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Entrepreneurship: An attractive career path for immigrant vocational students in the Netherlands? The role of negative and positive stimulating factors

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ABSTRACT

Immigrant entrepreneurship is widely studied, yet little is known about factors that contribute to entrepreneurial intention among young second-generation immigrants. This study analyzes which factors predict emergent adults' entrepreneurial intention to start a business using a sample of 260 second-generation Moroccan- and Turkish-Dutch immigrant students in the Netherlands. Experienced discrimination was included as a negative factor and three attitudinal antecedents specified in Ajzen's (1991) Theory of Planned Behavior, viz., attitudes towards behavior, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control, as positive factors. Experienced discrimination and perceived behavioral control positively predicted entrepreneurial intention. Attitude towards behavior and subjective norms did not contribute to the prediction of entrepreneurial intention.

Introduction

Immigrant entrepreneurship contributes substantially to the economic growth of Western societies (Eraydin, Tasan-Kok, & Vranken, 2010; Pekkala-Kerr & Kerr, 2020). For immigrants, particularly those that would otherwise depend on income from low skilled jobs or welfare, self-employment is an important instrument for social mobility in the country of settlement (Beckers & Blumberg, 2013; EIM, 2007; Froy & Pyne, 2011; Gijsberts, Huijnk, & Dagevos, 2012). In the Netherlands, the interest among persons with an immigrant background in entrepreneurship is substantial: In 2020, 22% of the entrepreneurs in the Netherlands had an immigrant background with about equal shares of western and non-western immigrants. These proportions are similar to the proportions of western and non-western immigrants in the Dutch labor force. Entrepreneurship is particularly popular among Turkish- and Moroccan-Dutch people; first as well as second-generation (CBS, 2020b). While the first-generation is predominantly engaged in traditional sectors, such as retail, hospitality and the catering industry, the second-generation becomes more involved in knowledge intensive branches, such as ICT and consultancy. The latter branches are seen as providing more promising business perspectives than more traditional branches. They are expected to more directly and effectively contribute to the socio-economic emancipation of immigrant entrepreneurs (Baycan, Sahin, & Nijkamp, 2012). This difference between the first- and second-generation is attributed to

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different acculturation trajectories. The second generation is generally characterized by better national language proficiency, higher educational credentials, and competences and opportunities to access heterogeneous social networks than the first generation (Baycan et al., 2012; CBS, 2020a).

The current study aims to clarify which factors contribute to entrepreneurial intention in a sample of second-generation Moroccan and Turkish-Dutch students. Entrepreneurial intention is about the intention to set up a business in the near future and plans to achieve this (Nabi, Holden, & Walmsley, 2010). Intentions have been found reliable indicators of real behavior (Armitage & Conner, 2001; Steinmetz, Knappstein, Ajzen, Schmidt, & Kabst, 2016), also in the context of entrepreneurship (Zhao, Seibert, & Hills, 2005). With entrepreneurship, intentions seem to be an even better predictor of behavior than personal (e.g., personality characteristics) and situational factors (e.g., employment status) (Krueger, Reilly, & Carsrud, 2000).

In the current study, a distinction is made between negative and positive stimulating factors. The negative stimulating factor that the current study focusses on is perceived discrimination. This is a variable linked to other negative events and circumstances, like, for instance unemployment and difficulty in finding a job (Andriessen, Nievers, Dagevos, & Faulk, 2012). Examples of positive stimulating factors are motives, such as the attractiveness of developing a new business idea and the prospect of financial independence (De Lange, Berntsen, Hanoeman, & Kalas, 2019; Kushnirovich, Heilbrunn, & Davidovich, 2018).

What motivates immigrants to start a business?

