

INTEGRATION THROUGH SMALL-SCALE BUSINESS: THE CASE OF  
ENTREPRENEURS WITH TURKISH “MIGRANT” BACKGROUND IN  
GERMANY

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ENTREPRENEURS WITH TURKISH “MIGRANT” BACKGROUND IN  
GERMANY**

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**I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **INTEGRATION THROUGH SMALL-SCALE BUSINESS: THE CASE OF ENTREPRENEURS WITH TURKISH “MIGRANT” BACKGROUND IN GERMANY**

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Self-employment as an economic activity has a considerable matter in the migration context. It is associated with social, cultural, political, and economic spheres in which migrants and people with migration background are situated. Migrant entrepreneurship as a particular form of self-employment is related to the transnational labour market since it reflects both these spheres in the host country and immigrant networks and organisations within and across borders. In the migration literature, migrant entrepreneurship is discussed in terms of ethnic niches, market ghettoisation, and integration. On the 60th anniversary of the Turkish-German Labour Recruitment Agreement, this thesis analyses small-scale family businesses through the processes of socio-economic integration from the mixed embeddedness approach. Migrant entrepreneurship is characterised by embeddedness in market and state relations. Ethnic relations and resources of entrepreneurs and opportunity structure in Germany, as well as socio-economic integration, are considered by relying on how migrants identify and frame them. Following the historical roots of migratory processes and the transformation of labour activities of migrants from Turkey, this thesis argues that small-scale business ownership

positively impacts socio-economic integration. It argues that ethnic relations are usually realised in symbolic forms. Multiculturalism, flexibility, and family embeddedness are discussed as instrumental features intrinsic to small-scale businesses of migrants from Turkey. Mixed embeddedness is analysed in this respect by conducting ethnographic fieldwork with 23 in-depth interviews. Further research is needed to elaborate intercommunal ties of migrant entrepreneurship with different immigrant communities.

**Keywords:** Turkish-German migration, migrant entrepreneurship, mixed embeddedness, integration, transnational space.

## ÖZ

### KÜÇÜK ÖLÇEKLİ İŞLETME ÜZERİNDEN ENTEGRASYON: ALMANYA'DAKİ TÜRK “GÖÇMEN” KÖKENLİ GİRİŞİMCİLER ÖRNEĞİ

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Ekonomik bir faaliyet olarak kendi hesabına çalışma, göç bağlamında önemli bir yere sahiptir. Göçmenlerin ve göçmen kökenli insanların yer aldığı sosyal, kültürel, politik ve ekonomik alanlarla ilişkilidir. Özel bir kendi hesabına çalışma biçimi olarak göçmen girişimciliği, hem ev sahibi ülkedeki bu alanları hem de sınırlar içinde ve arasındaki göçmen ağlarını ve organizasyonlarını yansıttığı için ulusötesi işgücü piyasası ile ilgilidir. Göç literatüründe göçmen girişimciliği etnik nişler, pazar gittolaşması ve entegrasyon açısından tartışılmaktadır. Bu tez, Türk-Alman İşgücü Antlaşmasınının 60. yıldönümünde, küçük ölçekli aile işletmelerini, karma gömülülük yaklaşımından bakarak sosyo-ekonomik entegrasyon süreçleri üzerinden analiz etmektedir. Göçmen girişimciliği, piyasa ve devlet ilişkilerine gömülü olma ile karakterize edilir. Almanya'daki girişimcilerin etnik ilişkileri ve kaynakları ve fırsat yapısı ile sosyo-ekonomik entegrasyon, göçmenlerin onları nasıl tanımladıklarına ve çerçevelediklerine dayanılarak değerlendirilir. Türkiye'den gelen göçmenlerin göç süreçlerinin ve emek faaliyetlerinin dönüşümünün tarihsel köklerini takip eden bu tez, küçük ölçekli işletme sahipliğinin sosyo-ekonomik entegrasyonu olumlu etkilediği ortaya koyar. Etnik ilişkilerin genellikle sembolik biçimlerde gerçekleştiği vurgulanır. Çok kültürlülük, esneklik ve aile gömülülüğü, Türkiye'den gelen



göçmenlerin küçük ölçekli işletmelerine özgü araçsal özellikler olarak tartışılmaktadır. 23 derinlemesine görüşme ile etnografik alan çalışması yapılarak karma gömülülük bu açıdan analiz edilmektedir. Farklı göçmen toplulukları ile göçmen girişimciliğinin toplumlar arası bağlarını detaylandırmak için daha fazla araştırmaya ihtiyaç vardır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Türk-Alman göçü, göçmen girişimciliği, karma gömülülük, entegrasyon, ulusötesi alan.

*To Gastarbeiter migrant workers and my most loved ones*

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## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Self-employment and small-scale business ownership manifest particular insights in the migration context with respect to structural conditions in the receiving country and migrants' agency. Motivations and resources that are inclusive in the certain processes of migrant entrepreneurship are reflected in the recent literature with diverse cases because each migration process has its own dynamics. There appears to be a broad scheme of sociological issues around migrant entrepreneurship, which are associated with multi-layered social, cultural, economic, and political aspects such as discrimination, racism, generational change, inequality, integration, and transnationalism. In this thesis, I aim to contribute literature by analysing the case of 60 years of Turkish-German migration context and recent entrepreneurial activities of migrant origin families by focusing on the role of self-employment in the processes of social and economic integration for migrant families and how small-scale businesses and integration interact with each other through mixed embeddedness approach.

This thesis subscribes to the field in the way that it evaluates migrant businesses covering the social, cultural, and economic aspects of migrants' lives in host countries and how they influence business activities. Additionally, this thesis contributes to integration studies for the same subject in a way that it considers individual experiences and perceptions about the sense of belonging and integration along with policies and structural implications in Germany. How people with Turkish migration background identify integration in their own framework is analysed regarding the chosen theoretical and methodological approach. Lastly, this thesis questions the

insights of multiculturalism and family embeddedness in entrepreneurship and how they are interconnected with socio-economic integration.

If we could trace the time to 1961 and go back to the Sirkeci train station where the first train left for Germany full of Turkish migrants and if we could ask people in there what would they think when we said that the population of Turkish origin would reach almost 4 million in 2021? What would they have said when we asked them there will be a global pandemic and the vaccine will be developed by the company of Turkey origin scientists whose families had come to Germany as immigrants? And what if we ask these first-generation labour migrants, in 60 years, Turkish food businesses, specifically döner, will become the most popular snack shops countrywide, surpassing McDonald's and Burger King? It would not be a surprise if they laughed at all the questions. Because first-generation labour migrants shared similar ideas about their journey to Germany, after saving as much as money possible, coming back to Turkey and to their families with the hope of having a better life. Not only migrant labourers but also German and Turkish officials shared the same thought at that time.

In 2021, on the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Turkish-German Labour Recruitment agreement, we have a totally different picture in front of us. Population with Turkish migration background has been transformed from “Gastarbeiter” who work in labour-intensive jobs to a resident community with more diversified occupations, including self-employment and business ownership. Döner kebab shops are not the only form of entrepreneurship, yet they are still the most famous among others. Besides from food businesses, migrants from Turkey established small-scale enterprises such as grocery markets, buffets (“kiosk” in German), cafes, hairdressers, cleaning companies, retail stores, boutiques, real estate agencies, travel agencies, jewellery stores, wedding and funeral organisation companies, mechanics, souvenir shops, gambling halls, and so on. In contemporary Germany, these various types of self-employment need to be elaborated on regarding past and present discussions about Turkish-German migration contexts by pointing the integration to social, economic, and political spheres.

Political representation of the Turkey-originated community has peaked with 19 MPs with a Turkish migration background being elected to the German parliament in the last elections in 2021. Even though this is a record number, it still does not fall close

to representing the highest population group after natives. Moreover, various Turkish migrant organisations and associations around Germany stand for political, economic, cultural and religious issues, which I briefly discuss in Chapter II. Turks in Germany nowadays are seen in high-status quo jobs in both government and private sectors. After the last elections, Cem Özdemir from The Greens became Minister of Food and Agriculture, the first person of Turkish origin to be in the cabinet. As I stated, döner kebab shops are not unique examples; migrants from Turkey have established entrepreneurship in several economic branches. As the Biontech example shows, a biotechnology company owned by two Turkey origin people, Özlem Türeci and Uğur Şahin, which has developed the first vaccine for the COVID-19 pandemic, second and third generation immigrant population in Germany have business enterprises in highly skilled areas as well<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless, the main entrepreneurship field is small-scale businesses. This research is conducted to understand the motivations and resources behind the self-employment of migrants from Turkey and how this kind of entrepreneurship as small-scale businesses has shaped socio-economic integration. It also considers the mutual relationship between integration and entrepreneurial activities in a way that entrepreneurship is seen as a consequence of certain degrees of integration related to upward social mobility.

Small-scale business is a complex concept that has multiple and contradicting definitions. These contradictions are mostly based on which characteristics are considered to refer to a small-scale enterprise. The number of employees, amount of business budget, business field, and the number of business partners can classify different types of enterprises as small-scale. These might also be seen as little details regarding textbook definition; however, in terms of laws and regulations concerning the enterprise and resources used to start a business, what is understood by small-scale businesses is crucial. For this thesis, I use the term small-scale business to refer to businesses owned by self-employed individuals who employ others, have a maximum

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<sup>1</sup> See The Guardian article from November 2020 titled as *“BioNTech’s Covid vaccine: a shot in the arm for Germany’s Turkish community; Couple who set up and run firm are children of long-maligned ‘guest workers’ from Turkey”*. Retrieved June 30, 2022, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/nov/09/biontechs-covid-vaccine-a-shot-in-the-arm-for-germanys-turkish-community>

of 10 to 15 employees, work in a geographically limited area, and have only one shop. Additionally, as a significant aspect of the case of this thesis, small-scale businesses are exclusively chosen as family enterprises. In other words, at least one of the employees other than the self-employed owner must be a family or close kin network member. With the lack of social network and financial capital compared to natives, the family becomes a resource for immigrants in their economic activities, which is analysed in Chapter IV in more detail. In this respect, I define the subject of this thesis as small-scale family business owners of migrants from Turkey.

### **1.1. Significance of the Study and Research Question**

Germany has a high-rate population of people with migrant background.<sup>2</sup> Its economy also has a considerable amount of immigrant labour power. People with Turkish migration background have the largest population among other immigrant groups in Germany. One thing to always keep in mind is the fact that today's Turkish population in Germany was originally considered temporary labour migrants. Yet, labour migration is still an ongoing topic in Germany. In August 2021, Federal Labour Agency Chairman stated that the country must immigrate 400.000 new migrants annually to respond to labour demand.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, a study shows that migrants comprise 13% of Germany's labour in the national economy (Edo et al., 2018). Thus, Germany and immigrant labour is a complex and still dynamic case that requires attention to both Germany's historical development in terms of the national economy, particularly after World War II and particular migratory processes. In this thesis, I present historical background and generational changes with respect to employment practices and integration discussions for people with migratory origin from Turkey.

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<sup>2</sup> See [https://www.destatis.de/EN/Themes/Society-Environment/Population/Migration-Integration/\\_node.html](https://www.destatis.de/EN/Themes/Society-Environment/Population/Migration-Integration/_node.html) Retrieved January 5, 2022. "In 2020, 21.9 million people had a migrant background, representing 26.7% of the population in Germany".

<sup>3</sup> See DW News, "Germany's workforce in desperate need of skilled immigrants, warns labor agency". Retrieved December 22, 2021, from <https://www.dw.com/en/germanys-workforce-in-desperate-need-of-skilled-immigrants-warns-labor-agency/a-58974377>

Changes and transformations in migrants' economic activities are referred as reflections of integration in the receiving country. In that sense, self-employment is considered an adaptation strategy for immigrants (Ram & Jones, 2008). Migrant entrepreneurship can tell us many things related to integration, discrimination, exclusion, co-ethnic networks, and racism in the host country. Studying small-scale family businesses of migrants from Turkey is important to make people's experiences visible. This thesis aimed to contribute to an under-researched area in migration literature. Even though migrant entrepreneurship studies are a growing topic, there is a tendency to evaluate this issue by mostly stressing cultural implications and the state of current business relations. On the other hand, researching the motivations and resources of small-scale businesses can provide to examine structural conditions as well as address the impacts of individual agency. Besides, looking at the interaction between entrepreneurship and integration in terms of upward social mobility can contribute to the field with such a new insight. This thesis's research design and theoretical perspective are decided according to this thought. Mixed embeddedness approach, as it is defined by Kloosterman et al. (1999), Kloosterman (2010), Kloosterman & Rath (2001, 2006, 2018), Ram et al. (2017) and Davids & Houte (2008), is chosen for both methodological and theoretical frameworks. I explain how I operationalise mixed embeddedness in Chapter II.

The research question of this thesis is how small-scale businesses and socio-economic integration interact in the case of entrepreneurs with Turkish migration background in Germany through the mixed embeddedness approach. In this way, I aim to understand and analyse how and in which ways motivations shape migrants to build their own businesses related to social and economic integration in the host country and what are resources they use. My intent to examine the interaction between migrant entrepreneurship and socio-economic integration is particularly about seeing the role of entrepreneurial activities in the integration processes and questioning integration itself as it might be another force to lead small-scale business ownership. Moreover, I aim to look at migrant entrepreneurship considering the impacts of certain concepts such as multiculturalism, flexibility, and family embeddedness concerning their role in the socio-economic integration processes.

In this respect, integration as a concept is operationalised in this thesis as it reflects the lived experiences and perspectives of the respondents, people of Turkish migration origin. In Chapter II, I discuss the problems of nation-state-based definitions of integration and other works that consider integration as if it is a task that migrants are expected to achieve. These views carry certain fundamental problems, such as the understanding of measuring the integration of immigrants based on receiving countries' policies. They also tend to overlook transnational spaces. However, in my analysis which is in line with mixed embeddedness approach, in order to elaborate integration processes, there are some crucial aspects which necessarily require to be viewed from the migrant's perspective, such as how they cope with structural conditions in receiving country, what kind of adaptation strategies they develop, and what is the role of transnational ties in terms of integration. Besides, the case of this thesis has to be examined by giving people their own voices to be heard since it considers multi-layered aspects such as ethnic embeddedness, family embeddedness, and embeddedness into the opportunity structure in Germany. Therefore, integration is operationalised according to respondents' conceptualisation in the interviews by relying on qualitative analysis. In Chapter II, I discuss how taking the subjects' frameworks at the centre of my analysis embraces challenging methodological nationalism.

Migrant entrepreneurship also shows particularities of migrants' experiences regarding adaptation, assimilation, and discrimination. I will be looking at the issue of migrant origin family businesses through mixed embeddedness as it is a useful theoretical tool to point both market and state relations around migrant businesses as well as ethnic resources and opportunity structures. The main topics discussed in this thesis are analysis of migrant businesses, mixed embeddedness, motivations and resources, and finally, succession or failure of businesses.

## **1.2. Research Motivation**

My idea for this research topic came from my own experiences. In the summer of 2018, I went to Germany as an ERASMUS+ exchange student at Duisburg-Essen

University for six months. My aunt and her family welcomed me to their home during my stay. After some months, I got a job offer from one of my relatives; I was invited to work with them at a traditional Turkish fast-food shop. They rent a place in a big organisation for Ramadan to sell lahmacun, pide and gözleme. It was a family business owned by a man, his wife, and his parents. This man, also my relative, had another professional job that provided him with a considerable wage. The main motivation to establish the shop I had been working was clear, to get extra financial gains. Two other women were working like me, one of them was my aunt, and the other woman was also a family member. Most days, the owner's brother and wife joined us to work. I remember it was one of the most exhausting jobs I ever did; we could only serve food after fast ends except for a limited number of non-Muslim customers. Thus, we were always in a rush to catch the orders. I worked there for 20 days. My working hours were around 4 to 5 hours in the evening. During those 20 days, I discovered that every other shop there, is owned by migrant origin families. From döner, çiğköfte, lokma, and baklava shops to traditional clothes, headscarves, and handmade goods (mostly those as it is called in Turkey "çeyizlik", certain dowery handicrafts for houses and individuals), and to even some playgrounds were all running by migrant families.

My personal experience as a worker in a migrant family business provided me to have observations and multiple conversations with others. However, I would have lied if I do not say the strongest experience from that job was the fact that I was not paid for my work. As a young woman who cannot even speak German and a stranger in there, I was easily subjected to unpaid labour exploitation. I was an easy target. When I asked for my payment, the owner's answer was recklessly reminding me I should count it as a family business and that they did not earn enough money. I was told to consider my labour as a contribution to my kin. Also, as a young student girl, pocket money should be enough for me. My aunt's situation was similar. She was not paid either. However, she got a replica of a luxury brand watch as a gift which did not come close to respond her labour. I did not go to the police or any other official institution. I felt quite weak because I had the annoying feeling of being fooled that easily. I was a foreign student; I had only two months left in Germany and had to write term papers. I thought it was my mistake to work without signing any document, but trust. Also, as they are my relatives, this would become a big family crisis if I made an official complaint. In the end, this experience left me with a research idea instead of a rightly earned salary.

Thus, my motivation for this thesis research originated from my experience as a worker at a small-scale migrant family business. Having the opportunity of being inside the business even for a short period and relatively similar time of observations for other shops and communications with other workers and owners set the ground for my understanding of the issue.



## **CHAPTER II**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1. Introduction**

In this chapter, I present a literature review conducted for the thesis. In order to get an overall understanding of the topic, general overviews of migration and international labour migration studies are included. I aim to show how migration in terms of labour mobility has been studied and what are the important themes and concepts. In this respect, I present different approaches briefly and try to connect them with German-Turkish migration issues. History of labour migration studies focusing on migration from Turkey to Germany is discussed to reflect the state of the field with a holistic view. I evaluated the theoretical framework for this thesis, which is decided to be mixed embeddedness approach and my perspective towards it. An overview of socio-economic integration studies is also shown. Later in the chapter, I also present studies about self-employment and migrant entrepreneurship, particularly in Germany. Conceptual shifts in these studies associate with the transformation of German integration policies, which I also examined.

#### **2.2. Overview of Migration Studies**

In this section, I briefly discuss classical migration theories and approaches in order to make an introduction to how migrant entrepreneurship and socio-economic integration are conceptualised in the literature. I present selected important works in the following chronological order. Having an overview background of how migration is studied and

how studies evolve in time is an essential part of understanding migration as a sociological concept. Besides, scientific literature also reflects the historical changes in the field. Regarding the subject of this research, generational changes concerning migrants from Turkey are also highlighted.

Migration studies cover many theories, approaches, and concepts that attempt to develop a scientific understanding of factors that lead to human mobility, such as motivations, resources, and social, economic, political, and cultural outcomes. Through time, migration studies appear to introduce multiple themes to reflect the particularities of migration as a social reality. In other words, historical migration studies usually present discussions and arguments about changing places as a human action. Therefore, it can be said that migration studies are an active field reflecting human mobilities and changing dynamics of them through time and space. Regular and irregular migration, forced migration, return migration, circular migration, labour migration, domestic migration, seasonal migration, and transnational migration are some of the popular research topics following the changes in recent years.

