-end industries, and conducting long-term investment and entrepreneurial activities. As the research findings show, permanent visa holders have better business performance due to the sense of security provided by permanent residency. Conversely, an extension to the waiting period in processing may result in applicants experiencing serious mental pressures. Therefore, granting permanent residency to high-performing candidates earlier could better stimulate their economic potential. As for persons who plan to engage in the high-tech sectors, requirements on business activities and outcomes could be relaxed. For example, if business migrants have pumped a significant number of investments into emerging industries that rely on research and development (R&D), they could be allowed to achieve a lower turnover requirement. These areas normally take high risks and costs, and require a longer time to gain net profits. Both of these two adjustments could encourage more applicants with their entrepreneurship and financial capital to enter into critical sectors. Given families with couples living together are more likely to continue their businesses after permanent residency, the study suggests some amendments to encourage husbands and wives to live together in Australia. For instance, these kinds of families could be prioritised in the evaluation of their the application for permanent residency.

The improvements in new program requirements will directly result in more benefits generated by the business migration program for business migrants, however, this could be a double-edged sword. The attractiveness of Australia as the most popular country for HNWIs might decrease due to the high thresholds. It is also important to consider the potential risks and solutions if a larger

number of business migrants are unable to achieve the higher requirements needed to get permanent residency. Subsequent adjustments will be necessary after the implementation of the new program based on the annual investigation and review.

7.5 Theoretical implications

The study lends empirical support to the dual embeddedness approach, which highlights the need to consider business migrants' social, economic, and institutional embeddedness beyond the host country. Built on the mixed embeddedness approach, the dual embeddedness approach can be applied to capture the nature of transnational entrepreneurship of business migrants by viewing their economic practice as an interactive outcome of a matching process between migrants' skills and resources and contextual factors from a transnational lens.

This research is novel in refining the dual embeddedness approach. It bifurcates the model as 'contextual level' and 'individual level', corresponding with 'transnationalism from above' and 'transnationalism from below', to better clarify the rationale of a future research framework. In doing so, the approach can be more concise and explicit in grasping the dynamics of business migrants' entrepreneurship.

Chinese business migrants are situated into a fluctuated international sphere, which by good chance provides an ideal and unique model to reflect the dual embeddedness approach. China-Australia bilateral relations are full of uncertainties in recent several years that coincide with the period covered by this study. The trade business had been heated up due to the tariff exemption from 2015 to 2019, but it then fell into the freezing point in 2021 with China-Australia relationship tightening. The shift of the economic practices of business migrants, connected with this ebb and flow, fully reflects the institutional embeddedness and 'transnationalism from above'. The characteristics of multidimensionality in the embeddedness model are further

echoed by how business migrants perform with respect to geography and time. For example, business migrants in Melbourne or arriving in Australia at early stage are more likely to engage in small and host-based business, while business migrants in Adelaide or migrating to Australia recently have a much higher potential in doing transnational business. This dual divergence is derived from the geographic-distinctive industrial structure and policy making in Adelaide and Melbourne, as well as the periodic change influencing on business migrants. The study strengthened the established idea regarding to the utilisation of social networks as a conceptualisation of 'transnationalism from below'. Drawing on the theory of social embeddedness, the study further categorised social networks as four types and elaborated how these networks perform differently for business migrants under diverse scenarios. This reflects networks with both local and global connection stressed frequently in the dual embeddedness model.

Above findings reinforce the rationale of the dual embeddedness model adapting to the economic practice of business migrants. Nevertheless, the empirical study has also provided some innovative insights that might be rarely emphasised by existing model. The role of financial capital is scantily mentioned in the dual embeddedness model from previous studies. It is because that most of migrant entrepreneurs are profiled as migrants with low financial capital. The study on wealthy business migrants has invoked a standpoint that variables regarding to financial capital are needed to incorporate in the model at the present stage. The interaction and dynamics among multilevel and multifaceted factors has also been elaborated in the study, which is otherwise lack of empirical support. To specify, whether the role of abundant financial capital can be maximised, depends on the combination of human capital and social capital, connected with place-based policies, economic contexts, and fluctuated international environment.

Past studies paid more attention on how migrant entrepreneurs access to the local or transnational resources to develop their local-based businesses. They are more likely viewed as a new businessman starting from scratch in a new country. For business migrants, who have already had abundant resources and

successful business experience, it is more important to turn the focus on how business migrants can transfer their resources and match their entrepreneurship and capital with the new host environment. The (mis) match issue between individual resources and social and economic contexts, presented by business migrants as economic actors, should be a new focal point in the dual embeddedness model.

7.6 Limitations of the research

The research has several limitations. One is the inaccessibility of some quantitative and qualitative data sources, which to some extent affects the depth and breadth of the research. The COVID-19 pandemic and lockdowns have interrupted the follow-up fieldwork and investigations, especially in Melbourne. Therefore, a deeper understanding of entrepreneurship dynamics could not be fully captured. The sample size of Significant Investor visa holders was small, and they only have limited residential requirements in Australia. As the super-rich class, they are also more difficult to access compared with other visa holders. The study notes the reluctance of interviewees to answer some questions regarding their financial background and investment plans. Responses to these questions are also inclined to be exaggerated.

ACMID 2016 is the quantitative dataset applied here, however, it has two disadvantages. Firstly, it does not represent the complete picture as the census was conducted in 2016, which means that it fails to reflect the situation of business migrants in the last five years or so. In addition business migrants offshore at the time of the census, and under a bridging visa are also excluded. These groups include persons engaged in the export business in China and bridging visa holders who are waiting for a decision on their application for permanent residency. Secondly, variables provided in the dataset are limited. It does not include variables that can reflect some important topics such as social integration and the subjective wellbeing of business migrants. Cross-sectional data collected at one specific point cannot cover temporal changes. Therefore, an incomplete dataset may compromise the quality of the research findings and the

real extent of the impact of business migration.

7.7 Conclusion

Based on major research findings, this chapter argues that the contribution of business migrants towards the Australian economy should not be underestimated. In addition to direct investment and entrepreneurial skills, it is also noteworthy to emphasise their intangible economic contribution in considerable follow-up investment, establishing trade linkages and supporting the local economy. It should be remembered that economic activities of business migrants are not undertaken in vacuum, but should be embedded in a wider political-economic context. Policy changes and uncertain international relations, as well as some other unexpected exogenous factors, could further influence the entrepreneurial and investment behaviours of business migrants. The research findings can be seen as the benchmark based on the ACMID 2016, and qualitative materials can be applied to predict the outcome of the business migration program and the success of business migrants in the next decade.

It was however found that business migrants have also been facing challenges in integrating into the host environment. This yields mismatch issues and means the economic potential of the migrants is yet to be fully realised. The new policy aims to solve this dilemma by improving the threshold to select applicants with higher English proficiency, educational attainment, and business background. The policy adjustment is obviously a powerful tool to drive business migrants, with their entrepreneurial skills and financial capitals, into demand industries. Nonetheless, whether business migrants can gain ample profits, expand the enterprise size, create more job opportunities and maintain their business, still depends on the extent to which they can integrate into the mainstream society socially and economically. This is the precondition that business migrants can take full advantage of their abundant resources and offer more benefits.