Disadvantage theorists (Burgers & Engbersen, 2004; Light, 1979; Menzies et al. 2000; Rubach, Bradley, & Kluck, 2015) stress that immigrant entrepreneurs, more often than national entrepreneurs, choose to start a business out of necessity. A frequently mentioned reason is their limited access to the formal labor market, due to the immigrants' limited human capital, lack of language skills and specific career-related skills, and social exclusion mechanisms such as discrimination. An alternative to unemployment or working in low-skilled jobs typically arises when co-ethnics facilitate entrepreneurial activity by creating specific market opportunities fostered by demand for ethnic products and services in regions or neighborhoods with high concentrations of immigrants (Ley, 2006; Ram, Smallbone, Deakins, & Jones, 2003). Another alternative arises when national entrepreneurs sell their local low-entry businesses because these businesses create (too) little added value. These business locations are then taken over by immigrant entrepreneurs (Storti, 2018), who typically start a business in the lower segments of the retail trade, personal services, and the catering industry (Edwards, Ram, Jones, & Doldor, 2016). The immigrant entrepreneurs' previously established human and social networks provide access to relevant knowledge and skills, social support from particularly co-ethnics, and ethnic markets (Dabić et al. 2020; Dheer & Lenartowicz, 2020). However, these businesses tend to experience little opportunities for growth, and are confronted by intense competition, high failure rates and scarce returns, because they all focus on a similar market and similar products.

As immigrant businesses evolve and immigrant entrepreneurs become more integrated in the host society, opportunities arise to reach broader markets, also geared at nationals, with non-ethnic products and services. This process is more characteristic of second-generation than first-generation immigrant entrepreneurs (Baycan et al., 2012; Rusinovic, 2007). This does not mean that informal, ethnic social networks become irrelevant for the second-generation. On the contrary, their traditional and new networks get integrated and strengthen each other and stimulate creative and innovative activities (Dheer & Lenartowicz, 2020).

For explaining immigrant entrepreneurship it seems necessary to focus on group and individual resources that are accessible to migrants for starting-up and run a business that depend on the host societies' economic systems, i.e. the opportunity structure (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001, 2010; Storti, 2018). This so-called Mixed Embeddedness Approach is essential for the matching process between migrants' human and social capital and the opportunity structure(s), which is created by contextual conditions (Barberis & Solano, 2018). Storti (2014) adds that besides these meso-level (e.g., social embeddedness) and macro-level (e.g., markets, laws and regulations) factors, individual determinants should also be taken into account when analyzing immigrants' entrepreneurial activities. He distinguishes the following individual determinants: desires (D), beliefs (B), and (perceived constraints) and opportunities (O), (together DBO) that are relevant to one's perception of achieving economic goals.

In this study, we aim to explain entrepreneurial intention among second-generation Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch students, most of them not (yet) engaged with making concrete plans to start a business. In order to distinguish relevant factors for entrepreneurial intention among these students, we focus on a disadvantage theory perspective that seems to fit students' immigrant background, and on factors that determine entrepreneurial intention, viz., attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions of entrepreneurial competences as distinguished by the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1991). This theory also covers the influence of significant others who may inspire business ideas, help to seize business opportunities, and may provide the necessary support to eventually start-up a business.

Discrimination

The barriers (e.g., low-skilled, low-educated, language barriers) that disadvantage theorists (Rubach et al., 2015) distinguish as circumstances that stimulate entrepreneurial activity among immigrants, may be applicable to first-generation immigrants in the Netherlands, particularly those with a Moroccan or Turkish background. They came to the Netherlands as low-skilled labor immigrants (Kullberg & Kulu-Glasgow, 2009). However, it remains unclear if and how such barriers affect second-generation immigrants. In the Netherlands, the second-generation is generally better educated, more proficient in the national language, and has had more opportunities to build functional social networks than their parents (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016); even the two minority groups with the lowest social status and regard, viz. the Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch (Vedder, Wenink, & van Geel, 2016).

Nonetheless, although second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch are substantially better educated than the first-

generation, their labor market position does not seem to have improved to a similar extent. In 2016 the unemployment rate among non-western immigrants of the first-generation was 12.5 per cent and that of the second-generation 14.3 per cent of all 15–75 years old persons actively searching for a job. In the same year the unemployment rate among native Dutch was 4.9 per cent (CBS, 2017). Huijnk and Andriessen (2016) showed that less than half of the unemployment gap between native Dutch and second-generation Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch can be explained by age and academic achievement. They attribute the remaining gap to second-generation immigrants' lack of functional networks, the overrepresentation of particularly young immigrant men in crime suspect records, and discrimination on the labor market.