Migration studies in sociology appear as a dynamic field with developments based on research areas. It is a highly interdisciplinary field that offers a variety of different theories. Sociologists elaborate on migratory processes beyond physically crossing the territorial borders of nation-states. They rather analyse global and local structural inequalities that shape migration in the form of the social construction of boundaries of belonging as well as political conflicts which lead people into different forms of human mobility (Amelina & Horvath, 2017). On the other hand, taking the idea of people moving from developing countries to developed countries for granted is problematic, and it narrows our understanding of migration. The causes and consequences of migration are very complex and multi-layered, making it hard to develop a general theory of migration (Castles et al., 2014; de Haas, 2020). In the case of labour migration and migrant businesses, social and economic consequences of migration are directly linked with work and employment. To investigate theoretical discussion, I will start by presenting general theories and approaches in the sociology of migration, particularly in international labour migration.

### 2.2.2. Approaches to The Study of Migration

By definition, migration as a sociological concept means changing space by individuals. In 1971, Goldscheider wrote that migration is an action which brings “*detachment from the organisations of activities at one place and the movement of the total round of activities to another*” (Golscheider, 1971:64). Another perspective towards migration argues that the concept of migration is hard to consider as only an individual action. Well-known migration scholars Castles, de Hass, and Miller write, “*Migration is often a collective action, arising out of social, economic and political change and affecting the whole society in both sending and receiving areas*” (Castles et al., 2014:25). It is also a long process, rather than one-time mobility action. Instead, the reasons and motivations of migration and consequences afterwards have huge impacts on sending and receiving societies.

E.G. Ravenstein was the first to discuss “laws of migration” in 1885. He attempted to clarify general laws in the case of migration by using birthplace data in 19th century Britain. Ravenstein’s study has been useful until today to point to inner-country mobility in Britain. He argued that people are migrating either they are pushed or pulled by places, yet he stated pull factors are more influential than push factors. (Ravenstein, 1889). The idea of understanding the logic behind human mobility and push-pull mechanisms later influenced other neo-classical scholars.

Stouffer considered migration with his theory of intervening opportunities in his studies in the 1960s. He explained intervening opportunities as the proportion of people who go to that specific place for those with the same proportion of opportunities. His theory has been opposed as it does not say what are those intervening opportunities (Jansen, 2016). Developed by Lee, the push and pull theory has been very popular in migration studies, yet it also triggers many criticisms. In 1966, Lee classified economic, social, environmental, and cultural factors that either encourage people to leave their original settlement as defined as push factors or the same factors that pull people to a new destination (Lee, 1966). In other words, individuals are capable of making cost-benefit calculations in migration decisions. People choose to migrate or not by calculating the constraints and benefits of

migration. Furthermore, Lee argued that migration is selective depending on age, sex, and life cycle (Lee, 1966).

His theory came to address the factors behind emigration and immigration are made at the individual level, which later gets many backlashes. Push and pull theory is interpreted as “simplistic” as it presents a list of hypothetical factors which encourage people to migrate (de Haas, 2020). Yet, it fails to explain why some people migrate while others stay, although the structural conditions are the same. As Stark clearly points out, push and pull theory does take individuals as the sole actor in migratory processes; however, it is often families that make the decision (Stark, 1991). Even when the individual is the only person who migrates, it is the family who needs migrant remittances in the first place, particularly in terms of international labour migration. As discussed by Massey, according to the new economics of migration approach (discussed in more detail in the next section), the decision for migration is not made by the individual but by “*larger units of interrelated people*” such as by family or household (Massey, 1999:36).

The lack of general or grand theory in migration is still an ongoing issue. Theories of migration highlight sociological aspects of the migratory process, yet there is not a complex theory in contemporary discussions as well. Migration research is mostly done as empirical studies. De Haas warns that there is an increasing gap between scholars in terms of quantitative and qualitative research. He argues that;

Particularly since the rise of ‘postmodern’ social science in the 1970s and 1980s, big-picture migration theory making has been largely abandoned. (...) (policy-driven) migration research, recent work, particularly by anthropologists and sociologists, has focused on studying and conceptualising the (transnational, multicultural, diasporic, creolised) lives, identities and experiences of migrants from an ‘emic’ perspective (de Haas, 2020:2).

Most contemporary migration studies parallel push and pull theory which unfortunately fails to recognise structural inequalities. According to de Haas, “*the vital role of difficult-to-quantify structural factors such as inequality, power and states in shaping migration processes*” is crucial to understand migratory processes as a complex without falling into traps of functionalist methods that attribute migrants “*the more or less passive victims of capitalist forces*” (de Haas, 2020:4).

Amelina and Horvath argue that contemporary migration studies are divided into three subfields: (a) researching the forms and patterns of migration, (b) developing arguments and policies of political regulations of migration and mobility, and lastly, (c) discussions about societal consequences of migration (Amelina & Horvath, 2017). The aim of this thesis falls into the third category as it reflects *“the mutual shaping of migration and societal development and identity politics in the context of migration and postmigration”* (Amelina & Horvath, 2017:468). Migration is a very strong element in social change and societal transformation (Czaika & de Haas, 2017; Van Hear, 2010; Portes, 2010; Castles, 2010), requiring an interventionist approach to studying. Looking at the postmigration issues helps to understand further societal transformations such as assimilation, discrimination, integration, and transnationalism.

In recent years, studies focusing on postmigration “settlements” processes (Amelina & Horvath, 2017:466) are predominantly produced by psychologists who study psychological health effects and outcomes of migration among individuals, such as trauma and PTSD. Much research has been done, particularly on psychological issues concerning asylum seekers and refugees in developed countries (Li et al., 2016; Chen et al., 2017; Hyne, 2018; Carswell et al., 2011). Yet, postmigration not only has psychological outcomes but also it leads to complex social, economic, political, and cultural consequences for both sending and receiving countries. Studies which are accountable for various sociological outcomes have shown that postmigration issues are explicit in social processes in the everyday life of migrants. Ryan (2011) discusses accessing and maintaining different types of networks that are sources of social capital. Sime and Fox (2015) look at a similar topic from a migrant’s children perspective. Hunter (2016) and Zirh (2012) analyse postmigration diasporas in the case of funeral rituals. Rishbeth and Powell (2013) and Petersen and Schramm (2017) take belonging as an experience in the postmigration context. Lastly, Reniers (2000) presents a case study about Turkish and Moroccan migrants’ traditional marriage practices as a survival strategy after migration.

### **2.3. Overview of International Labour Migration Studies**

Migration from Turkey to Germany first started as labour recruitment in 1961. Presenting how international labour migration is studied in the literature is helpful in developing an understanding of the historical background of migrants from Turkey in Germany. Thus, the changing patterns of employment practices are significantly focused on the scope of this research. An understanding of international labour migration is a must to have a prerequisite for studying integration. In the following section, I will look at the important works of international labour migration studies and the key concepts and discussions in this field. I think that starting with an acknowledgement of methodological nationalism is very suggestive because of the fact that many studies are actually the reflection of a nation-state-based perspective when it comes to international human mobility where crossing borders is a defining issue.

International and labour migration came into scientific discussion, especially after World War II (Amelina & Horvart, 2017). Europe was an emigration area until that time. Then it quickly became a host destination for people by the end of WWII. A great number of people had moved to Europe as labour migrants from mostly southern European countries, Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and the Middle East (Massey et al., 1993). A major amount of the literature in migration studies takes migration to developed countries such as European countries, the USA, Canada, and Australia into account as a turning point in the sense of international labour migration. Human mobility for the sake of work and employment between developing countries is almost ignored among the international labour migration discussions and stayed as a Western-centric understanding of the issue. International migration research also tends to be methodologically nationalist. Wimmer and Glick-Schiller state that there is a long-term conceptual tendency in migration studies to represent a nation-state perspective. In other words, most migration research reproduces the naturalisation of the global regime of nation-states (Wimmer & Glick-Schiller, 2002). They declare that there are three variants of methodological nationalism in migration studies:

We have identified three variants of methodological nationalism: 1) ignoring or disregarding the fundamental importance of nationalism for

modern societies; this is often combined with 2) naturalisation, ie., taking for granted that the boundaries of the nation-state delimit and define the unit of analysis; 3) territorial limitation which confines the study of social processes to the political and geographic boundaries of a particular nation-state. (Wimmer & Schiller, 2002:577-578)

The three variants reinforce each other; in a way that scholars try to understand the social reality in the case of migration. Theories of migration should be considered with the critical approach of methodological nationalism in order to have a better understanding of migration, particularly transnationalism. Drawing the historical background of each migratory process might be helpful in overcoming barriers to methodological nationalism. In this thesis, I intend to apply a critical perspective toward methodological nationalism, as Wimmer and Glick-Schiller argue. Understanding the particularities of migration contexts provides an indeterministic approach to seeing how individuals experience and perceive given situations as the subjects of the case. Thus, bringing a historical background to the discussion in relation to migrants' experiences and generational changes reflects the overlooked issues by classical nation-state-based analyses. It is because of the fact that an examination of how and why migration in certain cases occurred and evolved through time is a key aspect of migration research in order to connect lived experiences of the migrant background people.

Theorising international migration could be challenging considering the complexity of migration across borders. That explains the isolation between theoretical investigation in international migration discussion. Massey and colleagues suggest that a coherent theory must acknowledge the unique character of international migration. They write, "*Rather, their complex, multifaceted nature requires a sophisticated theory that incorporates a variety of perspectives, levels, and assumption.*" (Massey et al., 1993:432). In a more recent article, de Haas argues unfortunately, not a lot has changed in the field (de Haas, 2020). International migration is usually considered with the notion of labour migration, and theoretical discussions of labour economy as theories mostly occur as a reflection of migrant flow to developed countries from economically developing regions (Weeks, 2012).

Existing literature on international labour migration mostly reflects four major theories: neoclassical economic theory (Harris & Torado, 1970), segmented or dual

labour markets theories (Piore, 1979), new economics of labour migration (Stark, 1978), and world systems theory (Wallerstein, 1974). All these theoretical approaches try to explain the micro or macro elements in migratory processes by using “*radically different concepts, assumptions, and frames of reference*” (Massey et al., 1993). The neoclassical economic theory of migration looks at the micro level and considers migration as an individual act for better economic opportunities. On the contrary, the new economics of labour migration discusses migration as a household decision to maximise family economic activities. The other two approaches offer an analysis inspired by Marxist thinking, and they “*have analysed labour migration processes with a focus on their embeddedness in global economic and political relationships*” (Amelina & Horvart, 2017:467). To achieve a generalised perspective towards migration, these theories either choose a functionalist explanation or historical-structural and systematic analysis. Bakewell argues that this differentiation in international migration discussions is immense in the complex relationship between structure and agency. He discusses that focusing on structure and agency prevented to develop of a coherent migration theory;

Some approaches lean towards a more determinist position and play scant regard to the decisions and behaviour of individual actors. Many go in the other direction and focus on the agency of individuals; they tend to struggle to take account of the role of broader social structures in shaping migration patterns, except in as far as they are mediated through an individual’s decision-making. Others head for the middle ground, recognising the importance of finding the balance between structure and agency (Bakewell, 2010:1690).

Bakewell also argues that scholars who follow Giddens’s structuration theory fail to recognise how structure and agency are balanced in contextual ways (Bakewell, 2010). As a response to the existing discussion in the field, de Haas argues that to understand the complex relationship between structure and agency in migration, a new approach that elaborates on migration “*as a function of aspirations and capabilities to migrate within given sets of perceived geographical opportunity structures*” would be a useful tool (de Haas, 2020:17). The concept of opportunity structure is also applied by theorists who argue about mixed embeddedness in terms of migrant businesses in the field of international labour migration as a societal consequence of the migratory process.



### 2.3.1. Transnationalism Discussions

Transnationalism studies about international migration are relatively newer than the classical approaches. Starting from Basch et al. (1994)'s works, scholars were largely engaged in the questions about new outcomes of international migration between sending and receiving countries. The previously used term *diaspora* is replaced by transnational communities (Castles & Miller, 2009). Similarly, the concept of transmigrant has been started to use to define migrants who are active in transnational communities. Nevertheless, the level of participation in transnational activities and showing transnational behaviour has not been clearly presented in transnationalism discussions (Castles & Miller, 2009). On the other hand, the transnationalism approach presents a comprehensive analysis of migratory processes.

Faist (2000) elaborates further on the discussion by pointing transnational face of migratory processes. Theories of migration should be free from the classical understanding of migration as a one-time action. Instead, migration is a process which actively produces results for both sending and receiving countries (Faist, 2000). Along with transnational approaches, ethnic relations and assimilation and integration theories create a big research domain in terms of postmigration studies. Migrant entrepreneurship falls between these categories since it reflects transnational ties, ethnic relations, migrant remittances, and assimilation and integration theories with various sociological impacts. It can be said that the economic activities of migrants might be a way to adapt to the host countries as well as it is a resource for remittances for the household members who rely on them in the country of origin (Massey, 1999). Migrant remittances, in general, can be a risk diversification strategy for the transnational household (de Haas, 2007). From the perspective of the new economics of migration, considering transnational ties, entrepreneurial activities for immigrants can also be understood as an adaptation to the host country in a way that increases the possibilities for migrant remittances for stay-at-home households. Thus, the country of origin and the host country are both affected by immigrant economic activities.

Weeks writes about the consequences of migration for migrants;

Immigrants undergo a process of adaptation or adjustment to the new environment, in which they adjust to the new physical and social environment and learn how best to negotiate everyday life (Weeks, 2016:297).

Therefore, migrant entrepreneurship from this perspective can be discussed in terms of a negotiation activity in response to their situation in the host or receiving country. As Faist (2010) discusses, the concept of transnationalism is vital to recognise the economic and social relations of migrants with their family and relatives in the country of origin. Not only remittances to country of origin but also social and economic orientation in terms of transnationalism are effective in migrants' entrepreneurship. Faist's argument about integration is fascinating as it questions whether this small-scale migrant entrepreneurship is complementary or odd to their social and economic integration in the host country. The idea is, on the one hand, that we have migrant businesses that are supported by the government (at least in theory), and they respond to the culture-specific needs of migrants. However, on the other hand, these kinds of consequences of transnational orientations (for Faist, small-scale entrepreneurship is also a consequence) make differences more visible, sometimes even more than they are. That is why he came to ask about are those transnational orientation creates odds to integration. In Chapter IV, I question these arguments regarding the fieldwork of this thesis. Transnational ties are considered "detrimental" to successful integration in the host country (Amelina & Faist, 2008). Thinking this view with the concept of market ghettoisation and ethnic niches, which are usually discussed in relation to migrant networks within the host country and across borders (Waldinger, 1994), it might be more meaningful to address how some scholars and policymakers came up with that idea. They write that,

The transnational approach suggests that migrants are able, both to maintain transnational linkages and, at the same time, to acquire necessary (economic, political, educational etc.) knowledge in order to achieve an inclusion in organisations and institutions of the 'majority society' (Amelina & Faist, 2008:94).

This perspective connects transnationalism and integration discussions. Migrants can have transnational linkages which bind them together with their country of origin, while they can simultaneously learn the way of life in the host country. According to Aldrich and Waldinger (1990), ethnic enterprises show adaptation strategies by

migrants to the environment they live. They point out that immigrants frame their enterprises considering the ethnic group's access to opportunities, the characteristics of a group, and emergent strategies, which are also linked to the transnational migrant network.

Technological advances in communication and advances in transportation in the globalisation era sustained quicker and easier ways to establish and maintain transnational ties and networks. They also initiated a new version of transnational enterprises, as Bagwell (2015) argues. She discussed that in the era of super connectivity, transnational entrepreneurships are also transformed into more transnationally embedded businesses.

Lastly, even though transnationalism reflects important aspects of ethnic relations and integration into the host country, not every migrant individual is a transmigrant (Castles et al., 2014; Weeks, 2016). Transmigrants are a specific group of people or “new class of migrants” (Weeks, 2016) who are identified as those who have strong network ties in transnational communities. I argue that migrant entrepreneurs, particularly the ones who participate in “ethnic markets”, can fit the transmigrant category. Nevertheless, not every small-scale business owner can be categorised as a transmigrant.

#### **2.4. Mixed Embeddedness Approach**

Entrepreneurial patterns among immigrants are thought to be shaped by ethnic relations and opportunity structure by many scholars. What I will look at in this research is the multi-layered nature of small-scale businesses of migrants from Turkey by applying mixed embeddedness approach. By doing so, I intend to understand ethnic embeddedness, structural factors, family embeddedness, and opportunities in the host country.

Kloosterman et al. (1999) argued the concept of mixed embeddedness refers to migrants' embeddedness into both market (economic aspect) and state (political aspect) relations. Aldrich and Waldinger (1990) thought about mixed embeddedness

by claiming the interactionist model behind the theory. They say that minority businesses result from the interplay of ethnic resources and opportunity structure (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990). While ethnic resources mean the community social capital, opportunity structure points out the market environment. Kloosterman gives another definition of opportunity structure. According to him, *“the opportunity structure is the strategic window of entry to explain patterns of entrepreneurship from a comparative perspective in the mixed-embeddedness approach”* (Kloosterman, 2010:40).

Social capital is considered a multidimensional construct in the mixed embeddedness literature, as Tata and Prasad (2015) argue. It is also related to the migrant community capacity. There are critical non-economic factors that play an influential role in family businesses. For example, a different set of meanings can assist or restrict access to certain markets and economies. Tata and Prasad write about two sides of embeddedness in the case of migrant businesses:

- 1- Relational embeddedness (the quality of social capital)
- 2- Structural embeddedness (the quantity of social capital)

Thus, they came to argue that there are two sides to migrants' self-employment. One of them is about cultural and ethnic resources that motivate migrants to establish their own businesses. For example, demand from the ethnic community about specific services, products, goods, etc. In other words, there is a gap in the host country's market that can only be filled by migrant entrepreneurship. As Şahin and her colleagues discuss Turkish migrant entrepreneurs in the Netherlands, migrant entrepreneurs know the preferences of their own ethnic community (Şahin et al., 2007). The most obvious example is that some Muslim migrants prefer to eat “halal” meat prepared according to Islamic laws by other Muslims. In response to this need, it is common to observe many migrant-owned markets and grocery stores selling halal meat. Issues related to trust and honesty are applicable in this context. Customers trust dealers just by knowing their religious identity.

The other factor behind migrants' self-employment is “discriminatory attitudes” in the opportunity structure in the host country. Discriminatory attitudes have many faces,

such as direct and open discrimination toward migrants, language barrier, and a hostile political environment which prohibits migrants from engaging in political activity (Hack-Polay et al., 2020). Discriminatory attitudes encourage migrants to establish their own businesses as sometimes they are not treated equally in work relations. Rather than being pushed to low-income and low-status jobs in the host country because of ethnic and cultural discrimination, migrants tend to start their own businesses. From the mixed embeddedness approach, Ram and his colleagues argue about some causes behind migrant businesses,

(...) the nature of new migrant business is shaped not only by diversity but also by migrancy: their dislocation in an alien and often difficult commercial, legal and social environment whose successful enactment requires linguistic and experiential skills which many do not yet possess (Ram et al., 2013:338).

Besides these, some scholars also argue that being self-employed as a migrant provides more possibilities for upward economic mobility (Faist, 2010; Tata & Prasad, 2015). According to Hack-Polay and his colleagues (2020), in the case of sub-Saharan African migrant family businesses in Europe, the struggle for ethnic identity and survival rests on migrants to start a business. They argue that sometimes these businesses are established without prior business knowledge and skills. My idea is that even though these businesses lack the necessary knowledge and skills, they might have the chance to stay at the market thanks to the ethnic community network. Being able to know the culture-specific needs of the community and already existing customer profile helps migrant entrepreneurs to stay in the market.