The study therefore assumes that stronger support, from government and intermediary agencies, is needed to provide qualified settlement services for

business migrants. If this occurred, business migrants would gain more sense of security and wellbeing, which can further guarantee their long-term economic activities and contributions. In addition, some policy recommendations have also been offered. In a sense, the business migration program is supposed to be based on mutual benefits. The precondition of driving business migrants to make a sustainable contribution toward the Australian economy is to a large extent to meet their demands and to maximise their general wellbeing.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

8.1 Research significance of the thesis

This thesis has discussed the dynamics of the entrepreneurship of Chinese business migrants in Australia through a lens of ‘transnationalism from above’ and ‘transnationalism from below’ (Tedeschi et al., 2020). Past research has emphasised that migrant entrepreneurship has considerable potential to offer economic, social, and cultural benefits in both the home country and the host country. By contextualising institutional arrangements and economic structures, this research has explored how business migrants strategically deploy their individual resources and position themselves for their own socio-economic advancement. The various resources they have, including but not limited to their different social networks, financial capital, business skills, understanding of the market and society, language skills, and cultural know-how acquired before and strengthened after migration, have afforded them advantages in identifying and tapping into the opportunities, and circumventing ongoing structural challenges in China and Australia.

The research undertaken contributes to the knowledge on migrant entrepreneurship by shedding new empirical light on Chinese business migrants in Australia. Given the unique characteristics of business migrants, i.e. abundant financial capital and business experience, the study expands the scope of previous research by emphasising how this kind of ‘high-end’ migrant entrepreneurs perform differently from other vulnerable migrants in opportunity identification, business establishment and development, and socio-economic contributions. The thesis further specifies how the economic practices of business migrants can be heterogeneous by visa type and birth cohorts. Such intra-group heterogeneity has to do with the differences in migrants’ judgement of the opportunity structures and their capabilities and resources that enable them to take advantage of the opportunities identified.

The study has also addressed how business migrants respond to periodic and

irregular changes in the business migration program, simultaneously identify and tap into opportunities derived from economic contexts in Australia and China, and address challenges brought about by the China-Australia bilateral relationship. The fluctuating macroeconomic background can deepen the understanding of the mechanisms behind the contexts-individuals interface. This is particularly crucial as a theoretical base to predict the business behaviours of business migrants and to provide policy suggestions in the post-COVID pandemic period.

Methodologically, the thesis has showcased the applicability and fruitfulness of integrating the linked census-migration data and qualitative data to examine what dual embeddedness means for business migrants' entrepreneurial practices. The linked Australian census-migration data has not previously been applied in studying business migrants. Doing so has captured a comprehensive and reliable picture of demographic, social and economic characteristics of business migrants over time and space. Extensive fieldwork both in Adelaide and Melbourne further elucidates the mechanism behind quantitative results comparatively, and fills the gap provided in the census regarding the current situation.

8.2 Future research directions

Future researchers could further examine the topics relevant to subjective wellbeing and social integration of business migrants. The study has found that these indicators are highly and positively related to the business performance of business migrants. Some other important questions should be addressed such as: 1). Will the attractiveness of the business migration program decrease due to the tightening of policy requirements? 2). Will COVID-19 and the uncertain China-Australia bilateral relations limit the transnational entrepreneurial activities of business migrants? 3). To what extent can the revamp of the business migration program stimulate the contribution of business migrants? 4). Can future business migrants better adapt to Australian society? There is a need to discuss the second-generation migrants who have improved education and

language attributes. As the younger generation, most of them have experience of life in Australia. It will therefore also be meaningful to study their entrepreneurial and investment intentions as a second generation of business migrants. They have stronger country-specific skills and are more familiar with the Australian environment. Plus with the financial support from their parents, the second-generation may make greater economic contributions toward the Australian economy. Comparative studies can also be conducted in the future. Such studies could include Chinese business migrants versus other ethnic business migrants in Australia (e.g. Indian and Vietnamese), and Australian business migrants versus business migrants in other mainstream migration countries (e.g. Canada, United States, and New Zealand). Comparative studies of this nature would enhance the understanding of the position of the Australian business migration program in the world.

Extensive and in-depth research would depend on improvement in the quality of datasets. The ACMID 2021 will be released after 2022. The previous datasets ACMID 2011, ACMID 2016 can be linked as a time-series dataset with ACMID 2021. In addition to the census, the study advises that a longitudinal sampling survey for business migrants could be conducted every two or three years. These datasets would allow researchers to employ advanced statistical methodology to study the dynamics of business migrants in entrepreneurship, business activities, social integration and wellbeing. In addition, time-consuming ethnographic fieldwork should be employed in more cities as comparative case studies. Future researchers can also track some representative cases to get first-hand materials. Overall, combined with official statistics, the study argues that a comprehensive database specific to business migrants should be established to review, evaluate and facilitate the research and policy recommendations.

8.3 Final word

From a transnational and contextual-individual perspective, this study has explored the dynamic economic practices of Chinese business migrants in Australia. As an important actor of China-Australia economic nexus, an

investigation on the strategic action of business migrants in utilising multilevel resources to grow and develop, can provide some insights into sustaining the long-term economic linkage between China and Australia.

It is hoped that policy implications derived from this thesis can be translated into local and national policy reforms to maximise the economic potential of business migrants. It would also be ideal if business migrants can better position themselves within the Australian business community to enable more successful economic and social outcomes, which would also benefit both Australia and China. Finally, there potentially should be three wins: one for the business migrant, one for Australia, and one for China.

Appendix 1: Interview outline for business migrants

Personal background

1. Could you please introduce yourself? (Prompt: Education, Age, Religion, Assets, Language proficiency, Family etc.)

2. What factors have influenced your decision to migrate to Australia/Adelaide/Melbourne? Does it meet your expectations?
 - Economic factors: e.g. economic policies, business environment, living cost in Australia and in China?
 - Socio-cultural factors: e.g. family, friends, culture, language, lifestyle, children's education, social welfare policies?
 - Government/institutional factors: immigration policy, application for visas and the possibility of bringing family here?
 - Political factors: safety, freedom, Australian citizenship?
 - Environmental factors: climate, landscape, little pollution, lack of natural disasters?

3. In what year/month did you and your family been in Australia? What's your visa type? When did (will) you obtain the permanent residency?

Business before migration

4. Could you please talk about your personal entrepreneurship history in China? (Prompt: When and how do you establish your business from start? Milestone, Turning point etc.)

5. Could you please talk about your ongoing/previous business in China? (Prompt: Industry, Employees, Turnover, Scale etc.)

6. Does your Chinese business have any connections with Australia before migration?

Business after migration

7. Could you please talk about your business in Australia? (Prompt: Industry, Employees, Turnover, Investment, Scale etc.)
8. Does your Australian business have any connections with China? (Prompt: Business connection, Funding support, Import/Export business etc.)
9. How do you establish and develop your Australian business? What kind of opportunities and challenges have you met? Could you please specify them?
10. From your personal perspective, how does your business contribute to Australian economy in formal and informal ways? (Prompt: Entrepreneurship, Creating Employment, Investment etc.)
11. What's your long-term plan of your business? Do you plan to continue after permanent residency?

Social Networks

12. How many acquaintances have you known in Australia? Are they local, Chinese or other backgrounds? How do you get access to them?
13. What kind of support have you received from your families/friends/business partners both in China and Australia? (Prompt: Financial assistance, Employment, Information, Advices etc.)
14. What kind of support have you received from communities/migration agents/business associations/local companies both in China and Australia? (Prompt: Financial assistance, Employment, Information, Advices etc.)
15. What kind of support have you received from government both in China and Australia? (Prompt: Policy support, Tax reduction etc.)

Migration trajectory

16. How frequent are you back China each year? How long do you stay in China each year? Why?

17. Have you changed your usual residence after migration? In what level? (Inter-State, Major metropolis-other places of the State, Within metropolis) If it is, why do you change your usual residence? Have you adapted to your new place?