The working of discrimination on the labor market was already shown in a Dutch field experiment (Andriessen, Nievers, Dagevos, et al., 2012) which showed that despite being comparably qualified, ethnic minority candidates had a significantly lower chance of being invited for a job interview than national candidates. This applied to a greater extent to immigrant candidates with a low or intermediate level of educational training than to higher educated immigrant candidates (Verkuyten & Zaremba, 2005; Andriessen et al., 2010). Discrimination is not just experienced in labor market participation. In a large scale study, conducted by Gonzalez and colleagues (2008) fifty percent of the Dutch participants reported to have negative feelings towards Muslims. Another study (Andriessen, Fernee, & Wittebrood, 2014) showed that 64% of Dutch Muslims reported having experienced at least one discrimination incident in the preceding year. These negative experiences of Muslims correspond to dominant-majority group members' perception of Islamic culture, and Muslims, as threatening Western values (Wirtz, van der Pligt, & Doosje, 2016). These negative attitudes towards Muslims may lead to further discrimination of this particular group on the labor market. Viewed from the DBO model, if persons perceive the labor market as discriminatory and inaccessible, these persons may develop a growing belief that becoming an entrepreneur is the only possibility for achieving an independent autonomous career (Storti, 2018).

Theory of planned behavior

To determine what positive factors may contribute to entrepreneurial intention we use Ajzen's (1991, 2002) Theory of Planned Behavior. The TPB focuses on predicting, understanding, and changing human social behavior and has been used in more than 2000 empirical studies in a variety of disciplines (Ajzen & Kruglanski, 2019), including entrepreneurial research, where it provides an established framework in determining entrepreneurial intention (Carr & Sequeira, 2007; Díaz-García & Jiménez-Moreno, 2010; Gird & Bagraim, 2008; Liñán & Fayolle, 2015; Schlaegel & Koenig, 2014; Van Gelderen et al. 2008). According to the TPB (Ajzen, 1991; Ajzen & Kruglanski, 2019), an individual's intention is shaped by three attitudinal antecedents: attitudes toward behavior, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control.

Attitudes towards behavior (ATB) refer to an individual's perceptions of the outcome of behaviors and the individual's evaluation of performing those behaviors (Ajzen, 1991). In the entrepreneurial context, ATB reflects individuals' expectations with regard to the outcomes of starting a business and the evaluation of those outcomes. Positive expectations towards entrepreneurship strengthen the desire to start one's own business and realize activities related to becoming an entrepreneur.

Subjective norms are the perceived normative beliefs of significant others, such as relatives and friends. The beliefs of these significant others and the related social pressure to realize particular activities or to behave in a particular way are suggested to have a direct influence on an individual's intention to realize particular plans (Ajzen, 1991). People will hold positive attitudes towards their career plans if significant others support them in reaching these (Seginer, 2009); this may also include positive role models, like family members who are entrepreneurs. Such role models may be particularly important, because they can actually be potential facilitators of realizing entrepreneurial ambitions and intentions. Previous studies (Basu, 2010; Carr & Sequeira, 2007; Krueger, 2000) confirm that exposure to family businesses contributes to the development of positive attitudes, stronger norms, and greater self-efficacy with regard to entrepreneurship.

Perceived behavioral control refers to individuals' beliefs about their ability to realize the planned behavior and the perception that the behavior is within personal control (Ajzen, 1991). In many entrepreneurial studies, self-efficacy is used as an indicator for this perceived behavioral control (Carr & Sequeira, 2007; Poon, Ainuddin, & Junit, 2006; Zhao et al., 2005). Self-efficacy is related to initiating particular behaviors under uncertain circumstances as well as to persistence in trying to realize these behaviors or activities (Bandura, 1986). In the case of starting entrepreneurs this persistence is challenged repeatedly by uncertain circumstances. Task specific self-efficacy (Zhao et al., 2005) rather than general self-efficacy (Poon et al., 2006) was found to be positively related to entrepreneurial intention (Segal, Borgia, & Schoenfeld, 2005). The impact of self-efficacy has been proposed to correspond to the perception that relevant knowledge and resources are accessible, for instance, via the family network, and with the experience or notion that access to the family business is already taking shape (Baycan et al., 2012; Rajijman, 2001). These perceptions or experiences strengthen the idea that self-employment is a realistic career option (Krueger et al., 2000).