Engaging in the economic activities in host places does not directly mean integration as we understood it from a nation-state perspective. Self-employment of migrants can also be interpreted as a form of exclusion from local markets, which are discriminative based on ethnic identity. Transnationalism discussions show that immigrants tend to have close ties with their ethnic communities and country of origin even when there is no legal retraction for them in social and economic life. Innovation in transportation and communication technologies helped migrants build strong relationships over borders. Transnational business activities prove the significance of cultural and ethnic communities in host countries (Castles et al., 2014). In the next sections of this chapter,

I explain how I consider mixed embeddedness in this thesis and how it is used to analyse the case of entrepreneurs with Turkish migrant background.

## **2.5. Socio-Economic Integration**

In this section, I focus on highlighting how the socio-economic integration of migrants is examined in the literature. By doing so, I hope to elaborate on the relationship between migrant entrepreneurship and socio-economic integration. After shortly introducing important approaches to migrant integration, I will specifically discuss integration studies in Germany, together with policies.

Integration is a politicised concept in public opinion (Beresneviciute, 2003). Castles and Miller (2009) name the conclusion section of *New Ethnic Minorities and Society* as *The Integration Challenge*. I find this word choice very summative because integration has become a real challenge for all parts included in the migratory process. Migrants, receiving and sending countries face different outcomes of lack of integration and problematic or inadequate policies. The notion itself, integration, triggers some discussions as well as whether or not it should be aimed. In my view, integration seems to be the best possibility for both parties (migrants and the receiving country) to recognise each other that can sustain immigrant inclusion into society.

One of the important understandings of integration is that it is a segmented process (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Even though in their original writing, they talk about segmented assimilation to refer to assimilation does not necessarily realise in the same degree for each minority, their conceptualisation also reflects integration discussions. Followed by Zhou's (1997) theory of segmented assimilation, scholars argued about the diversity of outcomes for people with migration background in the host society. Esser (2010) writes about intergenerational integration. Ethnic stratification and selective acculturation incorporate differences in terms of integration for the following generations. He proposed that his approach overcomes the methodological problems of the segmented assimilation theory. According to Esser, "*different structural outcomes can be generally explained as consequences of special empirical constellations and processes*" (Esser, 2010:16). He categorises these structural

outcomes as assimilation (accompanied by increasing opportunity cost), ethnic stratification (systematic differences -unemployment, income, occupational position, upward mobility- between the ethnic groups and generations), and selective acculturation (structural assimilation simultaneous with embeddedness in ethnic networks and ethnic orientations).

Other scholars write about segmented integration by pointing to group differences. According to Spencer, *“Patterns of disadvantage and exclusion are complex: there are substantial differences in levels of economic, social and cultural integration between and within migrant communities”* (Spencer, 2006:5). She argues that this problem requires more effective integration strategies.

Garcés-Mascareñas & Penninx (2016) argue that studies about integration have shown that policies matter. One-sided perspective toward integration which basically expect minorities to adapt majority way of life, does not address adequate policies at all. Scholars criticised this nation-state-based approach in three main categories,

The first centres on the problematic nature of the notion of “mainstream”, as it implies existence of a more or less homogeneous and cohesive social environment. The second emphasizes the importance of structural inequalities (e.g., discrimination on the housing and labour markets), which could slow or even bar immigrants’ integration. The third category of criticism points to the plurality of integration processes, as they depend on collective actors (such as the state and its policies, public opinion, ethnic communities, and civil society) and contextual factors (such as the economic situation) (Safi, 2011 as cited in Garces-Mascarenas & Penninx, 2016:3).

Castles and Miller (2009) point out the changes in policies regarding immigrants. According to them, states’ failure to integration causes severe social problems, including racism. They write, *“(...) the character of future ethnic groups will be partly determined by what state does in the early stages of migration. Policies which deny the reality of immigration lead to social marginalisation, minority formation, and racism”* (Castles & Miller, 2009:274). I think this argument largely reflects Germany’s integration challenge in many ways. From the ignorance of labour migrants and their families for years, Germany developed integration policies which only covered institutional integration and failed to recognise social integration for longer than two decades in the past.

In the 1990s, openly assimilation policies were about to disappear almost everywhere except in France. Multiculturalism emerged as a democratic alternative to assimilation. However, there was another shift after the strong backlash of multiculturalism. Integration appears to replace the highly criticised multiculturalist approach concerning immigrant groups. Yet, integration itself is also a problematic concept which revoked criticisms about it not fully solving problems related to inequality, discrimination, and racism. According to Castles and Miller, there are some main reasons for backlash against multiculturalism,

One is the growing awareness of the enduring social disadvantage and marginalisation of many immigrant groups – especially those of non-European origin. The dominant approach is to claim that ethnic minorities are to blame by clustering together and refusing to integrate. Another factor is the growing rear of Islam and terrorism. Events like the bombings in Madrid and London, and the murder of Theo Van Gogh in the Netherlands, are seen as evidence of the incompatibility of Muslim values with the modern European societies (Castles & Miller, 2009:275).

So the bill for lack of integration is seen as the immigrant communities' responsibility. Studies which raise multiculturalism as a solution to immigrant inclusion also reproduce ethnic differences, which might also be linked with the conflict between majority and minority. Fear of radicalisation is also pointed out by Spencer (2006). She writes that European policies are highly affected by this fear. According to her arguments, the integration process needs to be recognised in three parts, nation-state, migrants, and civil society.

Integration studies point to not only micro but also meso and macro levels of integration processes (Ireland, 2004; Penninx, 2013; Penninx et al., 2004; Mahnig, 2004). These studies comprehensively analyse social, economic, political, and cultural aspects associated with social networks and structural dimensions in the receiving country. In this respect, the integration of migrants should be studied with a multifaceted approach that provides a more holistic view rather than one-sided integration processes and separative multiculturalist view. In the next section, I will be looking at how integration is conceptualised in Germany. Since migrants from Turkey are the largest group of immigrants in Germany, almost every integration analysis covers this group in particular.



### 2.5.1. Integration Studies in Germany

Studies about the integration of migrants from Turkey in Germany mostly discuss the impact of Germany's shift in immigrant policies, integration into the labour market, and integration into social life. According to Abadan-Unat (2002), the economic crisis in Germany triggered discussions about migration policies in Germany. She writes that there was a strong division in German political discussions in terms of rotation policies and integration. Nevertheless, the impact of the economic crisis during 1966-1967 was quickly weakened by Federal Germany because of rotation policies as well as changes in labour import (Şahin, 2015). On the other hand, it did not take so long for realising that rotation policies do not actually abolish the "migrant problem".

For decades, Germany seemed to neglect the need for a comprehensive integration policy (Danzer & Ulkü, 2011). It was not until 2005 to accept a new immigration law and stop the ignorant politics of insisting Germany is not an immigration society. Ireland writes that "*When it comes to immigration-related issues, Germany has been seen as closed to irremediably fixated on blood and "the people" (das Volk)*" (Ireland, 2004:27).

Esser (2000) discusses issues related to social integration in Germany. Social integration is associated with acculturation, socio-economic status, and identity. According to Esser, social integration will eventually lead to assimilation, which is defined as more adaptation toward the culture and values of the host country and detachment from the cultures and values of the country of origin. Esser discusses assimilation as a natural consequence of integration. On the other hand, Şahin (2010) argues that even though new generations' engagement in social integration is higher than the previous ones, it is not only a natural process. Politics and legislative regulations are other essential factors that contribute to social integration. According to Şahin, Germany had been focusing the systematic integration and neglecting social integration. She argues that Germany's integration policies are close to assimilation practices, given the fact that the Turkish language is banned in certain places, and migrants are expected to distance themselves from its culture.

Studies about how integration is experienced by immigrant communities reflect the state policies as the most important determining factor in the process. Even though migrant groups might develop different strategies in terms of adapting to the way of life in the receiving country, policies still have the strongest instrumental role. Yükleven and Yurdakul (2011) argue that German integration policies are either a reflection of a multiculturalist approach or assimilation. They research the role of Islamic organisations in the integration process of migrants from Turkey (Yükleven & Yurdakul 2009, 2011). Danzer and Ulku (2011) analyse integration in relation to the economic success of the migrants from Turkey. They find that education plays an essential role in economic success. Also, deeper integration, as well as strong local familial networks, promote integration (Danzer & Ulku, 2011).

There are other important works which need to be mentioned in this part. Constant et al. (2009) write about cultural integration in Germany. They present a comparative analysis of different immigrant groups in Germany by analysing diversity in cultural practices between first- and second-generation Turkish migrants. Other studies look at several aspects related to integration, such as integration and religiosity among migrants from Turkey such as (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2012), transnational activities and integration (Schnuck, 2014), political integration in Germany (Heckmann, 1999; Doerschler, 2006), and integration in the labour market (Euwals et al., 2007). There are some further studies which look at the integration of Muslims in Germany (Peter, 2009; Fourutan, 2013; Lewicki, 2014).

Integration studies regarding Germany in the case of migrants from Turkey are shaped by the shifts in state policies, and most of them reflect this policy change from lack of recognition of migrants from Turkey as a resident group to assimilation and multiculturalist policies to systematic integration policies to social integration policies. Additionally, economic, social, and political determinants of integration are widely studied. I think that the most important issue in terms of these studies is how they approach integration as a sociological phenomenon. A critical perspective is required to examine a comprehensive analysis of the process. Otherwise, one might fail to analyse the impact of meso and macro-level determinants in integration. In my view, as I provided in Chapter I, how migrants identify the concept of integration and how they position themselves in Germany constitute the central understanding of my

analysis. Rather than measuring people's embeddedness into the host society, I prefer to listen to their framework in order to see how they *experience* the integration. One of the biggest advantages of this positioning is that it offers a possibility to see overlooked issues such as ethnic embeddedness in the immigrant community that appears mostly symbolic in this study. On the contrary, embeddedness in market relations is higher, which I interpret as an outcome of integration.

In migration studies, theories of integration of immigrants represent problems of constituting consensus on theoretical debates (Esser, 2010). There are multiple theories and approaches to point to challenges and changes in the case of integration, such as classical assimilation theories to, the segmented assimilation theory and the new assimilation theory. However, all these three theories have a shared problem which I also consider in my study. Esser writes,

The problem that all three theories have in common is that they mainly consist of generalisations of certain empirical trends. They at best include outlines and typologies describing which more general conditions and generating mechanisms are at work and what actually makes up the situational logic of the processes. (Esser, 2010:2)

Therefore, in order to avoid the generalisation of empirical evidence that I collected in this thesis, I prefer to conceptualise the notion of integration as it is observed in the field. In other words, my understanding of integration is based on the lived experiences of individuals and participants of this thesis. How subjects of the study frame the concept of integration is centralised in my research process from the very beginning of interviews to my analysis. My operationalisation for integration depends on the diversity of the ways in which people with Turkish migration background are embedded into several social institutions. As Garcés-Mascreñas & Penninx (2016), Spencer (2006), Esser (2010), and Portes & Zhou (1993) refer, even for the same immigrant community, integration might be highly divergent, particularly after second generation. Internal stratification within the Turkish immigrant community (Çağlar, 1995) can reflect segmented assimilation theory (Zhou, 1997) that argues there is a system of stratification for second-generation migrant children. Therefore, the social and economic stratification of people with Turkish migration background shape segmentation in integration. Instead of giving a certain definition of integration, I

choose to rely on people's frameworks in order to analyse the impacts of segmented integration.

## **2.6. Labour Migration from Turkey to Germany**

After presenting theoretical discussion through literature, I move on to the review of studies particularly related to the case of this thesis. In this section, I analyse how labour migration from Turkey to Germany is studied and what are the important concepts and approaches in the field. I start with sharing a historical background and then move on to the overview of the literature concerning this issue. Particularly, the pioneering works of Nermin Abadan-Unat (1964, 1975, 2002), who is one of the most productive scholars in the field, are introduced. In addition, changes in employment practices for labour migrants from Turkey and how academics discuss them are presented.

2021 marks the 60th anniversary of labour migration to Germany from Turkey. On October 30, 1961, Germany and Turkey signed the "Turkish-German Recruitment Agreement", which was a beginning point for migrant flow to this new land. However, Turkey was neither the first nor the last country that Germany signed such an agreement. After WWII, Germany was rebuilding the whole country. Considering the fact that it lost labour power during the war periods in the 20th century, there was an urgent need for labour. The first labour agreement was signed between West Germany and Italy in 1955. Five years later, there were similar agreements with Spain and Greece. Later, there happened other agreements with Morocco and South Korea (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965), and Yugoslavia (1969). Turkish-German Recruitment Agreement officially ended in November 1973. Nevertheless, 12 years were enough for 886.000 migrants from Turkey to settle down in Germany (Ünver, 2003).

Migrants from Turkey became the largest group in Germany among other *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers). The logic behind the commonly used term *Gastarbeiter* reflects Max Frisch's famous quote, "*We asked for workers; we got people instead*". These labourers were expected to return to their country of origin after working for a short

period. However, in fact, German officials realised that instead of getting new people and assisting them for a short-term integration into the country cost more than keeping already arrived labour migrants (Ünver, 2003). When people stay longer than expected, they start bringing their families. Thanks to the family unification law in 1973, Turkish migrants were permitted to bring their families to Germany (Oner, 2014). For labourers, domestic care provided by their wives, daughters, or other women relatives was one of the main motivations.

Yet, the urgent need for labour power in Germany was clear. But why did Turkey sign the Turkish-German Recruitment Agreement? What was Turkey's benefit from emigration? Turkey enjoyed bilateral migration agreements economically.

After the making of the 1961 constitution, the First Five year Development Plan (1962-1967) in Turkey delineated the 'export of surplus labour power' as an ingredient of development policy concerning the prospective flows of remittances and reduction in unemployment. To promote this policy, Turkey first signed a bilateral labour recruitment agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany in 1961. Similar bilateral agreements, specifying the general conditions of recruitment, employment and wages, were signed with other governments. These agreements shaped the initial stages of migratory flows to a great extent, even if they did not have any considerable impact on the later stages of the flows. In other words, starting with the early 1970s, migratory flows from Turkey gained their own dynamics and mechanisms, which were quite independent from the previously structured measures of the bilateral migration agreements. (İçduygu, 2012:13-14).

As İçduygu highlights, for Turkey, migrant remittances and reduction of unemployment were the main reasons to sign such an agreement. It was also expected that most of these labourers were from rural areas of Turkey. As said by one of the participants of this thesis research, some of these first labour migrants had never been in a big city but in their villages and small towns when they arrived in Germany.

By 2021 when this research is conducted, the number of migrants from Turkey has reached approximately 4 million. Labour migrants become permanent residents and citizens of Germany. There are many transformations in terms of the employment of migrants from Turkey. As I mentioned at the beginning of this section, Abadan-Unat's studies are the ones which led the literature for decades. Her works are still some of the most influential studies in labour migration. Starting from a fieldwork study in

Germany where she conducted research about labourers in 1963, two years after the Turkish-German Recruitment Agreement, her works present up-to-date knowledge gathered from the field.<sup>4</sup>

In *Turks in Europe: From Guest Worker to Transnational Citizens*, Abadan-Unat writes about five stages of Turkish emigration after the 1950s. She states that these five stages are: a. individual enterprise and private agents (1950s), b. “Surplus Labour Export” controlled by the state (the 1960s), c. economic crisis, stopping important new labourers, the legal status of illegal migrants, family unification, child subsidies (1970s), d. problems in children's education, ghettoisation, associations, laws promoting the return to the homeland (the 1980s), e. Foreigners Law, the spread of ethnic businesses, growth in ethnic and religious associations, xenophobia, and gaining identity for foreigners (1990s) (Abadan-Unat, 2002). She then discusses Germany’s changing migrant politics from declaring it is not an immigration country to integration policies. In a recent study, Abadan-Unat and Bilecen (2020)<sup>5</sup> refer to these phases as the German-Turkish migration corridor that points heterogeneity of migration,

What is implicit in the migration corridor concept is that once migration is initiated, either individually or through state-led initiatives, later networks of people, businesses, and institutions/organisations sustain such channels and turn the migration into a corridor where both ends are transformed (Abadan-Unat & Bilecen, 2020:462).

Studies about Turkey-Germany labour migration reflect different aspects of migratory processes, as Abadan-Unat and Bilecen write. In 1964, Abadan-Unat published the very first study of the case, *Batı Almanya'daki Türk İşçileri ve Sorunları* (“Turkish Workers in West Germany and Their Problems”), which is a state-funded project by the State Planning Organisation in Turkey. Early studies analyse economical insights of migration after recruitment agreement (Abadan-Unat, 1964, 1972; Aker, 1972). Another early study is the one by Tuna and Ekin (1966). They look at the labour migrant flow from Turkey to Federal Germany. A few years later, with the implication

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<sup>4</sup> In this thesis, particularly in this section, I had the opportunity to use many of Prof. Nermin Abadan-Unat’s works as resources. Also, Şahin’s literature review of reflection of labour migration on sociological studies is very helpful to present an overview of scholarly work from 60s to 2000s (Şahin, 2015).

<sup>5</sup> Prof. Başak Bilecen provided their article to me personally. I thank you her for her kindness.

of family unification, studies covering the social side of migration started to emerge (Abadan-Unat, 1975; Gökmen, 1972). In a 1975 study, Abadan-Unat looks at the problems of migrant children, particularly children of labour migrants in Federal Germany. This study shows the changes in the research topics in the field; after the family unification, the focus has shifted more towards social rights and problems.

Coming to the third phase of migration between Turkey and Germany, studies have been considering return policies for labour migrants. Tuna (1968) writes about the issues related to the return migration of labourers. As Abadan-Unat (1971) states, Germany promoted return migration as a solution to economic crises. Issues related to the return migration of labourers have been studied by other scholars as well (Şenel 1974; Gülsüm 1974, Gitmez 1979, Yasa 1979).

During the 80s, sociological studies started considering migrants from Turkey as subjects rather than labourers. It is a direct influence of the conceptual shift of *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers) to *ausländischer Arbeitnehmer* (foreign workers) (Abadan-Unat, 2006). As both sending and receiving countries came to understand that labourers are staying, the policies also included the everyday life of migrants from Turkey. Education of migrants children in studies shows the lack of integration policies (Tezcan, 1999, Gitmez, 1979).

4<sup>th</sup> phase of the migration corridor between Turkey and Germany is shaped by Foreigners Law. After the 90s, there was a growing population of migrants from Turkey in Germany. Xenophobia, racism, discrimination, identity, and problems of insufficient integration policies have influenced many studies (Turan, 1999, Canatan, 1990, Kastoryano, 2000).

Studies after the 2000s mainly analyse multiculturalism, citizenship, assimilation, and integration (Kaya & Kentel 2005, Şahin 2010). It can be said that Germany's failure to lack of successful integration program as well as increasing anti-migrant political ideologies have negatively shaped migrants from Turkey. Besides, racism and terror attacks against minorities also affected migrants from Turkey. NSU murders, Solingen arson attack, and, more recently, Hanau shootings, together with other far-right extremist attacks, are also reflected in literature (Erdoğan, 2011; Özbek, 2017). Nevertheless, economic activities, identity, and migrant organisations and

associations, and integration issues are still the most researched topics about Turkish migrants. The scholars have been contributing with the focus on both changing and stable employment activities of migrants in first- and second-generation migrants, as reflected in early studies of Ayşe Çağlar.