18. Do you have a plan to change your usual residence after permanent residency?

Appendix 2: Interview outline for community level

1. Could you please talk about the general situation of Chinese migrant entrepreneurs? What's the social and economic position of Chinese migrant entrepreneurs in South Australia?
2. What's the urgent challenges or problems of Chinese migrant entrepreneurs in South Australia?
3. Could you please talk about the policies that support the development of Chinese migrant entrepreneurs in South Australia?
4. How do Chinese migrant entrepreneurs contribute to Australian economy and engage in Australian society?
5. What's the general attitude of Australian society and government toward Chinese migrant entrepreneurs?
6. What's the role of Chinese business migrants in the linkage between South Australia and/or Australia and China?
7. What are the characteristics of your organisation? (Aims and objectives, Establishment process, Organizational structure, Main activities, etc.)
8. How does your organisation contribute to the engagement of Chinese migrant entrepreneurs in Australia?

Appendix 3: Interview outline for government

1. What research topics that the government may have an interest in the issue of business migration in Australia and/or South Australia? What are the urgent problems and/or challenges?
2. Could you please talk about the basis of policy-making? What are the potential changes of each stream in the coming years? What's the focal point of the work recently?
3. What's the general situation of business migrants in South Australia? Could you please share the relevant data? (Numbers of applicants, source countries and territories, geographic distribution, demography, investment, industry, tax contribution, employment, economic contribution etc.)
4. What's the general attitude of government toward business migrants via different streams? How do you perceive the economic contribution/advantage and disadvantage of each stream?
5. Could you please talk about the policies and organizations that relate to the settlement of business migrants after their arrival?
6. Regarding to investor scheme, what are major areas for absorbing investment? Why do you focus on these areas?
7. What are the responsibilities/obligations of the business migration office in South Australia? How do you help business migrants?
8. What's your ideal type of business migrants? What's the main criterion of approval of 188, 888, 132 visas applicants? Could you please elaborate the review mechanism?
9. After PR, how about their business situation and internal mobility? How do

government expect them to do after the PR?

10. How do you evaluate the performance of business migrants? What are main criteria?

11. What's the role of Chinese business migrants in the international trade between Australia/SA and China?

Appendix 4: WeChat recruiting participants for interview

Dear Madam/Sir,

My name is Chao Shi and I am a Ph.D. student working on the project 'Chinese business migrants from Mainland China to Australia'. I write to contact you as we are currently seeking participants for face-to-face interview of '**Chinese business migrants from Mainland China to Australia: An investigation of economic performance, social and human capital, and mobility**'. The interview is expected to take approx. 60 minutes. I would like to assure you that the study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the University of Adelaide's Human Research Ethics Committee and the information collected by the survey is strictly confidential.

You are invited to participate if you meet **all** the following criteria.

(1) You are:

- Chinese business migrants in Australia.

(2) Your **visa type** belongs to one of these categories:

- The State/Territory Sponsored Business Owner (Provisional) visa (subclass 163) or (Permanent) visa (subclass 892);
- Business Innovation (Provisional) stream (subclass 188A) or (Permanent) stream (subclass 888A)
- Investor (Provisional) stream (subclass 188B) or (Permanent) stream (subclass 888B).
- Significant Business History stream (subclass 132A).

(3) Your age is

- 18 years or above.

If you are interested in participating, please click on the '**Yes I consent to this survey**' button below to proceed to the online survey. Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

Chao Shi

Appendix 5: Email recruiting participants for in-depth interview

Dear (*insert name*),

My name is Chao Shi and I am a Ph.D. student working on the Project of 'Chinese business migrants from Mainland China to Australia'. I write to contact you because you are informants in Australian government agencies for Business Migration Program.

Our project aims to understand **how Chinese business migrants involve in Australian society and economy**. We believe your participation in the project will make a significant contribution to our understanding of how relevant governments develop and promote Australian business migration policy which is beneficial for Australia and business migrants, as well as whether business migrants have achieved the needs of Australian government. You are invited to participate in a face-to-face interview with Chao Shi, which will take about 1 hour to complete. The interview will be held in a public place which is the most convenient for you. I would like to assure you that the project has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the University of Adelaide Research Ethics Committee. For more details of the project, please find attached the Participant Information Sheet.

If you are interested in participating, please contact me at chao.shi@adelaide.edu.au and indicate *when* and *where* you are able to participate. I will then send you an email confirming the time and location.

Thanks very much!

Yours sincerely,

Chao Shi

Appendix 6: Consent form



Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC)

CONSENT FORM

1. I have read the attached Information Sheet and agree to take part in the following research project:

Title:	Chinese business migrants from Mainland China to Australia: An investigation of economic performance, social and human capital, and mobility
Ethics Approval	H-2019-091

2. I have had the project, so far as it affects me, fully explained to my satisfaction by the research worker. My consent is given freely.
3. I have been given the opportunity to have a member of my family or a friend present while the project was explained to me.
4. Although I understand the purpose of the research project it has also been explained that involvement may not be of any benefit to me.
5. I have been informed that, while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will not be divulged.
6. I understand that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time.
7. I am aware that I should keep a copy of this Consent Form, when completed, and the attached Information Sheet.
8. I would like to review a transcript of my interview and receive the key findings of the research.
- review a transcript of my interview receive key findings of the research
9. I agree to the research being audio recorded.

Participant to complete:

Name: _____ Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher/Witness to complete:

I have described the nature of the research to _____
(print name of participant)

and in my opinion she/he understood the explanation.

Signature: _____ Position: _____ Date: _____

Appendix 7: Participant information sheet – In-depth interview

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET



PROJECT TITLE: Chinese business migrants from Mainland China to Australia:
An investigation of economic performance, social and human capital, and mobility

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL NUMBER: H-2019-091

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: A/Prof Yan Tan

STUDENT RESEARCHER: Chao Shi

Dear Participant,

You are invited to participate in the research project described below.

What is the project about?

The aim of this research project is to investigate Chinese business migrants who are in the Business Innovation Stream and Business Owner Stream. It has four major objectives: (1) To grasp the characteristics of Chinese business migrants in Australia, including their economic performance, social and human capital, and internal migration pattern; (2) To investigate how Chinese business migrants evolve in Australian economy and society; (3) To explore the role of Chinese business migrants in China-Australia trade relationship; (4) To guide the Australian government to make favourable policy which can be beneficial for Australian government and Chinese business migrants.

Who is undertaking the project?

This project is being conducted by Chinese Ph.D. student Mr. Chao Shi. This research will form the basis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Adelaide in Australia, under the supervision of Associate Professor Yan Tan (Primary Supervisor) and Professor Chris Leishman (Co-supervisor).

Why am I being invited to participate?

You are invited to participate if you meet **all** the following criteria.

- Chinese business migrants who hold 163, 892, 188A or 888A visas in Australia;
- Aged 18 years or older.

Or

You are a government official who has specialised knowledge of business migration.

What will I be asked to do?

You will be invited to participate in a face-to-face interview in a public place which is the most convenient for you. Digital recording of the interview is needed to assist transcribing verbatim into text. The digital recording and the transcribed text are completely confidential. No one else other than the project researchers would have access to them. For the **Chinese business migrants**, you will be invited to provide information on: biographical sketches including your business performance, human capital, social capital and mobility, as well as the interaction mechanism of these factors; your experiences in creating economic and non-economic linkages between China and Australia; For **informants from government**, you will be invited to provide information on: your views about business migration policy; the recent evaluation of business migrants.