Current study

Previous research on immigrants' motivations for entrepreneurship has mainly focused on existing entrepreneurs. In the current study we investigate the entrepreneurial *intention* of a sample of second-generation immigrant emerging adults that are still studying and therefore have not yet made a definite career choice. This leads to the question whether or not the motives that are applicable to actual entrepreneurs are also important or valid to aspiring entrepreneurs.

In the current study, we will investigate the factors that may determine entrepreneurial intention. In earlier studies the focus has often been on the disadvantaged position of immigrants in society (e.g., low-skilled, low-educated, language barriers) (Light, 1979; Parker, 2009; Rubach et al., 2015). These characteristics apply to a lesser extent to the second-generation Moroccan-Dutch and

Turkish-Dutch that participated in the current study. They followed the same curriculum and received the same certificates of competence as their national, Dutch peers, and therefore they likely have mastered competences required for participating on the regular labor market. Nevertheless, as previously stated, they experience more difficulties in finding a job that fits their education than their national peers (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016; Masurel, Nijkamp, Tastan, & Vindigni, 2002). We take these difficulties into consideration in this paper by focusing on discrimination as a relevant circumstance for entrepreneurship.

To our knowledge, no studies have been conducted among immigrant youth that included discrimination as a potential predictor of entrepreneurial intention. Most studies (e.g. Clark & Drinkwater, 2000; Robertson & Grant, 2016) that investigated the role of discrimination for starting a business were conducted among established immigrant entrepreneurs. These studies indicated a positive relation between experiences of discrimination and motivation to start a business among immigrant entrepreneurs. Based on the Disadvantage Theory we hypothesize that experiences of discrimination are positively related to entrepreneurial intention (H1).

We included three attitudinal antecedents of planned behavior (attitudes toward behavior, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control) as positive stimulating factors. Based on Ajzen's (1991) theory of planned behavior and previous entrepreneurial studies (Basu, 2010; Carr & Sequeira, 2007; Krueger, 2000; Poon et al., 2006; Segal et al., 2005) we hypothesize that (a) a positive attitude towards entrepreneurship, (b) subjective norms based in and invigorated through exposure to family business, and supportive family members, and (c) perceived behavioral control indicated by entrepreneurial self-efficacy, are positively related to entrepreneurial intention (H2a, b, c).

Method

Sample

The sample included 260 second-generation students of which 175 had a Moroccan and 85 a Turkish background. We defined second generation, similarly as the researchers in the ICSEY study (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006) as either being born in the Netherlands or having immigrated to the Netherlands before age 7. These criteria mean that all participating students followed their formal education in the Netherlands. Students' mean age was 19.3 years ($SD = 2.1$). Half (129) of the participants attended senior vocational high schools and the other half (131) universities of applied sciences in three Dutch cities: The Hague, Amsterdam, and Eindhoven. An almost equal number of women and men (135 vs. 125, respectively) participated. All students reported to be Muslim. One hundred and fifty participants (58%) followed an economics program.

SES was determined by the highest level of occupation of either parent and ranged from "no paid job" (1) to "paid job at college level" (6). This job ranking was done based on the standard occupation classification of the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 2001). For reasons of validation we compared parents' level of occupation with parents' level of education ranging from "no education" (1) to "university level" (8) There was a significant relationship between parents' highest educational level and parents' highest occupational level, Spearman $r(198) = 0.50$, $p < .001$. The minority of the immigrants had one or both parents with a job in the high-skilled categories (12% of the Turkish-Dutch and 9.9% of the Moroccan-Dutch students) The Turkish-Dutch group was overrepresented in the middle category: 57.3% of the Turkish-Dutch students had one or both parents with a job in this category as compared to 29.1% of the Moroccan-Dutch students. The Moroccans were overrepresented in the three lowest occupational categories: 61% of the Moroccan-Dutch students had one or both parents with a job in these categories compared to 30.7% of the Turkish-Dutch students. In short, the distribution of parental job levels was not random between the two cultural groups ($\chi^2(2, N = 216) = 19.17$, $p < .001$).