Migrants from Turkey in Germany have been transforming in multiple ways through time in different spheres of life. One can easily notice the fact that there are many social, economic, political, and cultural changes in 60 years of migration history. First and foremost, the legal status of migrants has changed; they are no longer guest workers or, in other words, labourers who are supposed to go back to their homeland after a certain time of employment. They stayed, brought their families, married, had children, got an education in Germany, and became residents or citizens. However, for the majority of the population, employment types were quite similar; migrant children from Turkey took over jobs from first-generation labourers (Abadan-Unat, 2002). Once a guest worker job, it later became migrant work. These are mostly manual wage labour at factories, construction, automotive industry and so on.

Throughout time, the transformation of work choices of migrants from Turkey in Germany has been influenced by national and global economic trends as well. While first-generation migrants were employed in labour-intensive works in factories, coal mines, steel industry, and railways, second-generation migrant children shared a high level of unemployment. The interesting thing is that even though second-generation migrants generally have higher education levels than their parents, they struggle to find a job in Germany. As Selçuk and Suwala point the unemployment rate among the Turkish population in Germany rose more than 20% nationwide during the 1990s (Selçuk & Suwala, 2020).

Filiz (2015) writes about the image of Turks in Germany has shifted from labourers to small-scale business owners. She argues that migrants in Germany are perceived in association with the labour they exercise. Therefore, the transformation in employment practices among Turkish migrants has influenced the cultural imaginary. Second and third-generation migrants from Turkey are more linked with small-scale food businesses than guestworkers (Filiz, 2015).



In the next section, I present scientific discussions about how self-employment, particularly migrant entrepreneurship, emerged as a common practice among migrants from Turkey in Germany.

## **2.7. Self-Employment and Migrant Entrepreneurship of Migrants from Turkey in Germany**

Second and third-generation migrants differ from their parents in terms of migration history. They were either born in Germany or arrived there at an early age. However, new generations were expected to replace the labour force in so-called migrant work, which was previously occupied by first-generation migrants. Because of the lack of employment opportunities, self-employment appears to be an alternative to migrant work. In the next part, I look at migrant entrepreneurship as a practical self-employment type. I first argue about conditions that lead to the resurgence of migrant entrepreneurial activities, and then I move on to a brief discussion of important studies of migrant entrepreneurship and, specifically, migrant entrepreneurship in Germany through mixed embeddedness approach.

My approach to mixed embeddedness in this thesis is to reflect: a. micro and meso factors in the socio-economic integration processes for migrants from Turkey, b. their perspective and experiences towards integration, c. interaction between small-scale businesses and integration as mutual phenomena, and lastly, d. impacts of embeddedness into family, market and state, and ethnic relations. While doing so, I try to avoid regarding entrepreneurs as passive actors in social structure. Instead, I aim to adopt a holistic view of mixed embeddedness in order to analyse individual agency along with structural conditions. In my analysis, I use mixed embeddedness in this manner to understand how individuals cope with opportunity structure by adapting certain strategies such as flexibility and multiculturalism.

Migrant entrepreneurship reflects many implications of the international migration discussion that I write above. There is a strong relationship between migrant entrepreneurship and migrant self-employment with micro, meso, and macro

perspectives in theories of migration (Kloosterman, 2010). First, it is an experience on an individual or micro level to be self-employed in the migration context. What kind of capital and to what extent are used by migrants essential to recognise an individual-based perspective in entrepreneurial activities? Second, as also discussed above, the opportunity structure in the host country reflects a meso-level analysis of the issue. Lastly, drawing an institutional framework is helpful in accounting for the macro-level analysis of immigrant economic activities. Questions such as why, how, and which ways migrants decide to be self-employed are closely associated with social, economic, and political relations in the host country, such as access to capital and market as well as legal procedures for migrants to start their businesses. All these lead scholars to argue about migrant entrepreneurship in a complex social scientific way to represent multifaceted aspects of the topic.

In terms of migrant business entrepreneurship, there are various theoretical investigations. In 1972, Light defined migrant entrepreneurship as “*the fertile ground of solidary co-ethnic social capital networks*” (Light, 1972). Some scholars have worked on this issue with regard to cultural boundedness. It can be both a positive and negative phenomenon for business relations. On the one hand, we have cultural solidarity, particularly when considering market ghettoisation and customer profile. However, on the other hand, we see the fact that there is also cultural competition. Glick-Schiller and Çağlar (2013) argue that most of the scholars followed Light’s perspective and “*sought explanations for migrant entrepreneurial behaviour in ethnocultural traditions, ethnic moral frameworks, behaviour patterns, loyalties and markets*” (p. 495). They came to challenge a methodological analytical tendency in migrant entrepreneurship studies, which centralise ethnic identities and try to construct perspectives that view all actions of people with migrant background through the ethnic lens. Rather than that, Glick-Schiller and Çağlar suggest an alternative approach to urban-based entrepreneurial activities as a mode of emplacement. In Chapter IV and Chapter V, I write about how my analysis for this thesis reflects their study.

Migrants tend to establish small-scale businesses that often reflect their cultural and ethnic skills or products, yet they still associate mostly with opportunity structure and “*situated network institutions of power*” (Glick-Schiller & Çağlar, 2013:510). In my

analysis, I argue that ethnic embeddedness appears as an instrumental aspect of small-scale businesses.

Migrant entrepreneurship has been a research field for migration scholars mostly either to discuss ethnic relations and opportunity structure (Ram et al., 2017; Miera, 2008; Schmiz, 2013; Tolciu et al., 2010, Adendorff & Halkias, 2014) or in terms of socio-economic integration and discrimination (Hack-Polay et al., 2020, Sahin, et al., 2007; Essers & Tedmanson, 2014, Selçuk & Suwala, 2020). Although these two fields seem to be divided, they are interrelated and associated with each other. Cultural and ethnic relations within the immigrant community and opportunity structure at the state and market level are among the determinants of socio-economic integration, which is an inseparable aspect of assimilation, discrimination, and racism towards migrants.

Ram et al. argue that the particularity of migrant entrepreneurship is enhanced by the strong influence of institutional and market context. They identify five characteristics of migrant entrepreneurs: (a). the role of regulation, (b). the incorporation of racist exclusion, (c). gendered structures of migration and labour market processes, (d). market ghettoization, (e). greater sensitivity to historical context (Ram et al., 2017). These characteristics highlight how migrant entrepreneurship is driven by social, economic, cultural and political causes.

One of the earliest studies about migrant entrepreneurs of people with Turkish migration background is Çağlar's (1995) "McDöner" article. In this piece, she discovers the social positioning of German Turks and investigates the role of *döner* and *pide* in the formation of symbolic representation of Turks in the eyes of Germans. The transformation of döner and changes in employment activities (labour migrants are followed by unemployed migrant children who eventually end up with self-employment during the late 70s) are discussed by considering how different forms of capital shape the social positioning population with Turkish migration background. According to Çağlar, "*there is no significant difference between Turkish and German workers in terms of economic capital*" (1995:426). This early finding is associated with my analysis which I present in Chapter IV. In the case of second and third-generation migrants, entrepreneurship is mostly attributed as a source of upward social mobility. "Migrants" choose to be self-employed to have better life chances, status,

and economic benefits. Yet the influence of the discriminatory opportunity structure is still there.

The recruitment agreement between Germany and Turkey provided first-generation migrants with existing jobs. According to Selçuk and Suwala (2020), the migrants of the first generation were dependent workers (mostly factory workers). This led to guaranteed job opportunities even though they were labour migrants. However, after the first-generation, there was a shift in terms of work opportunities. The second-generation Turkish migrants were born in Germany, so that they were no longer labour migrants but were raised in the country and were able to get more education than their parents. They had to find a job in the country where they were born as the recruitment agreement officially ended in 1973. Why did first-generation labour migrants stay in Germany instead of returning to their homeland? As I discussed above, the majority of these migrants were coming from rural Turkey, and there was an increasing trend of rural to urban migration within Turkey as well. Thus, returning to their homeland was not preferable for some migrants since there would not be a possibility to have a life in their village and small town. On the other side, Germany offered more opportunities for work and living. Besides, some of them had already set up a livelihood and returning to Turkey meant that they had to rebuild it again. Also, there was an emerging Turkish community of labour migrants, leading to solidarity among migrants. This solidarity was essential for them in order to adapt to Germany. I argue that even though there are further complex issues of the migration corridor between Turkey and Germany, the push and pull theory explains some motivation of migrants to stay in Germany.

A research shows that according to statistics from 2015, 4,3% self-employment rate of persons in Germany with a Turkish migration background (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2017). Business ownership is a common employment pattern among Turkish migrants, with the highest portion in all immigrant groups in Germany. Migrants from Turkey are 70% more likely to have self-employment than other migrants, even though they do not earn much compared to other migrant entrepreneurs (Constant et al., 2007). According to Berwing et al. (2019), the trend in Germany is while self-employment among natives decreased by 4% between 2005 and 2016, there was a 24% increase in self-employment among immigrants.

The increasing trend of entrepreneurship is taking attention from both sending and receiving countries. Works of national foundations are a good example of this interest. Presidency of Turks Abroad and Related Communities<sup>6</sup> (Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı) is one of them with a private budget founded in 2010 in Turkey. They have ongoing programs also focusing on entrepreneurship education and support, which grant up to 10000 Euros for young people with Turkish migration background.<sup>7</sup> The mission of the program is described as supporting young Turkish people to be conscious, productive, and successful in the countries they live and referring to the Turkish diaspora as contributing to their homeland where they are “*connected with a hearth bond*”. Another national foundation is Turkey and Integration Research Centre<sup>8</sup> (Türkiye ve Uyum Araştırmaları Merkezi), which is linked with Christian Democrats Party and was originally founded in 1985 in Germany. ZfTI mostly publishes studies and reports about the integration of migrants from Turkey. Head of the Department of Migration and Integration in the Cross-border Area of Germany-Turkey Yunus Ulusoy argues that referring to the migrants from Turkey, unemployment is one of the main reasons for migrant entrepreneurship, which he describes as on the rise.<sup>9</sup>

As I mentioned before, in a way that exclusion from the job market, unemployment was probably the biggest structural inequality for second-generation migrant children in terms of self-employment. Therefore, from the mixed embeddedness perspective, it can be said structural inequalities for immigrants have been motivating them to participate in entrepreneurial activities more significantly. Ethnic and religious differences have an important effect in terms of exclusion from the national market and work opportunities in Germany. Besides, the legal framework for people with Turkish migration background plays an important role that constitutes another challenge. According to the report from Federal Office for Migration and Refugees,

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<sup>6</sup> “Amt für Auslandstürken und verwandte Gemeinschaften”.

<sup>7</sup> See their official website. Retrieved July 9, 2022 from <https://www.ytb.gov.tr/haberler/genc-destek-programi>

<sup>8</sup> “Zentrum für Türkeistudien und Integrationsforschung (ZfTI)”

<sup>9</sup> See news titled as “Turkish Entrepreneurship Potential Will Increase, Enriching Majority Society”. Retrieved July 9, 2022 from <https://perspektif.eu/2021/03/01/turk-girisimcilik-potansiyeli-artarak-cogunluk-toplumu-zenginlestirecek/>

for people with migration background in the cases in which they do not hold citizenship status, a proper residence permission status is necessary for labour market participation as well as vocational training market (Ausbildung) (BAMF, 2018). Job centres and employment agencies apply certain regulations in order to assist third-country nationals;

a. activation and professional integration, b. choice of a profession and vocational training, c. additional professional training, d. starting an economic activity (this includes promoting both employment and self-employment), e. specific measures to integrate disabled persons into the labour market, f. employment creation measures, g. free and other promotional measures (BAMF, 2018:19).

In Chapter IV, I analyse how the legal framework has a significant role for self-employed migrants from Turkey. Some respondents refer that they had to get vocational training in order to start their businesses. At the same time, legal regulations for businesses in terms of rules and responsibilities for owners are also effective.<sup>10</sup>

### **2.7.1. Motivations and Resources of Migrant Entrepreneurships from Turkey**

Motivations and resources of migrant entrepreneurship are conceptualised in the literature to analyse why migrants choose self-employment and what are the resources they use for their businesses. Mixed embeddedness literature connects individual and structural motivations and resources with an interactionist perspective. Even though scholars might focus on specific motivations and resources as topics, there are certain commonalities among the findings in many studies. In the mixed embeddedness literature, while some scholars analyse psychological features in relation to business building up motivations, others choose structural factors to define meso and macro levels in the case of small-scale migrant businesses. In this section, my intent is to look at how the motivations and resources of migrant businesses are generally defined in the literature.

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<sup>10</sup> See page 125-126. An interviewee (Kenan) comments about strict legal regulations in his döner restaurant.

Motivations and resources are usually discussed with respect to individual characteristics and reasons and embeddedness in social and ethnic relations. Kloosterman (2010) defines motivations behind migrant businesses as “push” motives. He and several other scholars argue that there is a relationship between migrant entrepreneurship and upward social mobility (Kim, 2020; Villares-Varela, 2018; Rath et al., 2020). Unequal access to the job market, discrimination, and socio-economic status are some of these push motives. On the other hand, small-scale businesses have huge growth potential. Migrant entrepreneurship is a strategy for social mobility, not necessarily related to particular economic disadvantages. He writes,

Even if discrimination is not significant and unemployment among immigrants is low, people may still opt for this kind of self-employment that may open up avenues of upward mobility. The post-industrial transformation of urban economies may, therefore, offer even low-skilled immigrants a new perspective (Kloosterman, 2010:36).

Besides, as Gomez et al. (2020) also argue, motivations might also be originated from the individual agency. They argue that motivations can be associated with the social network and the degree of social capital from which migrants could benefit. Selçuk and Suwala (2020) contribute to this discussion with the arguments of personal resources that are linked with individual agency. They find that courage, decisiveness, high motivation, willingness to take risks, and ambition have important roles in small-scale business ownership. Mixed embeddedness literature also relates motivations as a resource. Apitzsch argues that these are motivational resources,

(...) the extension of the concept of entrepreneurial resources important for starting a business by including the aspect of ‘motivational’ resources (cf. Kontos in this issue), in other words the positive, intrinsic motivation needed for enduring the difficult and sometimes painful passage from dependent to independent work organization (Apitzsch, 2003:168).

In terms of resources, cultural knowledge, social and human capital, as well as financial capital provided by family and kin are common features in the migrant entrepreneurship literature. Among all, the family appears to be the most referenced resource. Migrant businesses usually use family as a financial and human capital resource. Family businesses have their own particularities as both family and work relations shape each other in certain ways. Also, gender relations are important to

analyse why small-scale businesses are a common self-employment type among migrant communities. Unpaid and invisible labour, mostly women's labour, is commonly intrinsic to migrant family enterprises. When family and work relations are intertwined with each other, labour exploitation is more likely to occur. As I also experienced myself at the shop where I worked with my relatives, none of the four women was paid in the end. Even the owner's mother did not get any money for her work. However, it was quite easy to do that since no one objected or said anything. As it was a "family business", it could be seen as inappropriate or even disrespectful to ask about money. Family businesses can be enterprises in which earnings might distribute based on gender, age, relationships, and individual needs. This perspective might help to understand the beneficial characteristic of family embeddedness in successful migrant entrepreneurships. Less or unpaid labour provided by family members and self-exploitation constitute great resources for entrepreneurs. Ram and colleagues elaborate on this:

This is vital to grasp processes of self-exploitation in the ethnic economy, mobilisation of kinship ties or the sustainability of migrant firms. These interdependent systems of privilege and oppression (racialised, classed and gendered) (re)produce the ways in which (migrant) entrepreneurs navigate the available opportunities in the market (Ram et al., 2017:6).

According to their standpoint, family relations might be used as survival strategies in the market in host countries. Without having the cultural, social, and economic capital which natives might have, immigrants appeal to family support to negotiate economic competition.

Using their cultural knowledge, migrants can establish small businesses that do not require highly skilled work. Cultural and human capital contribute to the business. Cultural capital provides cultural knowledge and skills. Human capital, in that case, might be having family and kin as workers (Tolciu et al., 2010). As Tolciu and her colleagues show, the most common businesses are in trade sectors among Turkish migrant entrepreneurs in Hamburg. The reason is the fact that human and financial capital required is lower than the other sectors. In this respect, being self-employed is seen as a favourable business type as migrants can respond to the needs easily



compared to being highly skilled workers at a native German business (education, experience, network, discrimination, etc.).

As I explained until now, the concept of family embeddedness is discussed to acknowledge how families play a crucial role in migrant entrepreneurship (Uzzi, 1997). The argument here is the fact that families can be a source of embeddedness in the business context (Hack-Polay et al., 2010). According to a study by HM Treasury in the UK, ethnic businesses are more likely to employ family members (HM Treasury, 2008). Yet, family embeddedness in small-scale businesses is not a pure win-win situation. On the contrary, family intervention sometimes brings unique problems which are not observed in non-family businesses. According to Hack-Polay and colleagues, the main advantages and disadvantages of family engagement in small-scale businesses can be classified as follows;

Advantages: Unpaid labour, family members as workers, no need for formalities between employees and employers. As workers are also family members, they can often be asked for over labour and labour-intensive work. For instance, while working at my relative's gözleme shop, I sometimes had been called to work at the last minute. It often happened in a way that there is a problem -such as other workers and mostly the owner himself had another plan, appointment, duty- on a sudden; therefore, I needed to go and work *to not leave them alone* in this bad coincidence.

Disadvantages: Interference of family members into decision-making mechanism and work relations, extended relatives and financial demands from family members in the migrant's country of origin (Hack-Polay et al., 2010).

Family and kin networks are part of the sources of social capital as well. The concept of social capital reflects unique aspects with respect to migrant family enterprises. According to Tata and Prasad, social capital is generated in particular ways in family enterprises due to the stability, interdependencies, interactions, and closure they provide (Tata & Prasad, 2015). They point out that those non-economic factors are explicit in migrant family businesses. Kloosterman (2010) argues that these types of migrant businesses, which rely on cultural and social capital more than other factors, should be categorized as vacancy-chain openings. First of all, these businesses are easily accessible markets. Also, they offer high growth potential. His analysis only

looks at the migrant businesses from a general perspective, but his points are even more explicit when we think about the migrant-family intersection. These small-scale, low-skilled, and labour-intensive entrepreneurships have the advantage of reciprocal support from family and migrant communities from time to time.

Migrants embody a strong social capital. Also, they can possess more original skills than natives in the host country (for example, traditional food, hair designs, entertainment businesses, etc.). Besides, ethnic enterprises show a dual characteristic of “co-ethnic ownership and employment network”, which reflects the immigrant social network (Zhou, 2013). Another issue is migrant businesses start their business journey with an already established customer profile. German markets, restaurants, cafes etc., are not compatible with the Turkish ones when it comes to, for example, “halal” food. The roles of culture and religion are explicit among specific needs and demands of population with migration background. In the case of halal food, it can only be served by members of the same religious community, which explains the origin of Turkish markets in Germany. In response, the migrant community is thought to support migrant businesses. However, the immigrant community network does not solely explain the concept of ethnic niches other than customer relations. According to Waldinger, this kind of social network perspective ignores the broader institutional framework for ethnic enterprises (Waldinger, 1994). In other words, the role of migrant social networks is important, as well as culture and religion, to shape the establishment of ethnic businesses. Yet, opportunities and institutional relations such as rules of access and promotion to certain enterprises are similarly significant. Moreover, the risk-taking behaviour of migrants is discussed in terms of self-employment (Sahin et al., 2007, Constant et al., 2005). Risk behaviour is combined with the ambition to perform well. However, on the other side, this can also mean there is high competition between the migrant businesses.