How much time will the project take?

The interview will take approximately 60 minutes.

Are there any risks associated with participating in this project?

We do not perceive any risk associated with the interview. You can choose to skip the questions that you feel inconvenient to provide information.

What are the benefits of the research project?

If you are a business migrant, you can get a deeper understanding of the business migration policy in Australia. You may also get to know the perspective of Australian government toward business migrants, which could contribute to your business potentially. Your opinions about business migration policy may also get access to policy makers and become the reference of policy making.

If you are a government official, you can know the overall picture of the Chinese business migrants and their attitudes toward business migration policy, which can be regarded as the reference of policy making in future.

Can I withdraw from the project?

Participation in this project is completely voluntary. If you agree to participate, you can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason and you will not be contacted again.

What will happen to my information?

Your responses will be used for research purposes only and will be strictly confidential. Only the researchers or a confidential typist will have access to information collected. No one else will know your name or details, or what you say in the interview. Findings of this study may be published but individual participants will be never identifiable.

Who do I contact if I have questions about the project?

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, you can contact the project researchers whose contact details are as follows:

Principal Supervisor: A/Prof. Yan Tan: yan.tan@adelaide.edu.au; +61 08-8303 3976

Co-Supervisor: Prof. Chris Leishman: a1222769@adelaide.edu.au; +61 08-8313-3216

The Co-Supervisor has changed on December 2020 to Dr. Dianne Rudd: dianne.rudd@adelaide.edu.au; +61 08-8313-4109

Researcher: Mr. Chao Shi: chao.shi@adelaide.edu.au; +61 466370976

Can I review a transcript of my interview or receive the research findings? You are able to review a transcript of your interview and receive the key findings of the research by indicating this in the consent form or contacting the research team.

What if I have a complaint or any concerns?

The study has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of Adelaide (approval number H-2019-091). If you have questions or problems associated with the practical aspects of your participation in the project, or

wish to raise a concern or complaint about the project, then you should consult the researcher. If you wish to speak with an independent person regarding a concern or complaint, the University's policy on research involving human participants, or your rights as a participant, please contact the Human Research Ethics Committee's Secretariat on:

Phone: +61 8 8313 6028

Email: hrec@adelaide.edu.au

Post: Level 4, Rundle Mall Plaza, 50 Rundle Mall, ADELAIDE SA 5000

Any complaint or concern will be treated in confidence and fully investigated. You will be informed of the outcome.

If I want to participate, what do I do?

To indicate that you have read and understand this information sheet, please fill and sign the Consent Form to proceed to interview.

Yours sincerely,

Chao Shi

References

- Adler, P., & Kwon, S. (2002). Social capital: Prospects for a new concept. *Academy of Management Review*, 27(1): 17-40.
- Ahmad, N., & Hoffmann, A. (2008). *A framework for addressing and measuring entrepreneurship*. <http://ina.bnu.edu.cn/docs/20140605094510548315.pdf>
- Anderson, A., Li, J., Harrison, R., & Robson, P. (2003). The increasing role of small business in the Chinese economy. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 41(3): 310-316.
- AusTrade. (2019). *Exporting Food and Beverage To China: A Guide for Australian Business*. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). (2014). *Australian and New Zealand Standard Industrial Classification (ANZSIC), 2006*. <https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/0/20C5B5A4F46DF95BCA25711F00146D75?opendocument>
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). (2016a). *Table builder of Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset, 2016*. <https://tablebuilder.abs.gov.au/webapi/jsf/tableView.xhtml>
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). (2016b). *Microdata: Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset, 2016, Explanatory Notes*. <https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/microdata-tablebuilder/available-microdata-tablebuilder/australian-census-and-migrants-integrated-dataset#explanatory-notes>
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). (2016c). *2016 Census QuickStats*. https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/036
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). (2018). *Labour Statistics: Concepts, Sources and Methods, 2018*. <https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/by%20Subject/6102.0.55.001~Feb%202018~Main%20Features~Not%20in%20the%20Labour%20Force~8>
- Australian Government. (2014). *Unprecedented access to Australia's largest export market offers new opportunities for SMEs*. <https://www.exportfinance.gov.au/resources-news/news-events/latest-news/2014/november/australia-china-free-trade-agreement/>
- Bagwell, S. (2015). Transnational entrepreneurship amongst Vietnamese Businesses in London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41(2): 329-349.
- Bagwell, S. (2018). From mixed embeddedness to transnational mixed embeddedness: An exploration of Vietnamese businesses in London. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*, 24(1): 104-120.
- Bailetti, E. (2018). Transnational entrepreneurship: Distinctive features and a new definition. *Technology Innovation Management Review*, 8(9): 28-38.
- Bain Company. (2009). *China Private Wealth Report 2009*. <https://www.bain.cn/pdfs/20090726033314199122.pdf>
- Bain Company. (2019). *China Private Wealth Report 2019*. <https://www.bain.cn/pdfs/201906060118008610.pdf>
- Barberis, E., & Solano, G. (2018). Mixed embeddedness and migrant entrepreneurship: hints on past and future directions. An Introduction. *Sociologica*, 12(2): 1-22.

- Barton, D. (2013). The rise of the middle class in China and its impact on the Chinese and world economies. In China-United States Exchange Foundation (ed). *US-China Economic Relations in the Next Ten Years: Towards Deeper Engagement and Mutual Benefit*, (pp. 138-148).
- Basch, L., Glick Schiller, N., & Blanc, C. (1994). *Nations unbound: Transnational projects, post-colonial predicaments and deterritorialized nation-states*. New York: Gordon and Breach.
- Basu, A. (1998). An exploration of entrepreneurial activity among Asian small businesses in Britain. *Small Business Economics*, 10(4): 313-326.
- Bates, T. (1994). Social resources generated by group support networks may not be beneficial to Asian immigrant-owned small businesses. *Social Forces*, 72(3): 671-689.
- Beckers, P., & Blumberg, B. (2013). Immigrant entrepreneurship on the move: a longitudinal analysis of first- and second-generation immigrant entrepreneurship in the Netherlands. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 25(7-8): 654-691.
- Boden, G. (2012). China's Accession to the WTO: Economic Benefits. *The Park Place Economist*, 20(1): 13-17.
- Bourdieu, P. (1985). The forms of capital. In J.G. Richardson (ed), *Handbook for Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2012). Thematic analysis. In H. Cooper, P. M. Camic, D. L. Long, A. T. Panter, D. Rindskopf, & K. J. Sher (eds), *APA handbook of research methods in psychology, Vol. 2. Research designs: Quantitative, qualitative, neuropsychological, and biological* (pp. 57-71). Washington D.C.: American Psychological Association.
- Brzozowski, J., Cucculelli, M., & Surdej, A. (2014). Transnational ties and performance of immigrant entrepreneurs: the role of home-country conditions. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 26(7-8): 546-573.
- Buckle, M. (2018). *Black cat, white cat...*
<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201808/02/WS5b728ae4a310add14f385b4a.html>
- Business Victoria. (2019). *Small business in Victoria by the numbers*.
<https://hub.business.vic.gov.au/business/small-business-in-victoria-by-the-numbers/>
- Carbonell, J., Hernandez, J., & García, F. (2014). Business creation by immigrant entrepreneurs in the valencian community. The influence of education. *International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal*, 10(2): 409-426.
- Chang, M., & Darlington, Y. (2008). 'Astronaut' Wives: Perceptions of changes in family roles. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 17(1): 61-77.
- Chávez, M. L., Wampler, B., & Burkhart, R. E. (2006). Left out: Trust and social capital among migrant seasonal farmworkers. *Social Science Quarterly*, 87(5): 1012-1029.
- Chen, G., & Lv, P. (2019). *Chinese Private Enterprise Survey (1993-2016): From High Speed Growth to High Quality Development*. Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press.
- Chen, W., & Tan, J. (2009). Understanding transnational entrepreneurship through a network lens: Theoretical and methodological considerations. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 33(5): 1079-1091.