Instruments

The study reported here is part of a larger research project on the role of entrepreneurship in future perspectives of immigrants. Here we present the variables entrepreneurial intention, experienced discrimination, and the theory of planned behavior variables: attitudes towards the behavior, the social support variables that represent subjective norms, and self-efficacy. Measures were based on existing scales, which in some cases were adapted to suit the Dutch context.

Entrepreneurial intention

Entrepreneurial intention was measured by using Zhao et al.'s (2005) four item Entrepreneurial Intention Scale. A sample item is: "How interested are you in starting a business in the next 5–10 years?" A Likert scale ranging from 1 (*not interested at all*) to 5 (*very interested*) was used. The study by Zhao et al. (2005) yielded a high correlation ($r = 0.79$), with the entrepreneurial intention scale validated by Chen, Greene, and Crick (1998), which suggests good construct validity of the scale. Cronbach's alpha in the present study was .91.

Experienced discrimination

Experienced discrimination was measured using a six-item scale adopted from Berry et al. (2006). We included the items that referred to personal experiences of discrimination. Two sample items are "I have been insulted because of my ethnic/ religious background" and "I have been threatened or attacked because of my ethnic/ religious background". A Likert scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*) was used. Vedder, Sam, and Liebkind (2007) have shown that the scale has good construct validity. The six items yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .83.

Attitudes towards behavior

Attitudes towards behavior was measured by Seginer's (2009) Expectancy Scale. This seven-item scale focuses on whether one is optimistic or pessimistic about achieving one's career goals in terms of the extent to which one is determined to realize these goals. A sample item is "Considering the materialization of my future career plans I'm optimistic". This scale focused on feelings such as confidence, hope, success, and failure (reverse coded). Response categories ranged from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*). The scale's construct validity has been demonstrated by several studies conducted in Israel among Israeli Jewish and Arab adolescents (e.g. Seginer, 2000; Seginer & Mahajna, 2004). Convergent validity was indicated by moderate correlations (r s ranging from .23 to .39) between future career orientation and scores on the Considering Future Consequences Scale, which is a global measure of future thoughts (Strathman, Gleicher, Boninger, & Edwards, 1994). The seven items yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .73.

Perceived family support and exposure to family business

Perceived family support and exposure to family business were measured by the so-called name-generator technique (Burt, 1984). This technique elicits a list of (a) persons in the students' social network that supported them in reaching future career goals and (b) persons that owned a business. If there were no persons who supported the student in reaching future career goals and/or persons that owned a business, the student was requested to check the boxes: "There are no persons that support me in reaching future career goals" and "I have no entrepreneurs in my social network", respectively. Additional information about the persons in the students' network was obtained by name interpreter items. Name interpreters are questions used to elicit information on the relationships with and among contacts (Burt, 2001).

To measure the perceived family support in reaching future career goals we counted the number of family members that were named after the question "Who are the people that stimulate, motivate, and or support you in reaching your future career goals?" The respondent was allowed to report a maximum of seven persons. Of each person, we also requested to provide information on gender, age, ethnicity, type of relation, and the quality and duration of the relation. Based on the variable *type of relation* we created a new variable that represented the number of *family* members reported by the respondent.

Exposure to family business was measured by the question "What entrepreneurs do you know?" For all entrepreneurs mentioned the respondent was requested to provide the following background information: gender, age, ethnicity, type of relation, the quality, and duration of the relation. We recoded this variable into a variable that measured having a family member that is an entrepreneur (1) or not (0).

Entrepreneurial self-efficacy

In this study we used entrepreneurial self-efficacy as an indicator for Ajzen's (1991) perceived behavioral control variable. Entrepreneurial self-efficacy was measured by using Zhao et al.'s (2005) four item Entrepreneurial Self-Efficacy Scale. This scale measures self-efficacy with regard to specific entrepreneurial tasks. A sample item is "How confident are you in successfully identifying new business opportunities?" A Likert scale ranging from 1 (*not confident*) to 5 (*completely confident*) was used. The study by Zhao et al. (2005) yielded a high correlation ($r = 0.70$) with the Entrepreneurial Self-Efficacy Scale validated by Chen et al. (1998), which alludes to a good construct validity. Cronbach's alpha in the present study was .83.

