

It's possible that employers generate greater profits by instituting degraded work; however, to the extent that reduced labor costs are translated into lower prices, the value extracted from workers in this segment of the retail food sector helps Hispanic middle- and working-class breadwinners to feed their families despite low wages and unstable employment. Similarly, Monica Prasad's recent book, *The Land of Too Much: American Abundance and the Paradox of Poverty* (Harvard University Press, 2012), in which she documents the importance of credit in helping U.S. residents to survive periods of job loss or ill health, helps us to see how sweating day laborers transfers resources from the poorest households to middle-class families by increasing the value of the homes that secure their access to credit. In contrast, nations that have a more robust welfare system, where families are able to rely on social and health insurance funded by national taxes, distribute the burdens associated with market instability more broadly across society.

The Outsider Entrepreneurs. By R. Isil Yavuz. El Paso, Tex.: LFB Scholarly Publishing, 2014. Pp. xiv+160. \$69.00.

Laura Doering
University of Toronto

Traditionally, scholars have viewed immigrant entrepreneurs as disadvantaged. Tending to focus on low-skilled immigrants, researchers have argued that these entrepreneurs lack the social and economic tools that come more easily to native-born entrepreneurs. Recently, however, scholars have reimagined immigrant entrepreneurs as possessing unique advantages. For instance, scholars like AnnaLee Saxenian in *The New Argonauts* (Harvard University Press, 2006) demonstrate how high-skilled entrepreneurs utilize their global networks and experiences to found and expand businesses. Researchers advancing this new approach to immigrant entrepreneurship consider how border-spanning entrepreneurs diffuse ideas, participate in international networks of capital investment, and develop industries in new regions.

R. Isil Yanuz's *The Outsider Entrepreneurs* fits squarely within this new theoretical turn. Yanuz examines whether immigrant entrepreneurs' "outsiderness" makes them more likely to expand new ventures globally, and whether these entrepreneurs experience greater success on the international stage. She argues that certain aspects of immigrants' experiences might encourage successful internationalization, although they have traditionally been viewed as hindrances. For instance, Yanuz hypothesizes that immigrant entrepreneurs are inclined to seek out international opportunities precisely because they are *less* socially embedded than their domestic counterparts. She also proposes that immigrants have a "global mind-set" that

facilitates internationalization. Since outsiders know what it means to set up a life overseas, they should be better equipped to expand a business overseas, as well.

Yanuz tests these ideas using the Kauffman Firm Survey of new, high-tech ventures founded in the United States. Overall, she finds mixed support for the hypotheses. First, she finds that outsider entrepreneurs are marginally more likely to expand their businesses overseas. Yet contrary to her expectations, she also finds that being an outsider has a negative effect on the survival of young, international firms. To reach these results, Yanuz draws from a relatively small sample of 395 firms. Of those firms, 45 are immigrant owned, only 22 of which internationalized. Moreover, she tests her hypotheses on data from 2007 and 2008, a uniquely turbulent period for young tech ventures. Given the limited nature of the available data, the results should be interpreted cautiously.

Although Yanuz describes immigrant entrepreneurship as a multinational process, she utilizes data from a single country: the United States. The U.S.-centric nature of the data introduces a few important limitations. For instance, Yanuz categorizes entrepreneurs as either "outsider" immigrants or "insider" U.S. citizens but neglects the variation that might exist within each group. She assumes that non-U.S. citizens possess certain characteristics that would help them internationalize their ventures: a global mind-set, low social embeddedness, and international networks. Yet many U.S. citizens also possess these characteristics. If the world is as globalized as Yanuz proposes, then it is likely that many American entrepreneurs would have developed a global mind-set from living or working abroad, and that the U.S.-born children of immigrants might also access wide, transnational networks.

Moreover, Yanuz is unable to differentiate among immigrant groups. This lack of differentiation is problematic given the myriad cultural experiences that immigrants have in the United States. For example, the immigrant from Azerbaijan may be spurred to start an international business because he experiences American culture as foreign and difficult to navigate, yet the immigrant from Canada is unlikely to experience such a cultural push. When the experiences of immigrants and nonimmigrants are reduced in this way, readers are left wondering whether the more interesting variation might not lie within groups rather than between them.

More important, however, are the limitations embedded in the concept of "the outsider." Consider an example that highlights this theoretical tension. An Indian entrepreneur is categorized as an outsider if she starts a business in the United States. Yanuz anticipates that this individual is likely to expand her business into India. When she expands to her home country, can we still consider her an "outsider entrepreneur"? As an Indian working in India, she loses her outsider edge and faces the same limitations that

Yanuz anticipates for American entrepreneurs working in the United States. The concept of “the outsider” thus fails to accommodate the fluid nature of entrepreneurs’ cultural statuses as they move internationally. While the insider/outsider typology encourages consideration of immigrants’ unique advantages, it ultimately fails to provide scholars with a portable concept that captures the relative nature of transnational cultural identities.

Despite these limitations, *The Outsider Entrepreneurs* has much to recommend it. The book helps to move the fields of entrepreneurship and international business in a fresh direction. As Yanuz points out, “Although internationalization is about crossing borders, current research has not examined whether people who have already crossed borders also become international entrepreneurs” (p. 18). The book encourages scholars to consider how immigrants’ perspectives and experiences might facilitate and constrain their capacity to act as international entrepreneurs in high-growth, high tech industries. In doing so, this project supports the turn in entrepreneurship research to examine a diversity of immigrants, rather than focusing exclusively on low-skilled immigrant entrepreneurs. Scholars of entrepreneurship and international business will find in this book a novel exploration of the relationship between immigration and international expansion.

Shaping Immigration News: A French-American Comparison. By Rodney Benson. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Pp. xiv+280. \$95.00.

Roger Dickinson
University of Leicester

What are the social forces shaping the production of news, how do they operate, and can they be changed? These are the questions that Rodney Benson sets out to answer in his latest book, *Shaping Immigration News: A French-American Comparison*. It is an ambitious enterprise. Media sociologists have long recognized the central nature of news as an object of study. Despite media sociology’s numerous analyses of news outputs, newsroom culture, and the news industry, involving quantitative and qualitative content analysis, organizational studies, and newsroom ethnographies, few have been able to offer the comprehensive, multilevel analysis that this important field of enquiry demands. Benson attempts to extend and improve upon those venerable traditions of media scholarship by bringing together a study of news content and the organization of news production with a comparative study of the political economy of the news industry in a time frame spanning more than 30 years. He is assisted in this by Pierre Bourdieu’s field theory and the concept of the “journalistic field.” This