- Cheong, P., Edwards, R., Goulbourne, H., & Solomos, J. (2007). Immigration, social cohesion and social capital: A critical review. *Critical Social Policy*, 27(1): 24-49.
- Chiang, L. (2004). Middle-class Taiwanese immigrant women adapt to life in Australasia: Case studies from transnational households. *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, 10(4): 31-57.
- Chiang, L. (2008). Astronaut families: transnational lives of middle-class Taiwanese married women in Canada. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 9(5): 505-518.
- Coleman, J. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, Supplement: 95-120.
- Colic-Peisker, V., & Deng, L. (2019). Chinese business migrants in Australia: Middle-class transnationalism and 'dual embeddedness'. *Journal of Sociology*, 55(2): 234-251.
- Collins, J. (2002). Chinese entrepreneurs: The Chinese diaspora in Australia. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research*, 8(1):133-133.
- Collins, J. (2008). Immigrant entrepreneurs in Australia: Regulations and responses. In Oliveira, Catarina Reis and Jan Rath (eds.), *Migrações Journal - Special Issue on Immigrant Entrepreneurship*, October 2008, n. 3, Lisbon: ACIDI: 49-59.
- Creswell, J. (2013). *Research Design: Qualitative Approach, Quantitative and Mixed*. Yogyakarta: Student Library.
- Cunningham, J. B., & Lischeron, J. (1991). Defining Entrepreneurship. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 29(1): 45-61.
- Dai, J. (2001). The present research on China's private entrepreneurs. *Sociology Research*, (5): 65-76.
- Davidsson, P., & Honig, B. (2003). The role of social and human capital among nascent entrepreneurs. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 18(3): 301-331.
- Deakins, D., Ishaq, M., Smallbone, D., Whittam, G., & Wyper, J. (2007). Ethnic minority businesses in Scotland and the role of social capital. *International Small Business Journal*, 25(3): 307-326.
- Deng, L. (2012). The aspirations of Chinese business migrants in Australia: Barriers, opportunities and implications for government policy development. *Migration Australia*, 2: 52-57.
- Deloitte Private. (2019). *Impact of the Significant Investor visa program*.
https://content.deloitte.com.au/LP=1615?_ga=2.30058431.1043487293.1635132210-1096420249.1635132210
- Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT). (2021). *Trade and Investment at a glance 2021*.
<https://www.dfat.gov.au/sites/default/files/trade-and-investment-glance-2021.pdf>
- Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (DIEA). (1980). *Review of Activities to 30 June 1980*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.
- Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC). (2007). *Annual Report 2006-07*. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.
- Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC). (2010). *Business Skills Entry*. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.
- Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC). (2012). *Annual Report 2011-12*. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.

- Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs (DILGEA). (1991a). *Program Performance Statements 1991-1992: Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs Portfolio*. Canberra: Budget Related Paper 8.9.
- Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs (DILGEA). (1991b). *Trends in the BMP Monitoring Survey as at 30 June 1991*. Canberra: Business Skills Section.
- Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA). (2000). *Administration of Business Entry Program*. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.
- Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA). (2002). *2001-02 Annual Report*. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.
- Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA). (2003). *2002-03 Annual Report*. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.
- Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA). (2004). *2003-04 Annual Report*. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.
- Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP). (2014). *Australia's Migration Trends 2012-13*. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.
- Department of Home Affairs (DHA). (2017a). *Australian Migration Statistics 2016-2017*. <https://data.gov.au/data/dataset/australian-migration-statistics/resource/9e5ffab9-81dd-4e34-81b4-71a920da4d98>
- Department of Home Affairs (DHA). (2017b). *Freedom of Information Request _ FA 17/07/00368*, 23 August, 2017.
- Department of Home Affairs (DHA). (2018). *Australian Migration Statistics 2017-2018*. <https://data.gov.au/data/dataset/australian-migration-statistics/resource/530596b1-4137-4fed-8cf8-498b45a7b1ba>
- Department of Home Affairs (DHA). (2019). *Australian Migration Statistics 2018-2019*. <https://data.gov.au/data/dataset/australian-migration-statistics/resource/afb44d6-080b-48d1-bffb-093887ce9a65>
- Department of Home Affairs (DHA). (2020). *Migration Program planning levels 2021-22*. <https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/what-we-do/migration-program-planning-levels>
- Department of Home Affairs (DHA). (2021a). *Freedom of Information Request _ FA 21/08/00008*, 24 August, 2021.
- Department of Home Affairs (DHA). (2021b). *Streamlining the Business Innovation and Investment Program (BIIP)*. <https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/reports-and-pubs/files/streamling-biip-and-cif-summary-landscape.pdf>
- Department of Home Affairs (DHA). (n.d.). *Significant Investor visa statistics*. <https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/research-and-statistics/statistics/visa-statistics/work/significant-investor-visa>
- Drori, I., Honig, B., & Wright, M. (2009). Transnational entrepreneurship: An emergent field of study. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 33(5): 1001-1022.
- Eesley, C. (2009). *Entrepreneurship and China: history of policy reforms and institutional development*. Stanford Technology Ventures Program Working Paper, Stanford, CA. <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.371.8981&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

- Elo, M., Sandberg, S., Servais, P., Basco, R., Cruz, A., Riddle, L., & Täube, F. (2018). Advancing the views on migrant and diaspora entrepreneurs in international entrepreneurship. *Journal of International Entrepreneurship*, 16(2): 119-133.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Policy Press.
- Estrada-Robles, M., Williams, N., & Vorley, T. (2018). Navigating institutional challenges in Mexico. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research*, 26(1): 98-121.
- Fan, X. & Lv, P. (2019). The Social Composition of China's Private Entrepreneurs: Class and Cohort Differences. *Social Sciences in China*, 40(1): 42-62.
- Ferlander, S. (2007). The importance of different forms of social capital for health. *Acta Sociologica*, 50(2): 115-128.
- Fitzsimmons, C. (2021). 15,000 rich foreigners given visas to Australia during the pandemic. <https://www.smh.com.au/national/15-000-rich-foreigners-given-visas-to-australia-during-the-pandemic-20210721-p58bky.html>
- Gao, J. (2013). Entrepreneurship and community sustainability: The Chinese migrant experience in Australia. *ACRN Journal of Entrepreneurship Perspectives*, 2(2): 1-20.
- Gao, J. (2015). *Chinese migrant entrepreneurship in Australia from the 1990s: Case studies of success in Sino-Australian relations*. Waltham and Kidlington: Chandos Publishing.
- Global Victoria.(n.d.).*Food and fibre*. <https://global.vic.gov.au/victorias-capabilities/industry-sectors/food-and-fibre/overview>
- Gothe-Snape, J. (2019). *Rich migrants pay \$5 million to move to Australia. But how fair is that deal?* <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-08-30/significant-investor-visa-review/11450694>
- Government of South Australia. (2016). *Wine*. https://www.pir.sa.gov.au/food_and_wine/wine
- Granovetter, M. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(6): 1360-1380.
- Granovetter, M. (1985). Economic action and social structure: The problem of embeddedness. *American Journal of Sociology*, 91(3): 481-510.
- Greene, J., Caracelli, V., & Graham, W. (1989). Toward a conceptual framework for mixed-method evaluation designs. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 11(3): 255-274.
- Guarnizo, L. (1997). The emergence of a transnational social formation and the mirage of return migration among Dominican transmigrants. *Identities Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 4(2): 281-322.
- Guo, F. & Huang, Y. (2010). Does “hot money” drive China's real estate and stock markets? *International Review of Economics & Finance*, 19(3): 452-466.
- Giella, C. (1992). Visas for sale: A comparison of the U.S. investor provision with the Australian business migration program. *Northwestern Journal of International Law and Business*, 13(1):209-238.
- Harima, A., & Baron, T. (2020). Is this transnational entrepreneurship? five cases in which it is hard to say ‘yes’ or ‘no.’ *Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation in Emerging Economies*, 6(1): 12–40.
- He, C., Lu, J., & Qian, H. (2019). Entrepreneurship in China. *Small Business Economics*, 52(3): 563-572.