Procedure

The data for this study was collected in five schools for senior vocational education and five universities of applied sciences, by using a convenience sampling approach. The schools were approached by sending a letter in which the goal of the study was explained and their participation was requested. The schools that agreed to participate in the study were visited to provide further information and to discuss the method of data collection. In all but one school/university we were allowed to collect the data during class. In the remaining school/university we were given access to a computer room and were allowed to contact students on the school premises and escort them to the computer room.

Data was collected by the first author together with a trained assistant. The data was collected in the classrooms or computer room, by using a web-based semi-structured questionnaire, which the students filled out individually. If students preferred a paper questionnaire it was handed to them and the data was added to the digitally generated dataset. The researcher and the assistant were present to explain the aim of the study and how to find the questionnaire online. Students were told that participating was voluntary, the data would be stored anonymously and the information they provided would be treated strictly confidential. Students gave active consent for participating in this study and received no compensation for their participation. The study was approved by the Institutional Review Board of the researchers' institute.

Statistical analyses

We used multiple hierarchical regression analyses to test the contribution of the selected factors to the explanation of variance in entrepreneurial intention. In the analyses, the following control variables were entered as dummy variables at the first step: gender (0 = male and 1 = female), educational level (0 = senior vocational education and 1 = university of applied sciences), and whether or not the followed curriculum was in economics or not (0 = no and 1 = yes). Experienced discrimination was entered at the second step and the four Theory of Planned behavior factors: entrepreneurial self-efficacy, family is an entrepreneur (dummy variable, 0 = no and 1 = yes), attitudes towards career goals, and family support were entered at the third step.

Four to eight percent of the values of the main variables included in the regression were missing. We used the Hot deck imputation

technique (Myers, 2011) to replace the missing values by imputing values from “similar” units based on educational level and gender.

Results

The goal of this study was to determine what factors predicted entrepreneurial intention among a sample of Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch students in the Netherlands.

The means and standard deviation of the variables are presented in Table 1. The mean and standard deviation of the variable *family entrepreneur* is not included because this was a dummy variable. It is, however, important to report that only one third (33.1 per cent) of the participants reported having a relative who was an entrepreneur. Also, more than half (53.1 per cent) of the participants did not report any family support in reaching future career goals.

Table 1 also presents the correlations between the variables included in this study. It shows that there were significant negative correlations between experienced discrimination at the one hand and attitude towards career goals and perceived family support at the other. There also were significant positive correlations between attitude towards career goals and self-efficacy, between attitude towards career goals and perceived family support, between perceived family support and having a family member that is an entrepreneur, between entrepreneurial intention and perceived discrimination, and between entrepreneurial intention and self-efficacy.

The tolerance scores were higher than 0.7 and the VIF scores were lower than 1.5, which suggests that there were no problems with multicollinearity (Bowerman & O’Connell, 1990).

The results of the regression analyses presented in Table 2 show that 25.2% of the variance in entrepreneurial intention was explained by the contributions of the independent variables included in the analyses. Gender, educational level, and following an economics program explained fifteen percent of the variance ($F(3, 255) = 15.407, p < .001$), experienced discrimination three percent ($F(4, 254) = 13.772, p < .001$), and the theory of planned behavior variables explained seven percent of the variance ($F(8, 250) = 10.505, p < .001$).

The results in Table 2 support our first hypothesis. Experienced discrimination did positively and significantly predict entrepreneurial intention. The same applied to self-efficacy. Exposure to family members who are entrepreneurs, perceived family support, and a positive attitude towards career goals did not significantly contribute to explaining entrepreneurial intention.

Discussion

In the current study, we investigated which factors contributed to the entrepreneurial intention of a sample of second-generation Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch students in the Netherlands by using multiple hierarchical regression analyses. Based on the Disadvantage Theory (Burgers & Engbersen, 2004; Light, 1979; Menzies et al., 2000; Rubach et al., 2015), we expected a positive relation between experienced discrimination and entrepreneurial intention. Furthermore, based on the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1991) we expected a positive relation between: (1) a positive attitude towards the behavior, in this case entrepreneurship, (2) subjective norms based in and invigorated through exposure to family business and supportive family members, and (3) perceived behavioral control indicated by entrepreneurial self-efficacy, and entrepreneurial intention.