Migrants from Turkey often face more problems and difficulties in economic and political life in Germany. Xenophobia, racism, and ethnic, cultural, and religious discriminations lead to exclusion from certain markets that are easier to participate in for local people and even for other immigrant groups. Considering the migrants from Turkey as the biggest immigrant group in Germany, they are also the biggest non-Christian religious population. Therefore, specific attention is given to the scientific

understanding of opportunity structure in Germany regarding migrant entrepreneurs from Turkey.

Selçuk and Suwala discuss various structural inequalities for migrants from Turkey. According to them, these inequalities and discriminations have a huge impact on self-employment (Selçuk & Suwala, 2020). They classify main inequalities and stress religious differences create further problems for Turkey originated population in Germany. Inequalities migrants from Turkey usually depend on:

- a. Lack of generational knowledge and network in Germany: Even though second-generation migrants were raised in Germany, they lacked cultural knowledge to have a situated life in Germany. This cultural knowledge is transferred from one generation to another that might not be possible for immigrants yet.
- b. Discrimination against migrants: Many immigrants claim that they were not seen as equal to German citizens with German ancestors in their jobs. This caused not being able to find a job or being offered low-income or low-status jobs. That leads us to think about entrepreneurship as a response to migrants' situation in the host country (Selçuk & Suwala, 2020). The idea is they choose to be self-employed because they were not equally treated and did not have equal life chances.
- c. "Muslim others": Unlike the other significant immigrant communities in Germany (Polish, Italian, Portuguese, Greek, etc.) Turkish migrants are predominantly Muslims who are considered to take over jobs (Essers & Tedmanson, 2014). For example, in Netherland, there is rhetoric about Islamic values that Muslim migrants carry with them that is incompatible with western values. Thus, these people will not adopt the host country, but instead, they will impose their backwards Islamic values on the Netherlands. Those discourses were quite common among right-wing politicians across Europe and in Germany as well. This nationalist anti-migrant discourse creates a hostile environment for migrants to settle in the same equal life.

All these arguments highlight the fact that unequal access to the labour market and discrimination faced in everyday life has been motivated migrants from Turkey to build their own businesses. By using their social, cultural, and human capital and ethnic embeddedness, migrants from Turkey might create possibilities for

entrepreneurship in the opportunity structure. These possibilities are associated with the degrees of integration in Germany as well as within the immigrant community.

## **2.8. Small-Scale Migrant Businesses in Germany**

Migrant businesses significantly differ from native businesses; they might face disadvantages based on migrant or migration background identity in the opportunity structure, as well as they might benefit from some resources for the same reason. Which business sectors are open to whom might be related to these identities. Besides, differences in financial, social, and cultural capital lead to unequal access to entrepreneurship, particularly for first-generation migrants. Therefore, I decided to look for whether there are any public support programs and funding for Turkish migrants' small-scale businesses. However, I could not find any official information about government support. I could only find some specific social programs for refugees and asylum seekers in terms of creating more job opportunities for them. "Federal Employment Agency" (Bundesagentur für Arbeit) website offers resources ranging from a job board, consultation and job placement to financial support and starting a business. Its four-to-six-month program "Perspektiven für junge Flüchtlinge" (Perspectives for Young Refugees") prepares migrants under 25 for job training" (Infomigrants, 2019). Interestingly these public support programs are strongly criticised by participants of this thesis research which I represent in Chapter IV.

One reason why the population with Turkish migration background does not get federal support might be that some of them are already German citizens and others have long-term or permanent residence permits. Thus, providing financial support for them is considered an intervention in the market and inequality among citizens. However, this perspective neglects ongoing discrimination and structural inequalities faced by the population with migration background in Germany on a daily basis. Even though second and third-generation migrants are equal citizens in terms of laws, opportunity structure in the state and market does not always reflect that.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> See page 110 for a participant's (Bahri) reflection on this issue.

Nevertheless, it is possible for people with Turkish migration background to apply for general federal support programs for small-scale businesses.

On the other hand, migrants seem to not depend on federal public support for their businesses. They rather use family and kin as financial resources. Selçuk and Suwala also find there is no significant trend among migrants applying for business funding. According to their case study, which they conducted among Turkish family business owners in Berlin, *“Turkish migrant family entrepreneurs heavily relied on personal, family and collective resources, and did not apply for or benefit from promotion programmes or micro-funding measures for SMEs”* (Selçuk & Suwala, 2020:np).

### **2.8.1. Migrant Business Organisations and Associations in Germany**

This part presents the general formation of migrant business organisations in Germany. Even though there are several organisations in different local environments, their structure is similar to each other. Also, the absence of a nationwide migrant business organisation is interesting, in my opinion. Most of the studies relate migrant organisations and associations with the processes of integration (Sezgin, 2008; Oner, 2014; Glick-Schiller et al., 2004; Pries & Sezgin, 2012). I attempt to draw attention to them as well.

There are several migrant business associations in Germany. All of them claim that one of their primary goals is to advocate for Turkish migrant businesses in Germany. Contacts with German authorities enable them to inform business owners about legal legislation. Immigrant community organisations have an important influence on the political behaviour of immigrants in host countries (Vermeulen and Berger, 2008). Besides helping migrant businesses to connect with German partners, some associations also provide training programs for upcoming workers. Moreover, these migrant business associations openly have strong ties with authorities in Turkey. These ties refer to transnational linkages. Here again, there is a two-sided issue in terms of migrant businesses. On the one hand, owning a business offers more opportunities in terms of integration. Basically, having a business in Germany can be considered as Turkish migrants have settled down and developed their careers there. However, on

the other hand, influenced by Faist' (2010) argument, as I mentioned earlier in this chapter, having transnational ties with the country of origin and organizing under the migrant business owners might be an odd to integration. The relationships between the Turkish government and migrant business associations are based on the idea of having a strong and connected diaspora which can contribute national economy as well as being an instrument in international relations.<sup>12</sup> In 2017, The Economist published an article titled "*The long arm of the sultan: How Recep Tayyip Erdoğan seduces Turkish migrants in Europe*". It points to Erdoğan as the first leader who takes the Turkish diaspora seriously and uses it as a trump and notes that he warns migrants from Turkey to not assimilate (The Economist, 2017). In the same manner, Amelina and Faist argue that Turkish migrants have a specific situation in which they are in between integration pressure and transnational linkages (Amelina & Faist, 2008).

According to Oner, immigrant organisations have some main functions in the integration process. She argues that these organisations act as links between countries by assisting immigrants with advisory services. Considering the complexity of German bureaucracy, these advisory services are very helpful for immigrants from Turkey. Also, organisations can complement the state in terms of the integration of newly arrived migrants. Other functions she discusses are immigrant organisations as a unified force to support ethnic groups in the host country and creating links between ethnic groups and sending countries (Oner, 2014).

Immigrant associations in Germany are predominantly centred around religious-based (camii, cemevi), ethnicity (Kurdish associations), hometown, political affiliation (Atatürkist Thought Association, Left Party, etc.), and business organizations. Çağlar (2006) studies Turkish hometown associations in Berlin, focusing on entrepreneurs. Özkul (2016) looks at Turkish and Kurdish Alevi associations. Yurdakul (2006) states that Turkish immigrant associations in Germany are diverse and heterogeneous. Sezgin (2008) presents a study in which she analyses the role of Turkish migrants' umbrella organisations such as religious, right-wing nationalistic, left-wing, and ethnic in terms of positive changes in Germany. Although there is no country-wide

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<sup>12</sup> See the announcement of TOBB (The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey) from 18.11.2011 titled as "*Turkish entrepreneurs from four corners of the world together to make dreams into goals and goals into reality*". Retrieved July 10, 2022 from <http://tobb.org.tr/Sayfalar/Eng/Detay.php?rid=1047&lst=MansetListesi>

businesspeople association in Germany for migrants from Turkey, there are plenty of them in regional areas. Some significant businesspeople associations are:

a. MÜSİAD Berlin (“Müstakil Sanayici ve İş Adamları Derneği”, Independent Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association): They claim (in the official constitution of MÜSİAD) *“The essential organizational goals for Müsiad Berlin are, firstly, a promotion of “entrepreneurial activities of the members” and, secondly, negotiation activities between (smaller) Turkish businesses and German economic and political institutions”* (Amelina & Faist, 2008:107).

b. German-Turkish Chamber of Industry and Commerce: Based in Cologne.

c. Turkish-German Business Association Berlin-Brandenburg

d. Association of Turkish Entrepreneurs and Industrialists in Europe e.V.

Migrant associations, particularly business associations, can be considered contributors to the integration process thanks to their support, education, and training programs for migrants from Turkey. However, these organisations are predominantly local and can mostly reflect the scope of their localities. Besides, transnational linkages with Turkish public and private institutions might be a challenge in the context. Keeping the ties strong and fresh with the country of origin might reinforce ethnic and cultural differences in the host country.

In this chapter, I presented the literature review for several studies related to the topic of this thesis. A general overview of migration studies, particularly German-Turkish migration studies, shows the historical changes in terms of the objectives of these studies. After the family unification law, discrimination against migrants has become one of the biggest topics in studies. Failure of German integration policies, generational changes in the immigrant community, and self-employment practices have started to emerge in relation to several perspectives on the everyday life of people with migration background. Besides, transnationalism discussions have pointed to the dynamic feature of migration from an alternative standpoint. How other scholars study socio-economic integration and migrant businesses are shown regarding my own perspective on these issues. In order to understand the conceptualisation of motivations

and resources for migrant entrepreneurships and the impact of opportunity structure, studies that contributed to the development of mixed embeddedness are presented.



## **CHAPTER III**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1. Introduction**

In this chapter, I explain the methodological approaches and strategies that are applied to this research. The aim of this chapter is to discuss about the design of the research and the qualities of the sample, including sample selection, sample size, and sample characteristics, along with my research interpretation method in this research. Brief profiles of the interviewees are presented to provide a closer look at the field for the readers. After that, I move on to examine my roles and identities as a researcher in this fieldwork. Additionally, I write about ethical considerations concerning the methodological standpoint of this research, and finally, I discuss my limitations throughout this thesis.

#### **3.2. Research Design**

The research strategy for this thesis is decided as ethnographic fieldwork, including participant observation and in-depth interviews. Besides, my personal experience as being a migrant worker at a third-generation migrant family business takes a meaningful place in my approach to research and particularly how I interpret the field. Reflecting on my own experiences as an insider of the case and as a researcher who is an active participant in the study has a significant impact on this thesis. I do not

position myself as an outsider to the case completely and do not claim consistent neutrality in my perspective. On the contrary, my experience as an insider is quite intrinsic to my analysis and my intention to produce migrant-centred work. Qualitative methods were chosen purposely as they fit perfectly with the aim and scope of this research project. According to Mack et al. (2005), qualitative methods

seeks to understand a given research problem or topic from the perspectives of the local population it involves. Qualitative research is especially effective in obtaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviours, and social contexts of particular populations (p. 1).

With this respect, the research question of this thesis should be analysed in terms of qualitative methods as it reflects individuals' own experiences in specific contexts. Considering the daily life experiences of people with migration background, I think that in order to understand complex ways of socioeconomic integration, researchers should look beyond numbers and try to emphasize the motivations and resources of their economic actions that emerge from people's narratives. As written by Schwartz and Jacobs (1979),

Instead of trying to discover things about a social world that those within it do not know, the reserve is sought. We want to know what the actor know, see what they see, understand what they understand. As a result our data attempt to describe their vocabularies, their ways of looking, their sense of the important and unimportant, and so on. Science is replaced by access to meanings or "understandings" as the most important preoccupation for sociology (p. 7).

Therefore, I was convinced to build my research into qualitative methods. In migration sociology, using qualitative methods maintains a ground for analysing various social, economic, and political consequences, as well as provides opportunities to discuss diverse epistemological approaches (Zapata-Barrero & Yalaz, 2018; Iosifides, 2011; Iosifides, 2018).

According to Erikson, qualitative research is distinguished from other methods with its emphasis on interpretation (as cited in Stake, 1995). Interpretation in qualitative research goes beyond the acknowledgement of research design and the research process in general. Rather than that, it is a working process for the researcher, starting from the early stages of the research.

The data-gathering process should go further than simply asking questions and expecting answers. On the contrary, it needs to contain specific processes that encourage all participants to show important aspects of their experiences (Winter and Munn-Giddings, 2001). The role of the researcher here is to observe and interact in the field, change and adapt the research question if necessary, and try to develop a scientific perspective that matches the outcomes of the field best. As Stake (1995) writes, qualitative researchers attempt to find their own conclusions in the field by interpretation. However, they should emphasize the fact that there are other conclusions and might be new ones. By discussing others' work, data interpretation also requires the active engagement of the researcher in the case. In sum, the researcher themselves appear to be active players in terms of the development of data and meaning (Legard et al., 2003).

In this research, interpretation and analysis started from the beginning; I have observed the field by adapting the scientific lenses of my theoretical framework. While collecting data, I was also actively analysing the ones I gathered. This strategy provided me to reshape my research based on the realities observed in the field.

I spent six months in Germany between April 2021 and September 2021, and during this period, I was able to visit many small-scale businesses from people who have Turkey migration background. These businesses were mainly in the gastronomy sector for obvious reasons; they were the most common type of enterprises and easy to access as a researcher. In-depth interviews are conducted between July and September to get a deeper insight into the field. One of the biggest advantages of in-depth interviews is it follows a semi-structured format that gives the opportunity to conduct each interview in its own setting. Guion et al. (2011) write, "*Although it is important to pre-plan the key questions, the interview should also be conversational, with questions flowing from previous responses when possible*" (p. 1). Since I had an active listener role as a researcher, I carefully followed each verbal or non-verbal response in interviews. I had a field diary where I took my own notes based on participant observations, interviews, and any other pieces of ideas that caught my attention in the field. Moreover, thanks to my active listener role, I was able to see how each question was interpreted by respondents and how do they react to it. However, this nature of in-depth interviews does not mean each and every interview is different in terms of the format. On the

contrary, I followed the same scheme for all interviews to have valid and reliable research. What I specifically emphasised during that process was that I gave a flexible space to respondents to express their own knowledge, ideas, and experiences without any restrictions, such as close-ended yes or no questions. Additionally, I also got the opportunity to ask further questions to get a deeper understanding of certain issues when respondents made such comments.<sup>13</sup>

I interviewed 23 business owners from four major sectors. Most of the respondents were from the gastronomy sector (12), parallel with the fact that Turkish restaurants, fast-food shops (döner, lahmacun, çığköfte shops), bakeries and cafes are the most visible and the most common type of migrant entrepreneurship. Markets (5) are followed by Turkish retail stores (3) and hairdressers (3). All interviews are conducted at business shops. Audio record permission is officially requested by the researcher. All participants are informed about the researcher's current studies and the aim and scope of the research. My semi-structured research design includes 23 open-ended questions divided into four categories.<sup>14</sup> Open-ended questions are provided to gather information from respondents' "own words" (Mack et al., 2005). Taking advantage of qualitative methods as flexible and semi-structured compared to quantitative methods, I was able to collect data elaborately that is provided by respondents themselves. In that sense, according to Corbin and Strauss (2008), qualitative methods seek to understand people from their own experiences of references and attempt to analyse the issue as it is experienced by the people (as cited in Taylor et al., 2015).

The length of interviews is distributed from 22 min to 1 hour and 23 min. Each and every audio record is transcribed by me. A full transcription is chosen to show each point from participants' responses in order to develop an analysis that focuses on thematic insights among narratives. One of the challenges in interviews was when I asked for an appointment; every participant chose a time within their working hours. Thus, especially for those in the gastronomy and retail sector, sometimes interviews are interrupted by customers. In other interviews, luckily, there were other workers to

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<sup>13</sup> For instance, when I asked them about their experiences with German official institutions, some respondents compared it with their experiences with Turkish Embassy in Germany. To understand how they came up with the idea of they have better experiences with German institutions, I asked them to share their stories with Turkish Embassy.

<sup>14</sup> See Appendix B.

welcome customers. Choosing business places was an opportunity to have further insights about entrepreneurship and work relations as well as look at the customer profile and the goods or services offered. The only counter effect of interview places was, as the reason described above, some interviews took a lot longer because of the breaks. When a customer came, respondents stopped talking and went to deal with them. At one interview, we had four interruptions because of customers and had to have four breaks. Every time the participant returned, I repeated the last question and continued our conversation. This might add an odd to participants' focus and concentration during the interview. As a researcher, I also felt slightly worried when we had a few interruptions. To have in my mind the fact that all respondents voluntarily participated in my research without any award, I felt as if my interview was costing them precious time at their work. Yet, none of the respondents made any negative comments after the interviews. I specifically present my appreciation for those who reserve an appointment for me during their busy working hours.

Moreover, I aimed to develop a formal but genuine interaction with respondents. I had to be formal because to have a certain degree of distance from respondents is crucial to having reliable data. Ergun and Erdemir (2010) write two main reasons for keeping distance:

There are two main reasons to maintain a certain level of distance from the informants. First, although researchers want to go native to some extent to grasp the emic perspective, it is important to keep a certain level of distance for the sake of not losing their etic insights. Second, preserving distance is one of the crucial dimensions of ensuring continuing access to conflicting power factions in the field and building a trusting relationship with the informants (Ergun & Erdemir, 2010:25-26).

In-depth interviews, and in general qualitative research, are a kind of power relations between respondents and researcher (Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009; Anyan, 2013). Managing this relationship is essential to have trustworthiness in the research process. Yet, each interview has its own unique way of interaction. As an active participant in the research process, I was careful to be present at every moment and manage my attitude in accordance with the participants' behaviour. I have paid much attention to having a genuine relationship with respondents by acknowledging conflicting power factions.

### 3.2.1. Design of Questions

Interview questions are designed following the research question and outline of the thesis. I identified four subtopics centred around the research question. For each subtopic that is explained in the previous chapter as (a). analysis of business, (b). motivations and resources, (c). mixed embeddedness, and finally (d). succession and failure, several questions were prepared. For instance, to understand the business building process and the relationship between migrant entrepreneurs and integration in Germany, respondents were asked questions such as “Could you please describe the processes of how you established your own business enterprise?” and “How does having your own business shaped your integration in Germany?”<sup>15</sup>. Semi-structured interview methods were helpful in a way that presented a possibility to negotiate with participants’ responses through interviews.

As a researcher, I tried to avoid guiding participants and directing them into certain explanations. Instead, taking advantage of in-depth insights, I tried to arrange each interview with its own nature. To have valid information from the field, I followed the same questionnaire for all interviews in the same order. However, when specific incidents occurred, I did not intervene with the participant. Those incidents were mostly stories or particular events about participants’ personal experiences in Germany’s economic sphere and social life in general. I asked further questions in some interviews when participants stated interesting information or anecdotes, which I believe are important to the issue.