- Honig, B. (2020). Exploring the intersection of transnational, ethnic, and migration entrepreneurship. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46(10): 1974-1990.
- Jick, T. (1979). Mixing qualitative and quantitative methods: Triangulation in action. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 24(4): 602-611.
- Johnson, R., & Onwuegbuzie, A. (2004). Mixed methods research: A research paradigm whose time has come. *Educational Researcher*, 33(7): 14-26.
- Johnson, R., Onwuegbuzie, A., & Turner, L. (2007). Toward a definition of mixed methods research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1(2): 112-133.
- Joint Committee on Public Accounts. (1991). *Business Migration Program — Report 310*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.
- Joint Standing Committee on Migration. (2015). *Report of the Inquiry into the Business Innovation and Investment Programme*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.
- Jones, T., Ram, M., Edwards, P., Kiselincev, A., & Muchenje, L. (2014). Mixed embeddedness and new migrant enterprise in the UK. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 26(5-6): 500-520.
- Kloosterman, R., Van der Leun, J., & Rath, J. (1998). Across the border: Immigrants' economic opportunities, social capital and informal business activities. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 24(2): 249-268.
- Kloosterman, R., Van der Leun, J. & Rath, J. (1999). Mixed embeddedness: (In)formal economic activities and immigrant businesses in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research*, 23(2): 252-266.
- Kloosterman, R. (2000). Immigrant entrepreneurship and the institutional context: a theoretical exploration. In Jan Rath (ed.). *Immigrant Businesses* (pp. 90-106). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kloosterman, R., & Rath, J. (2001). Immigrant entrepreneurs in advanced economies: Mixed embeddedness further explored. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27(2): 189-201.
- Kloosterman, R. (2003). Creating opportunities. policies aimed at increasing openings for immigrant entrepreneurs in the Netherlands. *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development*, 15(2): 167-181.
- Kloosterman, R. (2010). Matching opportunities with resources: a framework for analyzing (migrant) entrepreneurship from a mixed embeddedness perspective. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 22(1): 25-45.
- Kloosterman, R., Rusinovic, K., & Yeboah, D. (2016). Super-diverse migrants—similar trajectories? Ghanaian entrepreneurship in the Netherlands seen from a mixed embeddedness perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(6): 913-932.
- Kloosterman, R., & Rath, J. (2018). Mixed embeddedness revisited: A conclusion to the symposium. *Sociologica*, 12(2): 103-114.
- Katila, S. & Wahlbeck, O. (2011). The role of (transnational) social capital in the start-up processes of immigrant businesses: The case of Chinese and Turkish restaurant business in Finland. *International Small Business Journal*, 30(3): 294-309.
- Kariv, D., Menzies, T., Brenner, G., & Filion, L. (2009). Transnational networking and business performance: Ethnic entrepreneurs in Canada. *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development*, 21(3): 239-264.

- Kelly, P., & Lusia, T. (2006). Migration and the transnational habitus: evidence from Canada and the Philippines. *Environment and Planning*, 38: 831-847.
- Lancee, B. (2010). The economic returns of immigrants' bonding and bridging social capital: The case of the Netherlands. *International Migration Review*, 44(1): 202-226.
- Lancee, B. (2012). The economic returns of bonding and bridging social capital for immigrant men in Germany. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35(4): 664-683.
- Landolt, P., Autler, L., & Baires, S. (1999). From Hermano Lejano to Hermano Mayor: the dialectics of Salvadoran transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2): 290-315.
- Ley, D. (2003). Seeking homo economicus: the Canadian state and the strange story of the business immigration program. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 93(2): 426-441.
- Ley, D., & Kobayashi, A. (2005). Back to Hong Kong: return migration or transnational sojourn? *Global Networks*, 5(2): 111-127.
- Ley, D. (2006). Explaining variations in business performance among immigrant entrepreneurs in Canada. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32(5): 743-764.
- Li, H. (2013). History and development of entrepreneurship in China. In T. Zhang & R. R. Stough (ed.). *Entrepreneurship and economic growth in China* (pp. 13-33). Singapore: World Scientific.
- Li, L. & Zhu, B. (2014). China's economic reforms and the evolution of the competitive landscape of private entrepreneurs. *Social Development Research*, 000(001): 32-52.
- Li, P. (1993). Chinese investment and business in Canada: Ethnic entrepreneurship reconsidered. *Pacific Affairs*, 66(2): 219-243.
- Li, P. (2005). The rise and fall of Chinese immigration to Canada: Newcomers from Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of China and mainland China 1980-2000. *International Migration*, 43(3): 9-34.
- Light, I. & Gold, S. (2000). *Ethnic economies*. San Diego: Academic press.
- Lin, J. Y. (1995). Can China's "Mini-Bang" succeed? *Contemporary Economic Policy*, 13(1): 10-14.
- Lin, J. Y. (2008). *The topic of China's economy*. Beijing: Peking University Press.
- Lin, J. Y. (2018). *Demystifying the Chinese Economy*. Beijing: Peking University Press.
- Lin, N. (2001). *Social capital: A theory of social structure and action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lin, N., Cook, K. S., & Burt, R. S. (2001). Social capital: theory and research. *Contemporary Sociology*, 31(1).
- Liu, Y. (2002). *Development of private entrepreneurship in China: Process, problems and countermeasures*. http://www.mansfieldfdn.org/programs/program_pdfs/ent_china.Pdf
- Live in Melbourne. (n.d.). *Business and investor visas*. <https://liveinmelbourne.vic.gov.au/migrate/business-investor-visas>
- Long, J. S., & Freese, J. (2014). *Regression models for categorical dependent variables using Stata*. Texas: Stata press.