We found that experienced discrimination was a significant positive predictor of entrepreneurial intention when controlling for gender, SES and being a student of economics and remained a significant positive predictor of entrepreneurial intention after adding the TPB variables. The indicators of subjective norm, i.e., exposure to family members who are entrepreneurs and the perception of the availability of support from family members, and positive attitude towards realizing career goals showed no significant relation with entrepreneurial intention. There are several explanations for this finding. Possibly family entrepreneurship, without specifying the closeness of the relation, is less suitable for predicting entrepreneurial intention. Lindquist, Sol, and Praag (2015) showed that particularly parental entrepreneurship is a good predictor of entrepreneurial intent. This suggests that the closer the family member, the more likely that family member functions as a role model. In addition, the mixed embeddedness approach suggests that (recent) immigrants’ recognition of business possibilities depends on the accessibility of resources embedded in one’s social networks, which likely and predominantly consists of co-ethnics. These determine the sector type and products and services of the business (Dabić et al., 2020). The family members that are entrepreneurs are most likely first-generation immigrants who are probably active in the

Table 1
Descriptive statistics and Pearson correlations (N = 260).

	1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Independent variables</i>						
1. Exp. Discrimination	–					
2. Self-Efficacy	.08	–				
3. Family entrepreneur	-.10	.10	–			
4. Attitude career goals	-.17 **	.29 **	.08	–		
5. Family support	-.14 *	.07	.18 **	.22 **	–	
<i>Dependent variable</i>						
6. Entrepreneurial intention	.23 **	.27 **	.09	-.12	-.09	–
M	2.24	3.29	–	3.69	.97	2.76
SD	.78	.75	–	.57	1.28	1.00

Note. * = Significant at .05; ** = significant at .01.

Table 2
Predictors of Entrepreneurial Intention.

		<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>p</i>
<i>Dependent variable: Entrepreneurial intention</i>					
Step 1	(Constant)	2.831	.151		.000
	Gender	-.478	.128	-.238	.000
	Edu-level	-.135	.117	-.067	.250
	Economic education	.423	.131	.208	.001
Step 2	(Constant)	2.342	.231		.000
	Gender	-.424	.128	-.211	.001
	Edu-level	-.120	.116	-.060	.300
	Economic education	.406	.130	.200	.002
	Exp. discrimination	.208	.075	.161	.006
Step 3	(Constant)	2.011	.454		.000
	Gender	-.435	.129	-.217	.001
	Edu-level	-.182	.114	-.091	.112
	Economic education	.308	.127	.152	.016
	Exp. discrimination	.180	.074	.140	.015
	Self-efficacy	.335	.078	.252	.000
	Family entrepreneur	.231	.121	.109	.056
	Attitude career goals	-.194	.107	-.109	.071
	Family support	.021	.048	.027	.662

Note. $R^2 = .15$ for step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .03$ for step 2 ($p < 0.01$); $\Delta R^2 = .07$ for step 3 ($p < .001$).

traditional immigrant sectors, which may be perceived as less appealing to the (second-generation) participants (Baycan et al., 2012); therefore these family members may not be perceived as relevant role models. Moreover, second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch entrepreneurs tend to rely less on resources embedded in the ethnic community than their first generation counterparts (Baycan et al., 2012; El Bouk, Vedder, & Te Poel, 2013). This may negatively impact the significance that second generation immigrant emerging adults attach to their entrepreneurial family members in shaping their own entrepreneurial intentions.

With regard to family support, the formulation in the questionnaire may have been insufficiently specific. The question referred to perceived support in reaching future career goals and not to plans with regard to entrepreneurial activities. This lack of specification may have lowered the reliability of subjective norm in this study and therefore less suitable for predicting entrepreneurial intention. The same may apply to the variable positive attitude towards realizing career goals. Career goals may be associated with finding an appropriate job on the regular labor market but not necessarily with entrepreneurship. Finally, consistent with Ajzen's (1991) Theory of Planned Behavior, perceived behavioral control indicated by entrepreneurial self-efficacy, positively predicted entrepreneurial intention; this finding is consistent with previous findings in entrepreneurial research (Basu, 2010; Carr & Sequeira, 2007; Hulsink & Koek, 2014; Poon et al., 2006; Segal et al., 2005).