Additionally, I skipped some questions when I noticed participants were not comfortable to respond them. For instance, questions that have integration concepts in them were perceived as pointless by a few participants who belong to second and third-generation migrants. They point “how could it be possible to question their integration to the country they are citizens of and also have a strong sense of belonging”. Yet,

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<sup>15</sup> “Integration” has two translations in Turkish. One is “entegrasyon”, the same meaning with the English version obviously. The other one is “uyum” which has more diverse meanings such as adaptation, consistence, compatibility, harmonisation, unity, and coherence. I prefer to use “uyum” in my questions to not lead interviewees. I think this sustained to have deeper insights about their frameworks in terms of integration as they had a broader possibility of definition thanks to this wording.

depending on their responses to other questions, I noted integration is still a big issue even though the word itself creates discomfort because those respondents were referring to Turkey as *memleket* (home country) and identifying themselves and other migration background people in Germany as *yabancı/Ausländer* (foreigners or strangers) and their businesses as *foreigner businesses*. These contradictory seeming views are discussed in my analysis in Chapter IV. What is crucial to note here is the nature of in-depth interviews is it is an interaction between the researcher and the respondent; the questions and structure of the interview might be fluid. The determining factor is the participant's responses and attitudes that are not shown with words but with mimics, gestures, and tone.

### **3.3. Methodological Approach: Mixed Embeddedness**

The mixed embeddedness approach provides researchers to build their studies into a multi-level analysis. Applying multi-level analysis in my ethnographic fieldwork enables me to discuss mixed embeddedness in migrant entrepreneurship more comprehensively. In other words, mixed embeddedness offers to discuss micro, meso, and macro factors that are attached to opportunity structure and entrepreneur's resources (Bagwell, 2018). I was able to adopt an interactionist approach that maintains to discuss structure and agency in a meaningful way in the case of migrant entrepreneurship. In the case of this thesis, the mixed embeddedness approach reflects the structural conditions that shape migratory processes between Turkey and Germany. It also considers both state and market relations and motivations and resources for entrepreneurs in Germany, along with individual agency regarding the autonomy of business owners with Turkish migration background, their decision-making mechanisms as well as what they pursue in entrepreneurship. In other words, I operationalise mixed embeddedness in this research as a methodological approach which considers the motives behind embeddedness in different social institutions and the significance of agency.

This leads me to analyse my further arguments about individual behaviour, migrant community ties and networks, and structural and institutional forces in a comparative

way. The mixed embeddedness approach shapes my methodology in this research to conduct pluralist and indeterministic ethnographic fieldwork (Kloosterman, 2010). In this respect, I produce a scientific work that shows the complex and multifaceted characteristics of the issue without any bias. Specifically, bringing participants' experiences and perspectives into the study and presenting ambiguity of issues and cases which are very explicit, particularly in migratory context, ensure to make visible the multi-layered characteristics of migrant entrepreneurs. By this, I mean that, for this thesis, discussions about historical roots of migration, structural conditions in the receiving country, family and work relations, integration, and individual aspects of being an entrepreneur together with everyday life experiences and situations in multiple spheres of society is best to be interpreted with mixed embeddedness approach since it offers a pluralist and holistic view to reflect all these interconnected phenomena. Therefore, I did not only focus on a certain issue but evaluated the case in relation to major motivations and resources that are intrinsic to the case.

Mixed embeddedness is a generous methodological approach since it enables researchers to analyse multiple features in the case of migrant entrepreneurship. It looks at embeddedness in the context, embeddedness in social networks and also individual characteristics (Solano, 2020). Davids and Houtte (2008) argue about the applicability of mixed embeddedness as an agenda of research in migration studies. They point out that this approach presents a research field to obtain an understanding of economic, cultural and social embeddedness in migration studies as well as remigration. Therefore, I followed the same structure of methodology in my data collection process both in participant observation and in-depth interviews by analysing multiple factors together.

With the lens of mixed embeddedness, I attempted to elaborate on how do respondents embedded into social and economic contexts in Germany, how do they embedded in family businesses and migrant communities, and also what are the determinants of their succession and failure in the business in micro levels such as risk-taking behaviour, social and human capital, and individual skills, expertise and experiences.



### **3.4. Sample Selection and Sample Size**

I was aware of reaching the participants would not be easy in this research project, considering I am neither a citizen nor a resident of Germany. Also, I was thinking my German language skills would be challenging in the field. Nevertheless, luckily, I did not have any considerable problems.

While designing my research, I thought that my existing personal network in Germany could be a beneficial channel to reach participants. In the end, it worked as I had hoped, even though I struggled to find more participants than 23. Sample selection relies on three main criteria: a. it has to be small-scale migrant entrepreneurship that is run by migrants from Turkey or people with Turkish migration background and fits with my definition of small-scale businesses that I presented in the introduction, b. it has to include at least two family members as owners, partners, or workers among all other workers, if there are any, c. it has to match with branches of other businesses (gastronomy, markets, retail stores, hairdressers) included in this research. All businesses included in this research have less than a maximum of 15 employees. To open up the last criteria, I focused on selecting participants according to certain economic branches for some reasons. One of them is to examine information about the most common types of entrepreneurships for migrants from Turkey. In this way, motivations behind choosing certain kinds of economic branches came to the surface for analysis. Another reason is some business types were easier to find, such as fast-food shops, hairdressers, Turkish retail stores, etc., as they usually have Turkish names. For some other economic branches, it was sometimes impossible to tell whether the owners had Turkey migration background. Lastly, the scope and definition of small-scale businesses, in general, are extremely wide. Thus, to have a coherent study, I was convinced to define certain economic branches to look for suitable sampling. Also, it provides to obtain meaningful information that connects with each other and shows significant patterns in the field.

For sample selection, I used mixed strategies. First, I started to contact people via my network in Germany. I talked with my aunt, who lives in Mülheim an der Ruhr and asked her to spread the word about my research project. At the same time, I had the same conversation with my friends who live in different cities in North-Rhein

Westphalia (NRW) region. As I owned a student semester ticket, I had the opportunity to travel within the region without paying extra money but tuition fee to Bielefeld University. This helped me a lot to find participants from different cities in NRW.

Besides using my family and friend networks, I also used social media to contact small-scale business owners. I found a Facebook group for the Turkish population in city A and sent an online post with a brief explanation of my research. I got lucky and managed to find a few respondents via that channel. However, the most memorable event was a woman invited me to an Eid festive meeting at a political association in city A for Turkish-origin migrants. The association X is a nationwide, Kemalist ideology organisation in Turkey. They also have migrant organisations in many cities in Europe. When that woman wrote that I could find participants who fit my criteria in that meeting, I quickly got ready and went there. I was grateful for all people - approximately 30 people were at that meeting- who kindly welcomed me, and I am also thankful for those who accepted to participate in my research.

Yet, I had to note that being at a meeting of a Turkish association in Germany itself also showed me a lot of new insights about the migrant population. When I arrived at the association's building, I introduced myself as a student and researcher and explained my aim for my thesis. With an open role as a researcher, I witnessed the political debates between leaders of that association from several cities. These debates mainly focused on the problems of the Turkish population in Germany and leaders' different standpoints to approach them, sometimes conflicting standpoints. Such problems were, for instance, the recent decision about teaching the Kurdish language in public schools, whereas the Turkish language does not have the same status, ban for double citizenship for those with Turkish passports while this rule does not apply to all other passport carriers and *interference* of politicians from Turkey to regarding Turkish population in Germany.

Hearing the voices from inside a Turkish association did not only show me their political agenda and current discussions, but also I was able to see the association's scheme and relationships between members. Additionally, I found a possibility to get more clues and ideas about people's motivations to join that association based on my conversations with them. Some stated they had newly migrated to Germany, and these

meetings are one of the few social events for them. Some others said having this many Turkish-speaking people in one place makes them feel like “*being at home*”. There were also political reasons as the primary motivation to join the association. Some people stated they aim to make a difference for the next Turkish generation in Germany. Another interesting comment was from one man who came to Germany one year ago with his wife. He told me he thinks joining a political organisation is crucial for people like him because the Turkish population in Germany is mostly organised around religious associations. One last comment I noted from that day was some members also argued that Kurdish people from Turkey are more successful to engage in politics and demand their fundamental rights. They claimed that associations like theirs should play an instrumental role to create a strong Turkish political agenda in Germany as Kurdish people did.

The last strategy used for sample selection is I looked around the city and found some enterprises that have Turkish names. I went to as many shops as I found and asked them to participate in my research. However, except for a few businesses, only some fast-food shops and markets that I was also a customer of accepted my request. There was a strong impact on the sense of trustworthiness. Other businesses I went to rejected my request immediately after I finished my sentence. I discuss this issue in the limitations of my research.

After these three strategies, I applied snowball sampling to find further participants. I gave my phone number to people I interviewed and asked them to spread the word. Some of them helped me to contact their colleagues, and some others told me who else might be a participant in my research. In this way, I managed to have a sample size of 23 participants in total. After conducting a certain number of interviews, I observed that the new data I gathered was quite similar to the previous ones. By this, I mean more interviews did not mean more information. Researchers might notice that their sampling is saturated and get meaningful insights at certain points. This issue is clarified by Charmaz very well; “*Another way to state this is that conceptual categories in a research project can be considered saturated “when gathering fresh data no longer sparks new theoretical insights, nor reveals new properties of your core theoretical categories.”*” (Charmaz, 2006:113). Therefore, I think that the

sampling I used in this research project allows me to analyse my research question and discuss the field with valuable information.

### 3.5. Sample Characteristics

All participants were residents of NRW in Germany. They were chosen from the same regions for two main reasons. The first one is I had my contact in this region and found the first participants via that channel. The other reason is because of my financial budget; I could not go to other cities. Interviews are conducted in five different cities: Bielefeld, Bochum, Mülheim an der Ruhr, Essen, Gütersloh. All interviews outside of Bielefeld are done on one-day trips. The biggest unbalance in terms of sample characteristics was the dramatic difference between male and female participants. Only 3 participants were female migrant entrepreneurs out of 23. Even though I did not plan to look at gendered characteristics of migrant entrepreneurship in advance of research, while I was conducting interviews, I noticed the fact that most of my respondents are male. At first, this unbalance made me think and annoyed about my sample because I felt my research would be male-centric and unrepresentative of women's participation in entrepreneurial activities as migrants. However, later my ideas have shifted towards more like this sample parallels with what I have observed in Germany as well.

In the field of migrant family businesses, the business building process is predominantly made by men in the household. Even though I found some entrepreneurships that are run by spouses, it was *the man* who was identified as a business owner. Women entrepreneurships that are out from couple businesses are rare as well, at least among the places I have visited. I think that a smaller number of migrant women entrepreneurships in this research shows its own gender relations in a way that women face more obstacles to building their own businesses. Also, migrant family businesses lie on the sexual division of labour. Women's labour is not considered as valuable as men's and is paid and appreciated less (Rowe & Hong, 2000; Salganicoff, 1990). Although female members also work in small-scale businesses and have played an essential role in the business building process, they are not named as

owners but rather workers. When I went to some shops to invite people to my research, some women told me it was *their shared businesses* with their husbands. However, then they also did not claim they were the owner of the businesses; thus, I was told to interview men to learn how they became self-employed and established their businesses. I think that women also tend to see their spouses as head of the business even if they have the same amount of labour and effort at work. The ideological background of this thinking lies in patriarchal relations that constitute a sexual division of labour to prioritise men over women in self-employment (Hundley, 2000; Icart & Pizzi, 2013).

Another issue that I focused on among the sample is the difference in migration background and generation. I asked participants about when they arrived in Germany or if they were born here when their parents or grandparents had migrated. Besides the generational context, the age of respondents appears as another significant factor in being self-employed. All participants are above 30. The age interval is between 32 to 60, and the average age is approximately 44. All participants are high school graduates, and a considerable number have a university degree. Some participants stated they did *Ausbildung*<sup>16</sup>, which is a degree of certain professional education. Similarly, most of the participants were married individuals, and all have children except two. I also questioned participants about whom they work in their businesses. These characteristics are shown in Table 1.

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<sup>16</sup> “Ausbildung”, vocational training, apprenticeship (eng). A training education model that provide profession related education.

### 3.5.1. Table 1: Sample characteristics

Name <sup>17</sup> (f/m) <sup>18</sup> -Age	City	Business	Education	Migration Background/ Generation <sup>19</sup>	FMIB <sup>20</sup>	Civil Status & Children
Kadir(m)-37	A	Bakery	Ausbildung	Second	Sister and cousins	Married - none
Nevra(f)-35	A	Hairdresser	Ausbildung	Second	Mother	Married - 3
Kadriye(f)-53	B	Çiğköfte shop	Ausbildung	Second	Husband	Married - 2
Özcan(m)-39	A	Hairdresser	High school	Second	Brother	Married - 2
Levent(m)-45	C	Retail store	University	Third	Brothers	Married - 2
Vedat(m)-43	D	Hairdresser	High school	First	Brother-in-law	Married - 1
İbrahim(m)-45	A	Kiosk shop	University	First	Wife	Married - 2
Volkan(m)-32	D	Market	University	Third	Father	Married - 1
Erdal(m)-34	A	Döner restaurant	Ausbildung	Third	Brothers, uncle, cousins	Single - None
Murat(m)-44	A	Pizza restaurant	High school	First	Brother-in-law	Separated -1
Tarık(m)-57	C	Bakery	University	Second	Relatives	Married - 4
Muhsin(m)-48	C	Restaurant	High school	Second	Daughter and son	Married - 2
Kazım(m)-43	A	Baklava shop	High school	First	Relatives	Married - 4
Serdar(m)-39	D	Kiosk shop	University	First	Wife	Married - 2

<sup>17</sup> All names are changed with pseudonyms.

<sup>18</sup> f/m: Female/Male.

<sup>19</sup> Generation is defined accordingly respondents and his/her families migration background.

<sup>20</sup> FMIB: Family members in business

*Table continued*

Gülay(f)-47	B	Bakery	Ausbildung	Second	Daughter	Divorced -2
Ali(m)-42	B	Kiosk shop	Ausbildung	Second	Wife, sister-in-law	Married - 3
Kudret(m)-50	A	Retail store	University	First	Daughter	Divorced -2
Ahmet(m)-38	E	Bakery	University	First	Wife	Married - None
Mehmet(m)-46	A	Döner restaurant	University	Second	Relatives	Married - 2
İsmail(m)-60	A	Retail store	University	First	Son	Married - 2
Remzi(m)-58	B	Market	High school	Second	Wife, son	Married - 3
Bahri(m)-34	A	Market	High school	Second	Wife	Married - 2
Kenan(m)-40	C	Döner Restaurant	University	First	Relatives	Married - 3

Kadir: He lived at İzmir until he arrived in Germany, where his mother and father lived when he was 10. His father had a döner shop when he was still a child. He did Ausbildung as a caregiver. When he was 18, he had an ice cream café with his father. Then he had three other businesses: a bowling saloon, a nightclub, and his bakery. After night club, he worked as an elderly caregiver for two years and could not deal with being a worker. He opened that bakery one year ago and currently working with his elder sister and her daughters. After unsuccessful entrepreneurships, he thinks his last business will be the longest-lasting one. He is married to a German woman. He also had quite good communication skills and a sense of humour.

Nevra: She has a beauty salon where she works with her mother. Nevra also has an Ausbildung, which is compulsory to be a hairdresser in Germany. She was pregnant with her third child when I was interviewing her. She was also very generous in her comments.

Kadriye: She arrived in Germany when she was three years old. She had Ausbildung and worked in a company's commercial department for 20 years. She was very careful when she was responding to my questions. Her husband sometimes works with her, but all other employers are women, which is also a business strategy, as she describes. To have a “women's business,” she intentionally chooses women with migration backgrounds. I think she has very influential entrepreneurial skills that she uses not only in how she communicates with people but also has remarkable market analysis. A very clever woman indeed.

Özcan: He arrived in Germany when he was six. After high school, he worked at an automobile factory for a few years. Even though he earned good money, he experienced ethnic discrimination and left. During the interviews, he stressed that the negative image of Turkish migrants in their homeland irritates him because they work in very hard conditions in Germany, especially in factories. That shop was his third one. Since he has a successful business, they had to change the place. Özcan says he is integrated into Germany and Turkey simultaneously but does not know which one he is integrated into more.

Levent: He has a retail store where they sell various products from antics to traditional Turkish accessories. Levent provided me with a long and detailed family history, starting with his grandfather's migration to Germany. He got emotional a few times while describing some events. He was born and raised in Germany and studied economics at the university. He defines himself as an individual who totally belongs to Germany but also considers Turkey as his homeland. Levent and his brothers took over the shop from a German man. They pay a lot of attention to keeping the shop as prestigious as before and hesitate to make it look like a “Turkish business”. That is why they hired the ex-owner as an employer.

Vedat: He arrived in Germany 11 years ago as a first-generation migrant. Before, he had a barber shop in Turkey too. After meeting with his wife, who is also originally from the same city in Turkey, he decided to move here. First two years, he had to attend a German language course along with some other courses in the integration program. His wife has studied pedagogy and currently working as a kindergarten teacher. Even though he sold this old shop in Turkey before moving to Germany in



order to have enough financial capital to establish a new business, his wife had to support him too.

İbrahim: After graduating from university as a finance student, he moved to Germany with his wife, who was born there. Thanks to his wife's relatives and networks, they could manage the first relatively hard years. The reason they moved was Turkey's polarized political and social environment and higher life standards in Germany. İbrahim worked at a factory for five years; then, they took over the Kiosk job from its previous owner. He made a quite fascinating class analysis of the German national economy and ethnic discrimination based on migration background. He is engaged in political organisations as well.

Volkan: Even though he studied at the university, he did not work in any other place than their family supermarket. Volkan was very shy, and honestly, it was hard to have a conversation with him. Yet, he commented on important issues related to the multiculturalist product range at their shop. He was married shortly after they opened the market and had a child. Both his grandfather and father worked at factories.

Erdal: He has a döner restaurant selling kebab and other common Turkish dishes. I would say that his shop looked so similar to the ones in Turkey, particularly considering the furniture and menu. Erdal works with relatives; his brothers, his uncle, and his uncle's sons. He has an Ausbildung as a mechanic. Erdal's grandfather was a factory worker. After having the same job for a while, his father opened a Kiosk. Later, with his uncle, they established this döner restaurant but changed the shop two times as their business has been growing successfully. He pointed out that Kurds and Turks have already learnt how to be an entrepreneur in Germany.

Murat: He graduated from university in Turkey. For several complicated reasons, including financial problems, Murat arrived in Germany 24 years ago, and after working at factories, he started working at a restaurant. This made him decide to be a chef, and he did Ausbildung. He worked as a manager at another restaurant before opening his first shop (six years ago), a lahmacun restaurant. An Indian migrant previously owned the pizza shop he now has and took it three years ago. He is a man who is very conscious of market dynamics and gives priority to being flexible in order to adopt changes.

Tarik: He is among the other participants who had previous entrepreneurships. First, he opened a breakfast café, then a café bakery, and last 15 years, he has his bakery where he mostly sells simit. Tarik arrived in Germany when he was 10 to live with his parents, who were working at factories. He says he was a child labourer and working since he was 13 or 14 to support his family budget. He worked at auto repairs and döner shops when he was a teenager. He says that he bankrupted the first two businesses because he was inexperienced. Now, he is more confident with business relations, calculations, and customer interactions.