- Lv, P. (2013). "Arji's mystery" in neoclassical sociology: the social origin of China's first generation of richest private entrepreneurs. *Xuehai*, 2013 (3): 46-61.
- Lyons, M. (2019). *Half of China's middle class population drinks imported wine*.
https://harpers.co.uk/news/fullstory.php/aid/25670/Half_of_China_s_middle_class_population_drinks_imported_wine_.html
- Mack, N., Woodson C., Macqueen, K.M., Guest, G., & Nameym E. (2005). *Qualitative research methods: A data collector's field guide*. USA: Family Health International.
- Malik, R. (1997). *Chinese entrepreneurs in the economic development of China*. Westport, CT: Praegar.
- Marger, M. (2001). The use of social and human capital among Canadian business immigrants. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27(3): 439-453.
- Marger, M. (2006). Transnationalism or assimilation? Patterns of sociopolitical adaptation among Canadian business immigrants. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29(5): 882-900.
- McEwan, C., Pollard, J. & Henry, N. (2005). The 'global' in the city economy: multicultural economic development in Birmingham. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29 (4): 916-933.
- Miao, L. & Wang, H. (2017). *International migration of China*. Singapore: Springer Nature.
- Miera, F. (2008). Transnational strategies of Polish migrant entrepreneurs in trade and small business in Berlin. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34(5): 753-770.
- Migration Institute of Australia (MIA). (2020). *Submission for Business Innovation and Investment Program: Getting a better deal for Australia*.<https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/reports-and-pubs/files/business-investment-innovation-program/migration-institute-of-australia-submission.pdf>
- Min, P. (1992). The structure and social functions of Korean immigrant churches in the United States. *International Migration Review*, 26: 1370-1394.
- Ministry of Commerce of China. (2020). *Announcement No.59 on the preliminary ruling of the anti-dumping investigation on imported wine originating in Australia*. <http://www.mofcom.gov.cn/article/b/c/202011/20201103018689.shtml>
- Ministry of Commerce of China. (2021). *Announcement No.6 on the final ruling of the anti-dumping investigation on imported wine originating in Australia*. <http://www.mofcom.gov.cn/article/zcfb/zcblgg/202103/20210303047613.shtml>
- Mohammed Ishaq, D., Smallbone, D., Whittam, G., & Wyper J. (2007). Ethnic minority businesses in Scotland and the role of social capital. *International Small Business Journal*, 25(3): 307-326.
- Move to South Australia. (n.d.). *Business Talent (Permanent) visa (subclass 132)*.
<https://www.migration.sa.gov.au/visa-options/business-and-investment-visas/business-talent-permanent-visa>
- MSJ Keys Young Planner (MSJ). (1990). *Expectations and experiences. A Survey of business migrants*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.
- Müller, A., & Wehrhahn, R. (2013). Transnational business networks of African intermediaries in China: Practices of networking and the role of experiential knowledge. *DIE ERDE-Journal of the Geographical Society of Berlin*, 144(1): 82-97.

- Nannestad, P., Lind Haase Svendsen, G., & Tinggaard Svendsen, G. (2008). Bridge over troubled water? Migration and social capital. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34(4): 607-631.
- National Bureau of Statistics of China (NBSC). (2010). *National Statistical Bulletin in 2010*. http://www.stats.gov.cn/statsinfo/auto2074/201310/t20131031_450703.html
- Nazareno, J., Zhou, M., & You, T. (2019). Global dynamics of immigrant entrepreneurship: Changing trends, ethnonational variations, and reconceptualizations. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research*, 25(5): 780–800.
- Nee, V., & Sanders, J. (2001). Understanding the diversity of immigrant incorporation: a forms-of-capital model. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24(3): 386-411.
- New World Wealth. (2020). *Global wealth migration review-Full report*. https://e.issuu.com/embed.html?u=newworldwealth&d=gwmr_2020
- North, D. (1991). Institutions. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 5(1): 97-112.
- Nowicka, M. (2013). Positioning strategies of Polish entrepreneurs in Germany: Transnationalizing Bourdieu's notion of capital. *International Sociology*, 28(1): 29-47.
- New South Wales Government. (n.d.). *Business Talent (Permanent) visa (subclass 132)-Significant Business History stream*. <https://www.nsw.gov.au/topics/visas-and-migration/business-and-investor/subclass-132>
- OECD.(2021). *Labour force (indicator)*. <https://data.oecd.org/emp/labour-force.htm>
- Parliament of Victoria. (1998). *Inquiry into the economic impact of Business Migration in Victoria*. Victoria: Government Printer for the State of Victoria.
- Paerregaard, K. (2018). Capitalizing on migration: The role of strong and weak ties among Peruvian entrepreneurs in the United States, Spain and Chile. *Migration Studies*, 6(1): 79-98.
- Pécoud, A. (2004). Entrepreneurship and identity: cosmopolitanism and cultural competencies among German-Turkish businesspeople in Berlin. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30(1): 3-20.
- Pe-Pua, R., Mitchell, C., Iredale, R., & Castles, S. (1996). *Astronaut families and parachute children: the cycle of migration between Hong Kong and Australia*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.
- Putnam, R. (1993) *Making democracy work: civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Portes, A., Guarnizo, L., & Haller, W. (2002). Transnational entrepreneurs: An alternative form of immigrant economic adaptation. *American Sociological Review*, 67(2): 278-298.
- Portes, A., Guarnizo, L., & Landolt, P. (1999). The study of transnationalism: Pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2): 217-237.
- Portes, A., & Sensenbrenner, J. (1993). Embeddedness and immigration: Notes on the social determinants of economic action. *American Journal of Sociology*, 98(6): 1320-1350.
- Portes, A., & Martinez, B. (2020). They are not all the same: Immigrant enterprises, transnationalism, and development. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46(10): 1991-2007.
- Portes A., & Zhou, M. (1992). Gaining the upper hand: Economic mobility among immigrant and domestic minorities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 15(4): 491-522.

- Portes, A., & Yiu, J. (2013). Entrepreneurship, transnationalism, and development. *Migration Studies*, 1(1): 75-95.
- Qian, Y. (2000). The process of China's market transition (1978-98): The evolutionary, historical, and comparative perspectives. *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics*, 156(1): 151-171.
- Ram, M., Theodorakopoulos, N., & Jones, T. (2008). Forms of capital, mixed embeddedness and Somali enterprise. *Work, Employment and Society*, 22(3): 427-446.
- Ram, M., Jones, T., & Villares-Varela, M. (2017). Migrant entrepreneurship: Reflections on research and practice. *International Small Business Journal*, 35(1): 3-18.
- Rath, J., & Kloosterman, R. (2000). Outsiders' business: a critical review of research on immigrant entrepreneurship. *International Migration Review*, 34(3): 657-681.
- Ren, N., & Liu, H. (2015). Traversing between transnationalism and integration: Dual embeddedness of new Chinese immigrant entrepreneurs in Singapore. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 24(3): 298-326.
- Ryan, L., Sales, R., Tilki, M., & Siara, B. (2008). Social networks, social support and social capital: The experiences of recent Polish migrants in London. *Sociology*, 42(4): 672-690.
- SA Business Information Hub. (n.d.). *Helping local businesses to start, run and grow*.
<https://innovationandskills.sa.gov.au/small-business/small-business/sa-business-information-hub>
- Sahin, M., Nijkamp, P., & Baycan-Levent, T. (2007). Migrant entrepreneurship from the perspective of cultural diversity. In L.P. Dana (ed.), *Handbook of research on ethnic minority entrepreneurship* (pp. 99-113). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Sanders, J., & Nee, V. (1996). Immigrant self-employment: the family as social capital and the value of human capital. *American Sociological Review*, 61(2): 231-249.
- Sandoz, L., Mittmasser, C., Riaño, Y., & Piguet, E. (2021). A Review of Transnational Migrant Entrepreneurship: Perspectives on Unequal Spatialities. *ZFW- Advances in Economic Geography*: forthcoming.
- Scott, A.J. 2005. *On Hollywood; the place, the industry*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Sequeira, J., & Rasheed, A. (2006). Start-up and growth of immigrant small businesses: The impact of social and human capital. *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, 11(04): 357-375.
- SGS. (2019). *Melbourne functional economic region report*.
<https://www.infrastructurevictoria.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/SGS-Melbourne-Functional-Economic-Region-Report-March-2019.pdf>
- Shneikat, B., & Alrawadieh, Z. (2019). Unraveling refugee entrepreneurship and its role in integration: empirical evidence from the hospitality industry. *The Service Industries Journal*, 39(9-10): 741-761.
- Solano, G. (2015). Transnational vs. domestic immigrant entrepreneurs: a comparative literature analysis of the use of personal skills and social networks. *American Journal of Entrepreneurship*, 8 (2): 1-21.
- Solano, G. (2016a). Multifocal entrepreneurial practices: the case of Moroccan import/export businesses in Milan. *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business*, 29(2): 176-198.