Limitations and future directions

The current study's limitations are that the indicators of *attitude towards the behavior* and *subjective norm* were perhaps not formulated sufficiently specific to make sure that the participants focussed on their attitude towards entrepreneurship and support from family in reaching entrepreneurial career goals. This may have affected the predictive power of these variables. However, while The Theory of Planned Behavior perceives attitudes towards the behavior (ATB) and subjective norm as favorable to entrepreneurial intent and assigns supportive roles to these two variables, the theory relies mostly on the individual's intention to perform a certain behavior and this intention is considered to be primarily influenced by perceived behavioral control (PBC), that is entrepreneurial self-efficacy (Autio, Keeley, Klofsten, Parker, & Hay, 2001). This suggests, that while ATB and subjective norms are expected to contribute to the explanation of intent, the role of PBC is seen as decisive for action. If the person does not perceive to have control over the behavior and its outcome, intentions are not likely to lead to the behavior, even if subjective norms and attitudes towards the behavior would be favorable. Our research suggests that the opposite also may be true: despite lack of support from family members or exposure to role models, entrepreneurial intention remains strong due to self-determination and perceived individual control (Laguna, 2013).

Furthermore, the type of sample and type of questionnaire yielded additional limitations to this study. Using a convenience sample makes it difficult to generalize these findings to the general population of second-generation Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch students attending vocational education. Although access to participants was challenging, we tried to include as much as possible different schools, educational trajectories, and classes in three cities to increase the external validity of the sample.

Another limitation concerns the use of only self-report. Self-reports may yield invalid answers, either because the questions are not understood well or because answers are biased by social desirability. To counter or avoid these limitations we conducted a pilot among twenty students that attended senior vocational education to determine whether the questions were clear. Based on this pilot the final questionnaire was slightly adjusted. The risk of social desirability was reduced as much as possible by collecting the data anonymously and by requesting the participants not to communicate with other participants while filling out the questionnaire.

Finally, this study tried to provide insight in which factors contribute to entrepreneurial intention among second-generation Moroccan and Turkish-Dutch students in the Netherlands by using quantitative data-analyses. Future research, might consider using qualitative research designs in an effort to provide better understanding of *how* the factors studied contribute to entrepreneurial intention among second-generation immigrants. Such a study could clarify the extent to which young immigrants perceive entrepreneurship as a satisfactory career perspective and how this is determined by positive and negative stimulating factors. In addition, to further our understanding of the working of the mixed-embeddedness approach with regard to entrepreneurship among second-generation immigrants, future research might also focus on how (aspiring) entrepreneurs determine product- and market opportunities and how they perceive the ethnic community, dominant group members, and formal institutions to be relevant and accessible in realizing these opportunities.

Conclusion

This study provides insight in the factors that influence the entrepreneurial intention of young second-generation immigrants in the Netherlands and found that despite the socio-economic integration of these young people, experienced discrimination played a role in their preference for entrepreneurship. This suggests that a portion of the group of Dutch persons with an immigrant background continues to see entrepreneurship as one of the few labor market opportunities that may be open to them. Studies about labor market opportunities support this perception, immigrant youth with a Muslim background are still stigmatized and discriminated in Dutch society in general (Wirtz et al., 2016) and on the labor market in particular (Andriessen, Nievers, & Dagevos, 2012; Huijnk and Andriessen, 2016). Second-generation Muslims, like the first generation, still have to deal with exclusionary mechanisms in Dutch society that push them into choosing for entrepreneurship. A recent study (De Lange et al., 2019) among immigrant entrepreneurs in the Netherlands confirms that experiences of discrimination on the labor market has been an important motivation to choose for entrepreneurship. In addition, discrimination also affects active immigrant business owners, particularly those that depend to a great extent on dominant group members serving non-ethnic markets with non-ethnic products and services (El Bouk et al., 2013). This further burdens the economic position of immigrants because a market strategy focusing on dominant group members and non-ethnic products is a promising strategy for business success among immigrant entrepreneurs (Dabić et al., 2020).

Given that discrimination still plays an important role for access and success on the labor market, this begs for prolonged efforts from policymakers and society as a whole against discrimination. Discrimination should not be the reason or motive for immigrant youth to start a business nor should it hamper the business success of those that manage to start one.

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