Muhsin: He came to Germany in 1979 when he was six years old. First, he was sent to a Turkish school by the Germans. In the 4<sup>th</sup> grade, he changed to a German school. Muhsin was already working at a gas station at 14 years old. He provided me with a lot of biographical information which reflects many aspects of migratory contexts. They were living in a house with only one bedroom. One of his brothers was studying medicine in Turkey, and he supported him with remittances. However, he could not go to university because of financial problems, but he was a very good student. Muhsin identifies himself as determined, brave, hardworking, and a strongminded person, that I can honestly agree with. He speaks four languages, including French and English. His father and brother worked at a pipe factory, but he never considered himself to work there. After two unsuccessful business attempts, he finally opened this restaurant in which he proved himself as an established businessperson. He is a certified hunter and often goes camping with his German friends. He is a very active member of migrant businesspeople associations and the local football club board.

Kazım: He was a baklava chef in Turkey too and moved next to his relatives in Germany for higher life standards. Married here and had four children. Kazım went to the language course after he arrived in Germany as a part of the integration program. He says he was allowed to work as a chef as he has certificates from Turkey. He opened his shop eight years ago, and it has been growing since then. Kazım told me he is happy to move to Germany and enjoys living here. The government's social supports are among his favourite things in Germany.

Serdar: He graduated from the university as a health technician, which German authorities do not accept as a valid certificate. Migration decision is made with his

wife to pursue better life chances for them and their children. The political environment in Turkey was also a significant factor in that decision. In the first year of migration, he took German courses. Then he worked in a post office. Later he worked at an automobile factory for two years as well. To support the family budget, he had another job at a Kiosk. After the automobile factory had bankrupt, he opened his own Kiosk as his full-time job. He is engaged in leftist migrant political organisations in his locality. Serdar made interesting comments about the history of Germany and the migrant workforce. He considers migrants as a class and advocates unity for the whole.

Gülay: She was one of the kindest participants. Gülay has a café bakery where she works with her daughter. She was born and raised in Germany and had her Ausbildung at a praxis of an anaesthesia surgeon. Gülay wanted to be a surgeon, but getting married and being a mother at a young age forced her to stay home. After getting divorced from her daughters' father, she decided to have a life for herself and built her dream job. I think that her close communication with customers, who are mostly young individuals, and her determined personality provide a good advantage to the business relations. She identifies herself as a Turk from Germany.

Ali: He was born and raised in Germany. His father was a factory worker. Started working at a local newspaper as a carrier when he was a child. Ali had his Ausbildung as an industrial mechanic. For three years, he worked as one. Then he became a bus driver. His first shop was a lottery. He took over that Kiosk shop from a Turkish migrant ten years ago, which he describes as a huge success. Ali seemed to like having a straightforward character. He does not care much about whether or not it is his customers; when someone tries to discriminate or exercise power upon him, he pushes back, he said to me. Ali also said he goes to Turkey without luggage for a one-day shopping trip; he buys luggage there, makes it full, and returns.

Kudret: He was a civil engineer in Turkey and was working as department chief in Turkey. Yet, he decided to migrate to have better life standards. He came to Germany in the late 80s and married here. After getting divorced, he raised his daughters as a single father. Kudret did not accept working as an engineer in Germany because people offered him less money than Germans. Instead, he worked as a teacher but later

resigned from that job because he was discriminated against as a migrant. He started giving private courses for students, then eventually trading. He opened his shop 12 years ago and now working with his daughter, who is responsible for finance. Kudret stressed hypocrisy in Germany and argued there is hidden discrimination almost everywhere.

Ahmet: He moved to Germany two years ago after marrying his wife, a nurse. Before that, he studied international trade at the university and worked as a manager at a transnational company in Indonesia. For five months, he worked at a laminate factory in Germany. Last year he finally opened his shop with his wife's and her family's financial help. Ahmet still has language problems. However, as he is experienced working with people from other cultures, he thinks he will overcome every challenge soon.

Mehmet: He has a university diploma in economics from Germany; however, he was not happy while working at a company. When he heard that this restaurant was getting close, he took over the business and has become self-employed since then. He is working with many relatives. Mehmet has very good market analysis skills thanks to his education, and he says that this is the thing that makes him different from other entrepreneurs. He seemed proud to have leisure activities and hobbies. Often, he compared his lifestyle with natives in order to point out successful integration.

Bahri: As another second-generation participant, he also took over his market shop from a Portuguese migrant owner. He has worked as a highway construction worker and was very unhappy there, as he declares. He considers himself a furious person, which I also observed during the interview. He looked and sounded very angry when he was describing the unequal treatment of migrant workers. Bahri seemed to have a strong character, often mentioned to me the importance of decisiveness and seeking his rights for both business relations and everyday life in Germany.

İsmail: He studied business administration at a prestigious university in Turkey. İsmail was doing trade and finance businesses back in Ankara. In 1988 he moved to Germany to extend these businesses to where his uncle is living. He attended a language course. At first, he tried to continue his Master's; however, he had to quit for working. He worked at two different factories. There were other unsuccessful attempts in Germany

and Turkey as an entrepreneur. He tried to sell construction materials, leathers, and textiles. Through time, he decided to work alone to be free and cut ties with his partners. Now, he only works with family members and is very happy with the business state. İsmail has a very high status among the local community, not only with the immigrant community but also with Turkish authorities. He is engaged in political organisations as well as civil society associations.

Remzi: He has a small market at one university campus. Remzi speaks four languages, including Kurdish and Arabic. Originally from Gaziantep, he came to Germany 21 years ago as family reunification. However, he also came in the 80s when he stayed for six months. After going to school for three months, he went back. He started with a small market which he describes as 33 square meters. 7 or 8 years ago, he took over his shop after his brother-in-law recommended that store. His only working experience other than these businesses were cleaning companies, where he worked for six years at three different ones. Remzi finds Turkey chaotic and never wants to go back. He also said he wants to retire and joked about he would be very happy if I could help him find someone to take over his shop.

Kenan: He was a very generous interviewee who gave me a lot of information. Kenan graduated as a psychologist from a university in Turkey but never worked as one. Instead, he had a döner shop in İzmir too. Financial problems were the biggest motivation for him to migrate to Germany, where some of his relatives lived in 2003. At first, he tried to continue his education but could not finish as he had to work. Then he also worked at a factory. Finally, thanks to the support of relatives, he took over that döner shop with his brother. He is one of the most successful chefs in his city because of the good reputation of this shop. I also think that the quality of his döner was one of the best I have ever had. I was able to learn important comparative analysis of small-scale business ownership in Germany and Turkey thanks to him.

### **3.6. Roles and Identities of Researcher**

The roles and identities of the researcher shape *insiderness* and *outsiderness* (Ergun & Erdemir, 2010; Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Qualitative research is a way to elaborate

authenticity of respondents' experiences. In that sense, the researcher engages in a mutual relationship with respondents. The research process becomes an interaction between the two parts. Thus, how and in which ways the researcher is perceived have significant impacts on the data collection process. In this respect, I find it very essential to acknowledge my roles and identities in the field study of this thesis.

As I explained above, the sample selection process is realised via two main channels: using my friends and family network in Germany, going directly to the shops, and requesting participation in my research. What I noticed from both ways was recognition of my university and recognition of my hometown played an important role in how I was perceived. I became aware of these different perceptions when some respondents explicitly refer them. Also, my network had played an important role in terms of my assumed identities. Participants that I reached via my own friends from university and participants that I reached via my relatives perceived me as having the same affiliations with the channel I used. Considering the fact that most of my relatives have conservative characteristics, I was also attributed the similar identities even though I tried hard not to show any reflection of my personal political affiliation. I did not express any political position, yet in the research process, there might be cases in that respondents attribute certain affiliations to the researcher (Ergun & Erdemir, 2010). The attributed Muslim identity to me was also an issue in some interviews, particularly in terms of alcohol and *non-halal* food consumption. I bought beers and a pizza with bacon from one pizza place that I interviewed the owner Murat later, so he knew that I do not have religious preferences in eating. I noticed he perceived me as a secular, non-religious person as he does identify himself.

One of the most interesting incidents about my identity in the fieldwork was when I was misrecognised as a German woman by a döner kebab restaurant owner. When he realised I speak Turkish, he said he was "*very sorry*" to think I was German and gave me a free döner as a sign of his apologies. When I went there to interview him, he again apologised for that incident and stated he really wants to help me with my research. He and almost all other respondents saw me as a young university student girl who came from Turkey for her studies (similarly, my relatives introduced me by stating "*she came from Turkey*"), and I assume because of that identity, there was extra politeness towards me. Despite other disadvantages brought by this role, such as

outsiderness in foreign lands, there were also positive impacts on my research. My Turkish identity falls in between insider and outsider in the community. It is shaped by the degree of respondents' sense of belonging to Turkey and Turkishness.

I was conceived even younger than my age, 26, which sometimes leads to problems to develop a certain level of being taken seriously. In all interviews, I was careful to use formal language with respondents, yet some asked if I should call them *amca* (uncle) because of our age differences. Especially in some interviews, I really felt in multiple ways that I was considered like a young university student girl from Turkey. Some respondents asked personal questions about me, such as how I sustain my living in Germany, where I take my scholarship and does it enough to cover all of my needs, and do I have any problems in Germany related to language, bureaucracy, accommodation, etc. They also asked if I have friends and family members in Germany, and they seemed relieved when I responded that my aunt lives close to Bielefeld. One respondent asked about my family in Turkey, how many siblings I have, what are the occupations of my parents, etc. When I briefly explained my familial characteristics, he said he congratulates me and said I should be proud because I went to METU and Germany for my studies as a daughter of a low-income family. Some respondents told me, and later some of them texted via phone I could call them if I needed any help during my stay in Bielefeld. Being a young woman, having a lower-class family background, and coming from Turkey affected how respondents perceived me and their approach to my research.

Gender also has an important impact on my identity as a researcher. I noticed there are several *Spielhalle*'s in Bielefeld which have Turkish names. I went to two of them to ask them to participate in my research. There were no other women inside, and both places reminded me of classic Turkish *kıraathane* (coffee shops exclusively for men). I noticed all eyes were on me, especially when I speak Turkish. It took only one minute to reject me in both *Spielhalle*; then, I had to eliminate this sector completely. This decision does not only based on two rejections, but also because of my feeling of insecurity there. My sex as a female became a burden to enter that male-dominated field.

This fieldwork was also a learning process for me as a researcher as well. After being told a few times that I have a smiling personality, I thought this might cause me not to be considered a researcher but rather a young student girl based on my appearance. In some interviews, I was called as *Melisacığım*, which is quite an informal version of my name. I tried to develop a more academic attitude. However, that made me feel like I had to act without knowing am I a good actress or just be perceived as fake this time. Here, I do not mean to make exaggerated mimics or laughs. But I realised the best way to communicate with respondents is to talk formally with them as much as possible without trying to auto-control myself constantly. My gender and age differences with respondents were the identities that I cannot change. Thus, if they have affected the way I was perceived, I accepted it as it is. In fact, there were pros to my age and gender in my experiences. My identities facilitated some opportunities to discover hidden parts in the field. I believe that the level of trustworthiness that I and the respondents developed during the interviews helped me to learn additional information. An example of trustworthiness might be one respondent who told me he cheated on taxes in Germany.

To conclude this part, I would state that I succeeded to a certain degree of insidership in my research besides limitations. Considering my personal identities and the roles and identities that are attributed to me by participants maintained to overcome outsidership for a level, even though I conducted my research in foreign lands.

### **3.7. Ethical Considerations**

Prior to the field study, ethical permission is awarded for this research by METU. Each participant was informed explicitly about the researcher's identity and was provided with general information about the research itself. Additionally, the official consent form is taken from all participants, and they are also informed about they can access the researcher or her advisor afterwards. Field notes were kept as confidential documents of the researcher. Only the researcher had access to listen to voice records. Transcripts are done by the researcher herself. Then, the names of respondents are



changed with pseudonyms with paying attention to not eliminating the socio-economic characteristics of names.

To make my research ethically correct, I started to work on especially *wording* of my research and interview questions. I was already aware of the problematic usage of language in migration research. The words *migrant* and *international migrant* themselves might be problematic or discriminatory and as well as legitimizing restrictive citizenship policies in certain contexts (Gorodzeisky & Leykin, 2020). Thinking about my research case, I knew that my sample would be mostly second and third-generations in Germany. However, who were exactly these people in terms of categorical definitions? I was considering whether naming them as migrants would be labelling in this situation. *Migrants from Turkey* was more appropriate to point out ethnic differences among my sample; however not explanatory enough. Yet, the problem with labelling does not seem to be solved. Are these people migrants when they are born and raised in Germany? How do they call themselves a community? In the case of population with Turkish migration background, there are several concepts to define them, e.g., *Almancı*, *Euro Turk*, *Gastarbeiter*, *gurbetçi*<sup>21</sup>. Yet, the question of identity is one of the biggest challenges among new generations of migrant families in Germany. Do they identify themselves as Germans or Turks, or Kurds living in Germany? Do they consider themselves migrants, or do they feel like they are equal citizens in Germany? Which nation-state reflects the sense of belonging more, Germany or Turkey? Questions like these vary according to generations, ethnicity, social status, and region. In my research, as my aim is to see the interaction between self-employment and socioeconomic integration, I choose to use the words “migrant entrepreneurs” and “people with Turkish migration background” to emphasize their particular, authentic, and culturally specific experiences as a sociological category. Yet, I am aware of the fact that after 60 years of migration history between Turkey and Germany, calling the Turkish population migrants is discrimination when it is used institutionally. In this respect, “migrants” is used with quotation marks in the title of this thesis. On the other hand, to point out inequalities and the discrimination itself in this issue, we still need to have categorical definitions. Researchers should pay

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<sup>21</sup> All these concepts were considered negatively in in-depth interviews.

attention to the usage of existing categories in migration to not fall into traps of stigmatisation. According to Crawley and Skleparis,

Nonetheless, it is important to be aware that if policy categories are allowed to shape, or even dominate, academic research – perhaps in an effort to engage policy interest and, in turn, enhance the “impact” of our work – then the politics that lie at the heart of the policy-making process will also come to shape and inform academic thinking, concealing rather than revealing the dynamic processes with which migration is increasingly associated (Crawley & Skleparis, 2018:50).

My effort here is to point out that while we use certain categories to build our scientific knowledge and represent the lived experiences of people, we should also be aware of the reproduction of these categories in a circular way. I attempt not to naturalise these categories as they have occurred in social reality. However, I try to understand the ways that create and produce these differentiations in society. These concerns are raised as a critique of methodological nationalism in migration research by Wimmer and Glick-Schiller (2002). Unless researchers recognise nation-states’ roles and impacts of nation-states policies in terms of inequalities and discrimination towards people of migrant origin, they fail to understand the complexity of the phenomenon itself (Sager, 2016; Glick-Schiller, 2009; Amelina, 2012; Beck, 2007).

In in-depth interviews, I witnessed that the categorical labels are sensitive issues. Some respondents stated that they are not migrants even though they identify themselves as *Ausländer* in Germany. Some others have considered the term integration as it is viewed as something that minorities had to achieve. I explained my standpoint on each issue and carefully addressed how my research analyses these concepts. I detailed why I use the word migrants and how I operationalise integration. When I noticed a respondent was uncomfortable when I asked questions about integration, I skipped the others and asked him to describe why he did not like this term. These issues will be clarified in Chapter IV, yet I had to note that wording in the migration context is a crucially significant issue than it has been thought.

### 3.8. Limitations

Throughout the research process, I experienced certain limitations related to my status as a researcher and constraining features in the field. These limitations can be classified as a. my lack of German language skills, b. lack of daily life experience in Germany, c. lack of social ties in Germany, and d. lack of financial resources. After addressing these limitations, I tried to find solutions to minimize their effect on my research. For the first two of them, I believe I had achieved certain degrees of freedom in the field. However, for the others, the only thing I could do was manage the existing resources as best as I could.

The language problem was experienced particularly in interviews when respondents - especially those who were born and raised in Germany or came to Germany at an early age - mentioned German words they do not know or could not remember the Turkish version of it. As they also know that my German language skills are only close to the elementary level, they were aware of I could not understand what they meant. In these cases, the respondents and I followed some strategies. The first one is; that, obviously, respondents tried to explain what the word stands for.<sup>22</sup> Secondly, when the word specifically refers to something that respondents could not easily explain, I noted the word and checked it later. The last strategy was to make an educated guess about what they meant and ask respondents if it was true. I can say that after a few interviews, I felt I was engaging in the field more actively and quickly learnt some commonly used German words such as *Ordnungsamt*<sup>23</sup>, *Finanzamt*<sup>24</sup>, and *Arbeitsamt*<sup>25</sup>.

Luckily, this research process was not the first time I have ever been to Germany. I was an exchange student again in NRW for six months in 2018. In total, I lived in Germany for one year, and I can say I learned and discovered many things about social and economic spheres as well as a lot of things about how I can manage my own life

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<sup>22</sup> For example, the word *heim* is used to describe shared living places like dormitories for first generation migrants. I learnt that word, thanks to a respondent.

<sup>23</sup> The public order office in Germany.

<sup>24</sup> The tax office in Germany.

<sup>25</sup> The public service for work.

in Germany. Friends and family were also other sources of information when it came to daily life in Germany. Yet, my experiences are still not compatible with residents in Germany. I faced some problems related to transportation, finance, social interactions, and a sense of trust, which might not be the case for a Turkish-speaking researcher from Germany. Although I did not experience any discriminatory attitude, whether in my research or in my daily life, I always had the feeling of I was a foreigner there.

Lack of social ties was a complex issue that depended not only on my actions but also on other people around me. During my time in Germany, I met new people and made friends, which thankfully turned out to be another resource for me to find further respondents. However, I cannot claim that I had the same level of social ties that I have in Turkey. This might add up constraining features to my research.

Lastly, in terms of financial limitations, I tried my best to arrange the resources I had. I was awarded an exchange grant on which all my expenses depend. I limited my research sites with NRW as I had a semester ticket to use in the region. I could only stay in Germany in time, which is covered by the grant; thus, I knew that I had to finish fieldwork by the end of September. I would say I had enough time to conduct 23 in-depth interviews but do not have time for more. However, I also think that if only I had more financial resources, I could visit my other contacts in Germany and would reach further respondents. Lastly, thinking about my monthly expenses and trying hard to have enough money by the end of my residence in Germany caused me a certain level of stress.

### **3.9.1. Representativeness and Moderatum Generalisation**

Another limitation of this research is since I reached respondents mainly via my social network and snowball sampling, it is not representative of the population and does not claim to be. Rather, this research attempt to point to lived experiences from the field. However, not being representative does not equal not being able to make generalisations. According to Small (2009), ethnographers and qualitative researchers and especially those who work on urban poverty, immigration, and social inequality,

might think that they had to achieve representativeness in order to connect with other cases in the same field. However, in terms of ethnography and qualitative research, studies can have alternative strategies to empirically reflect other cases (Small, 2009). Considering the sample characteristics of this research project, it shows strong similarities with the general universe. The selection of research sites and economic branches of the migrant entrepreneurs make it possible to have generalisation. Payne and Williams discuss this issue;

Generalization needs explicit discussion in every study. Valid generalization cannot be assumed to be a natural outcome of fieldwork, but rather should be considered from the outset. That entails treating it as part of research design, deciding on the range (or more precisely the moderation) of the generalization to be attempted, and setting up the data collection exercise appropriately – not least taking care over the selection of the sample of people or sites to be researched. The extent of the grounds for generalization depends both on the characteristics of what is being studied and, crucially, on the similarities of the research site to the sites to which generalization is to be attempted. (Payne & Williams, 2005:305).