- Solano, G. (2016b). Immigrant self-employment and transnational practices: the case of Moroccan entrepreneurs in Amsterdam and Milan (Doctoral dissertation, Universiteit van Amsterdam [Host]).
- Solano, G. (2020). The mixed embeddedness of transnational migrant entrepreneurs: Moroccans in Amsterdam and Milan. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46(10): 2067-2085.
- Sreenivasan, H. (2019). *China is producing billionaires faster than any other nation*.
<https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/china-is-producing-billionaires-faster-than-any-other-nation>
- Tan, Y., Liu, X., Rosser, A., Yeoh, B., & Guo, F. (2018). Transnationalism, diaspora, and development: A purposive review of the literature. *Geography Compass*, 12(12): 1-20.
- Tan, Y., Liu, X., & Rosser, A. (2021). Transnational linkages, power relations and the migration-development nexus: China and its diaspora. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 62(3): 355-371.
- Tedeschi, M., Vorobeva, E., & Jauhiainen, J. S. (2020). Transnationalism: current debates and new perspectives. *GeoJournal*, 1-17.
- Terjesen, S., & Elam, A. (2009). Transnational entrepreneurs 'venture internationalization strategies: a practice theory approach. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 33(5): 1093-1120.
- Tobin, A. (2016). *New high income threshold and fair work information statement update*.
<https://www.hopgoodganim.com.au/page/knowledge-centre/legislation-update/new-high-income-threshold-and-fair-work-information-statement-update>
- The Hon Alex Hawke MP. (2021). *Getting a better deal for Australia from visa investments*.
<https://minister.homeaffairs.gov.au/AlexHawke/Pages/getting-a-better-deal-for-australia-from-visa-investments-19-05-2021.aspx>
- Tolciu, A. (2011). Migrant entrepreneurs and social capital: a revised perspective. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research*, 17(4): 409-427.
- Tseng, Y. (1997). Immigration consulting firms in Taiwanese business immigration. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 6(3-4): 275-294.
- Tseng, Y. (2000). The mobility of entrepreneurs and capital: Taiwanese capital-linked migration. *International Migration*, 38(2): 143-168.
- TST Partners group (TST). (n.d.). *Important changes of Business Innovation and Investors Program*.
<https://tstpartners.com.au/en/news/important-changes-of-business-innovation-and-investors-program>
- Urbano, D., Toledano, N., & Ribeiro-Soriano, D. (2011). Socio-cultural factors and transnational Entrepreneurship: A multiple case study in Spain. *International Small Business Journal*, 29(2): 119-134.
- Valdez, Z. (2008). The effect of social capital on White, Korean, Mexican and Black business owners' earnings in the US. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34(6): 955-973.
- Veciana, J., & Urbano, D. (2008). The institutional approach to entrepreneurship research: Introduction. *International Entrepreneurial Management Journal*, (4): 365-379.
- Vertovec, S. (2004). Migrant transnationalism and modes of transformation. *International migration review*, 38(3): 970-1001.
- Victoria State Government. (2017). *2017-2021 Victorian Wine Industry Development Strategy*. Melbourne: Department of Economic Development, Jobs, Transport and Resources.

- Wahlbeck, Ö. (2007). Work in the kebab economy: A study of the ethnic economy of Turkish immigrants in Finland. *Ethnicities*, 7(4): 543-563.
- Wahlbeck, Ö. (2018). Combining mixed embeddedness and transnationalism: The utilization of social resources among Turkish migrant entrepreneurs. *Sociologica*, 12(2): 73-86.
- Waldinger, R., Aldrich, H., Ward, R., & Associates. (1990). *Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Waters, J. (2002). Flexible families? Astronaut households and the experiences of lone others in Vancouver, British Columbia. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 3(2): 117-134.
- Williams, N., & Krasniqi, B. (2017). Coming out of conflict: how migrant entrepreneurs utilise human and social capital. *Journal of International Entrepreneurship* (1): 1-23.
- Wine Australia. (2020). *Australian Wine Sector 2019 at a glance*. <https://www.wineaustralia.com/market-insights/australian-wine-sector-at-a-glance>
- Wine Australia. (2021). *Export report*. https://wineaustralia.com/getmedia/0d06c58a-0bd8-4ce4-9c97-1f0a1a535e37/Export-Report_MAT-June-2021.pdf
- Wine Australia. (n.d.). *South Australia-Historic heart of Australian wine*. <https://www.wineaustralia.com/discover-australian-wine/south-australia-wines>
- Wong, C. (2011). The Fiscal Stimulus Programme and Public Governance Issues in China. *OECD Journal on Budgeting*, 11(3): 1-22.
- Wong, L. (1993). Immigration as capital accumulation: the impact of business immigration to Canada. *International Migration*, 31(1): 171-190.
- Wong, L. (1995). Chinese capitalist migration to Canada: a sociological interpretation and its effect on Canada. *Asian & Pacific Migration Journal*, 4(4): 465-92.
- Wong, L. (2003). Chinese business migration to Australia, Canada and the United States: state policy and the global immigration marketplace. *Asian & Pacific Migration Journal*, 12(3): 301-336.
- Wong, L., & Ng, M. (1998). Chinese immigrant entrepreneurs in Vancouver: A case study of ethnic business development. *Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal*, 30(1): 64-87
- Wong, L., & Ng, M. (2002). The emergence of small transnational enterprise in Vancouver: the case of Chinese entrepreneur immigrants. *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research*, 26(3): 508-530.
- Wu, X. (2008). *Turbulent 30 years: Chinese Enterprises from 1978-2008*. Beijing: CITIC Press.
- Wu, X. (2018). *Turbulent 10 years: Chinese Enterprises from 2008-2018*. Beijing: CITIC Press.
- Yeung, H. (2002). Entrepreneurship in international business: An institutional perspective. *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, 19(1): 29-61.
- Yoon, I. (1991). The changing significance of ethnic and class resources in immigrant businesses: The case of Korean immigrant businesses in Chicago. *International Migration Review*, 25(2): 303-332.
- You, T., & Zhou, M. (2019). Simultaneous embeddedness in immigrant entrepreneurship: Global forces behind Chinese-owned nail salons in New York city. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 63(2): 166-185.

- Young, S. (1995). *Private business and economic reform in China*. New York: M.E. Sharpe.
- Zapata-Barrero, R., & Rezaei, S. (2020). Diaspora governance and transnational entrepreneurship: the rise of an emerging social global pattern in migration studies. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46(10): 1959-1973.
- Zeng, J. & Ott, J. (2017). *China private wealth machine*. <https://www.bain.com/insights/chinas-private-wealth-machine/>
- Zhou, M. (1992). *Chinatown: The socioeconomic potential of an urban enclave*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Zolin, R., Chang, A., Yang, X., & Ho, E. Y. (2011). Impact of embeddedness in ethnic networks on business growth: evidence from Chinese immigrant entrepreneurs in Australia. In *Proceedings of: 31st Babson College Entrepreneurship Research Conference (BCERC)*, Syracuse, New York.