Thus, sample characteristics and in general research design have strong impacts on valid generalisation. On the other hand, as Payne and Williams (2005) also point out, the selection of research sites usually depends on accessibility to data. In my case, this issue was explicitly visible. I had social networks in NRW, I was accepted by Bielefeld University, I had a semester ticket to use in the region, I was neither a German citizen nor a permanent resident and had limited information and access to certain places and people. All these social and financial constraints limited my access to information as an outsider in the field. Therefore, my research site is defined accordingly to places that I have accessibility. Yet, research sites and, relatedly, sample selection do not determine generalisation. Payne and Williams continue to write;

Thus ‘location’ implies not just simple physical location, but also social location in terms of networks and processes, which provide awareness of research issues, where they are most clearly manifested, and the means of establishing contacts with potential informants. Because of access and location, when most sociologists carry out qualitative research, generalization comes low down the research process agenda. What effectively moderates generalization (whatever the intention of the researchers) is not the sampling per se, but the accidental outcome of access and associated logistical and resource decisions. (Payne & Williams, 2005:308-309).

They came up with the concept of *moderatum generalisation* after these arguments. I think that moderatum generalisation is suitable for my research considering the logistical limitations that I explained. Therefore, I find it crucial to identify each and every detail of my research design, my status as a researcher -or roles and identities- as well as the characteristics of my sample. According to Payne and Williams, identifying varying degrees of similarity and difference offers a mental map of the sites that generalization can and cannot be extended to the other research sites. Additionally, moderatum generalisation, as they define it, does not cause invalid generalisation. On the contrary, it extends our generalisations. Identifying the limitations and constraint features of one research site provides to see its similarities and differences with the other areas (Payne & Williams, 2005).

To conclude, this chapter presents research methods and other methodological discussions of the thesis. The construction of ethnographic fieldwork and sample design, as well as sample characteristics, are shown. Moreover, as a generous characteristic of qualitative methods, the impact of the active participation of the researcher herself is discussed in terms of roles and identities carried through the fieldwork. Ethical considerations and limitations of the research are also evaluated with a critical viewpoint.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **SMALL-SCALE BUSINESSES AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC INTEGRATION**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

This chapter introduces the analyses conducted for the thesis. The aim of this chapter is to show how small-scale businesses and socio-economic integration interact with each other through the mixed embeddedness approach in the case of entrepreneurs with Turkish migration background in Germany. It presents a systematic analysis considering different aspects related to the selected group, such as business profile, migration history, integration, motivations, resources, succession, and failure. Thus, this chapter attempts to argue what are the implications of small-scale business ownership concerning socio-economic integration in Germany as well as outcomes of integration. The interaction between these two phenomena is analysed based on participants' experiences.

In order to reflect both social and economic aspects in the case of people with Turkish migration background, this chapter discusses several issues that are framed according to ethnographic fieldwork. By relying on participants' framework, embeddedness into diverse spheres is associated with the level of socio-economic integration and discussed relatedly. Motivations and resources, as well as co-ethnic ties with the migrant community, are discussed in terms of embeddedness in Germany and ethnic embeddedness. They came to reflect social integration for different levels. Business embeddedness shows market relations and opportunity structure in Germany, and both shape economic integration. Succession and failure are considered representatives of

market dynamics and changes, which are shaped by social and economic factors and how they are linked with the integration of both spheres.

The chapter consists of four sections, analysis of the business, motivations and resources, mixed embeddedness, and finally, succession and failure. Each section presents discussions which reflect the interview questions within that part. Subtopics in these sections are categorised according to patterns and concepts that are gathered via related questions.

## **4.2. Analysis of the Business**

In this section, my primary aim is to present a descriptive analysis of the businesses and their owners. Before the discussion of the issues of this thesis, a comprehensive interpretation of respondents' profiles is needed to have a deeper understanding of the multi-layered aspects regarding socio-economic integration. Descriptive analysis of migrants and businesses is built upon certain categorisations which connect with the theoretical framework chosen. Migration history appears to be a strong feature in terms of socio-economic integration. Detailed information on participants can be found in the methodology part; therefore, in this section, I will mainly focus on two categories, first-generation and second and third-generation migrants and their profiles.

I attempt to understand the general knowledge about the business history and building up process. The majority of respondents speak about their familial biographies and previous work experiences, which I have presented in Chapter III. I think that their comments show some very crucial elements in terms of generational employment shift for the immigrant community, which needs to be discussed regarding the migration history of participants. Therefore, an overview of the business profile is described with a particular focus on important concepts such as migration background of the owner, business type and business building up history, main business strategies, and customer group. In the second part of the business analysis, I present the analysis of how these concepts and, in general, business profiles associates with socio-economic integration into Germany.



#### **4.2.1. Business Profile**

##### ***First Generation: Migrants who arrived as adults***

The business histories of the respondents, those who were not born and raised in Germany and arrived when they were already adults, are very diverse. They migrated to Germany for either political and economic reasons or family reunification after they married. Among these respondents who are first-generation migrants from their families, only one of them has a business that is not related to his previous job in Turkey. Serdar, a 39-year-old kiosk owner, was originally a health technician. However, his diploma is not accepted by German authorities, and he is asked to complete extra training to exercise the same job in Germany. Because of financial problems and familial responsibilities, he had to work and could not even start a training program.

Migrating as an adult has its own characteristics regarding socio-economic integration and business ownership. Lack of language skills appears as one of the biggest challenges, at least for the first period of arrival. Respondents from this category said that they had to take German courses relatively for one year. Contrary to second and third-generation migrants, there are fewer social networks either in the general society or in the immigrant community. However, there is still evidence of social ties between the ethnic group that emerged from shared cultural knowledge through time. For some of the respondents, kin ties are stronger than others in the same group as they are invited by other family or kin members who are already residents in Germany.

An important issue to note here is the first-generation and second and third generation migrants have different individual biographies, which are significantly explicit in their comments, particularly in terms of comparison of everyday life and business relationship between Germany and Turkey. Each group reflects the essential parts of motivations and resources of business ownership by referencing previous experiences they had either in Germany or Turkey. I argue that this issue has a considerable contribution to their framework of integration. For the first-generation migrants, higher life standards and economic benefits of entrepreneurship compared to their experiences in Turkey positively shape their embeddedness in the market.

### ***Second and third-generation***

The particularity which makes a significant difference for second and third generation migrants is they are born and/or raised in Germany. As might be expected, all of the respondents in that group had previous work and employment experiences either as wage workers or business owners in Germany. Not only socio-economic integration is in itself different for these groups compared to migrants who arrived in later stages of their lives (considering the fact that they have probably more family and kin networks as well as cultural and social capital developed in Germany), but also business ownership appears to be strongly influenced by employment history.

Previous job experiences of respondents show the existence of migrant work. Second-generation migrants from Turkey inherited their parents' jobs (Abadan-Unat, 2006). Most respondents who had previously been employed as wage workers are engaged in heavy industrial works such as automobile factories, constructions, and other low-income, low-status jobs. Some respondents said that they inherited their businesses from their fathers. Some are still working with their parents, and others are running their own enterprises. These respondents are mostly from the gastronomy and supermarket sectors. Unlike the first-generation migrants, entrepreneurs in this group are more motivated for upward social mobility. Despite their social and cultural capital gained in Germany and their education level, they are unsatisfied with their social positioning. In this respect, self-employment is a promising alternative.

### ***Business take-over***

Another common practice among respondents' business building up histories is the business take-over. Unlike inheriting parents' shops or enterprises, some respondents took the existing businesses from other migrants or native Germans. All of these respondents continued the same economic branch and developed their financial budgets. There were respondents who did not start their business as a totally new enterprise from both categories, first-generation and second and third generations.

There are some main characteristics of business take-over among migrants from Turkey. First, the location of the shop has a determining effect on that decision. This

applies mostly to kiosk shops and gastronomy businesses. Second, the good reputation of the existing shops can be another influencing factor. Third, some shops are taken over from native German owners when they retire because there is no next generation or kin who are willing to take the business. I find this interesting because it reflects a variety of aspects of small-scale migrant family businesses. The family is not necessarily a resource for natives when it comes to business as the same level of migrants'. On the contrary, migrant entrepreneurship gets its human capital from the family in most cases (Tolciu et al., 2010).

### ***Customer profile, and cultural and religious preferences: halal-haram issues***

Discussions about market ghettoization show that one of the reasons ethnic markets emerge is the cultural and religion-specific needs and demands of ethnic communities. These might be certain products and services that require different conditions mainly for two terms, how is the product/service prepared and who is selling/providing it. In migrants from Turkey's case, among other culture-specific products, halal and haram issues are the most indicative ones. Not only the business type itself is an aspect here, but also the people in that business and the identities they carry shape the customer profile at a certain level. An easy example of this question is Muslim female hairdressers. For some Muslim women with immigrant backgrounds, going to a male hairdresser does not associate with Islamic values as women's hair is *haram* to be shown to any male outside of close kin. Also, women who wear headscarves or hijab cannot go to the beauty salons with open windows near the streets.

Halal and haram issues appear to be an important element for migrant businesses, especially for those in the gastronomy sector. Offering halal products and services is an inseparable element in order to respond to cultural and religious specific demands from the immigrant community from Turkey, who are predominantly Muslims. For many of the businesses included in this research, this issue emerges as a determinative aspect of defining the business type as well as the decision-making processes.

Among the characteristics of business profiles, the shop's location and price level emerge as two significant features shaping customer profiles for most businesses

analysed in this research. For the scope of this thesis, I can say that the shop's location is the most effective factor in determining the demographic portion of the customer profile. Small-scale businesses generally do not appeal to a massive number of customers; instead, they address a necessary number of people in accordance with their business capacity in their locality. In this respect, where the shop is located becomes important to reach the target population related to the business branch. The location and the price level of the business are associated with the customer profile, which is also related to the degree of socio-economic integration, at least as some of the respondents claim. Location, in particular, is an expository element to reflect business integration. Which kind of neighbourhood shops are close to tells different stories. This feature also links with the business branch, though.

Small-scale businesses in the gastronomy sector, especially fast-food shops such as döner and kebab restaurants, çigköfte shops, cafes, and bakeries, are usually located in areas close to neighbourhoods, universities, schools, business centres, and so on. Fast and cheap products are easy to access for workers and students. Yet, I think that for the businesses that do not mostly appeal to specific ethnic minority groups or religious communities like Turkish supermarkets, depending on where is the shop and what is the price level, there is no such thing as immigrant businesses have only immigrant customers. On the contrary, most businesses other than supermarkets and some of the döner restaurants I interviewed their owners said that they have more German customers than people with migration background, in other words, foreigners. This constitutes one of the reasons behind the fact that small-scale businesses of migrants from Turkey cannot be categorised as ethnic niches.

### ***Multiculturalism as a business strategy***

During my fieldwork, I came to observe that many migrant entrepreneurships offer products from other cultures. Especially in Turkish supermarkets, it is very easy to find several products with Arabic labels on them. I also noticed that almost every döner restaurant that I have been to in Germany was selling falafel too – to note here, in Turkey, it is not the case. Similarly, most of the café bakeries I visited were selling foods from at least two different cuisines. One would buy a Turkish simit or a German

brötchen. There were Turkish appetizers and dishes displayed next to German bread. Börek and gözleme are offered next to croissants. As some respondents very well described, that product range is actually what makes them different from a classic German café bakery.

Small-scale businesses of migrants from Turkey deserve to be considered way more than “Muslim minority enterprises as an alternative to native Germans”. They usually have a unique product range from different cultures, even the cultures other than owners are familiar to. Thus, business integration in this respect is not directly referred to as integration to existing market dynamics. It is rather creating a new branch that displaces the old form. From this point, it can be said that this is another reason that shows small-scale businesses of people with Turkish migrant background in Turkey already exceeded the ethnic niches. As it is also discussed in the next sections, with the variety of the business types, which goes beyond religion and culture-specific needs and demands and multicultural goods and services offered in the shops along with worker and customer profiles, it misleads to categorise these enterprises as ethnic niches.

#### **4.2.2. Integration and Small-Scale Businesses**

##### *Differences in migration history and integration*

The processes of integration as it is operationalised in this thesis for small-scale business owners are complex depending on social, cultural, geographical, political, and economic conditions. As I explained in more detail in Chapters I and II, the notion of integration in this thesis relies on respondents’ frameworks which, I assume, reflect more explanatory perspectives about their case. It would be a mistake to consider every member of the migrants from Turkey community goes through the same stages of integration in Germany. Therefore, before the discussion, I would like to present a general profile of integration processes among business owners. In my research, the biggest difference in that sense was the fact that respondents’ migration backgrounds were divergent.

Respondents born and raised in Germany tend to highlight individual characteristics more when referring to orientation to the general society through their businesses. Having an enterprising personality is considered a big advantage in the processes of integration thanks to its contributions to economic level and social status. It is up to the individuals to orient themselves to the general society. But the question is, what is referred to here as a general society? In other words, what are the dynamics of the society where migrants should adapt themselves, as some respondents refer? To be a part of society is usually described as understanding and following its rules. In terms of business ownership, learning the regulations and laws is an undeniable part of the work. Self-employed individuals should follow these legal obligations and responsibilities as second and third-generation migrant business owners describe.

On the other hand, for the other group of respondents who arrived in Germany in the later stages of their lives, integration becomes a much different issue. Their approach to integration processes in Germany seems strongly influenced by some challenges that are not the case for second and third generation migrants in the first place. The first and most obvious difference is they had to learn the language of the new country. Also, for these people, integration does not only mean integration into Germany and German society but also there is another integration process into the Turkish population in Germany. These two processes should be considered separately to understand the multi-layered aspects within them. Nevertheless, integration into Germany and the migrant community strongly interacted with each other.

For the integration discussions in the next sections, differences in migration history have a remarkable influence as it provides more motivations and resources as well as causes extra challenges depending on the time. Diversity among business and business owners' profiles does not contradict the arguments about this group. On the contrary, it shows commonalities towards socio-economic integration as business owners despite different migratory processes because they all share certain conceptual patterns in terms of relationship with self-employment as migrants.

### **4.3. Motivations and Resources**

In this section, I aim to analyse the motivations and resources of small-scale migrant family businesses. My approach in this section is, by using mixed embeddedness approach, to understand what the meanings of these aspects in the processes of socio-economic integration are. I look at what are the motivations and resources in migrant entrepreneurships, why they are carried out for self-employment, and how they are used. I focus on the role of co-ethnic support and community relations in terms of migrant entrepreneurship in order to see the degree of their influence. In this respect, my intent is to elaborate on the level of ethnic embeddedness in different stages of business. Moreover, I try to understand the impact of being a self-employed business owner on immigrant community relations, such as changes in social status. Lastly, I examine whether the migrant identity and migrant community influence the decision-making mechanism in the business context.

One of the most significant motivations is the possibility of upward mobility. The difference between the social mobility of migrants and natives is migrants are also affected by institutionalised discrimination based on ethnicity and inequality to access to education, job market, and social network which are easily open for natives.

In order to get a deeper exploration of this issue, respondents were asked about why they decided to run a small-scale business and what were other possible jobs they might be doing. By asking these questions, I tried to examine the opportunity structure in Germany. The motivations behind being self-employed reflect discrimination, racism, inequalities, and other structural imbalances that affect immigrant communities in specific ways. In other words, the hostile environment against migrants, unequal access to public education and support system, the disadvantageous of not having a network that natives may have, and many other factors create different structural opportunities that will eventually motivate them to establish their own businesses for some migrants (Ram et al., 2017). Negative experiences at being a worker in native German businesses and the advantages of being self-employed are also effective for the issue.

Migrants choose to be self-employed for motivations that came from opportunity structure, such as inequality in other occupations. Other motivations shaped by ethnic relations are, for instance, that some sectors are only available for specific ethnic groups (Ram et al., 2017). The latter seems to preserve its own social and economic relations in terms of opportunities and competition. It shows that there is an exclusion of outsiders from reaching social capital for immigrants.

But the same social relations that embed economic behaviour in an ethnic community and thereby enhance the ease and efficiency of economic exchanges among community members implicitly restrict outsiders. Indeed, the more embedded are ethnic economic actors in dense, many-sided relations, the stronger the mechanisms for excluding outsiders and the greater the motivations for doing so. (Waldinger, 1995:557)

Waldinger argues that “the other side of embeddedness” implies certain forms of restrictions and exclusions for outsiders within and intra-ethnic groups. His (re)formulation of embeddedness into ethnic relations associates with they are again used as a resource, as they only cooperate with specific groups.

In this thesis, the main motivations and resources are as follows, discrimination as a minority group that affects different social structures (education, job market, social mobility), the individual agency based on preferences and skills, and ethnic embeddedness. Therefore, this thesis argues that self-employment not only emerges as a response to discriminatory opportunity structure but is also considered a favourable choice by respondents regarding the migrant social and cultural capital. In the next part, I will be discussing these motivations and resources and how they are conceptualised by respondents.

#### **4.3.1. Discrimination and Upward Social Mobility**

Most respondents refer to discriminatory work environments and unequal access to education and high-quality jobs in Germany as their primary reasons to become self-employed. The ignorance of German public policies in terms of immigrant integration resulted in numerous structural problems which intensified already existing



discrimination. It took three decades for German authorities to accept Turkey originated people were not going back, but they were staying. The lack of integration policies has prevented to provide sufficient and equal education for migrant children (Abadan-Unat, 2006). Many had suffered the language problem and could not have equal opportunities to have the same education as native's children. As Abadan-Unat (2006) shows, children of migrants from Turkey had left school in early grades and joined the labour force. In my fieldwork, I have been told by participants as their previous work experiences (if there are) varied between so-called migrant jobs such as factory work, construction work, and elderly caregiving. Respondents state that these works are kind of migrant works in general.

*The jobs I could do are those factory works. I could be a nurse; its income is good because Germans don't do that. You go there, take care of the old, and change the diaper. Because the German child did not do it to their mother and father, the state says, I will do it.*

Özcan

His statements clearly refer that works that are available for him are the ones that are not preferred by native Germans, which reflects the theory of segmented labour market. Opportunities in the job market are shaped by natives' willingness to do some work. Thus, that creates a major burden for people who have migration background; the choices are not always be done according to their own skills, qualifications, education, or preferences. Rather, it is usually the structural discrimination that pushes people to engage in limited employment opportunities. It is when people with migration background decide not to prefer the migrant work they establish their own businesses. Thus, migrant work becomes the type of works the established migrant communities also do not want to join after certain degrees of integration.

The most common employments were factory work, contraction work in highways and railways, secretary, and works according to their profession, e.g. cooks, hairdressers. Those who were self-employed before their current business had past business enterprises in the same or similar economic branches. After some unsuccessful attempts, they end up with the current business, which seems to be the most thriving one thanks to experiences gathered in the self-employment field. Only one of the respondents had full-time paid work in between his own businesses. Kadir states that

it was a desperate attempt for him to think he could be a worker after being a business owner for years. His elderly-care work experience took only two years until he started running his current café bakery, where he works with his sister and nieces.

Migrant works are associated with discrimination against people with migration background in the job market,

*(They) say 'no, you Turk go and do it', 'you Greek go do it', 'you Polish go and do it'. This bothered me here. I didn't like these things. But this is changing now. They are changing as we talk about them.*

Özcan

This can be seen in different forms. One can basically observe that migrants and their children are pushed to low-income jobs that natives do not choose in the first place. Yet, the working conditions in these jobs also show discriminatory attitudes. Even people who have migration background work together with native Germans in the same jobs, they might feel discriminated against and forced to do more than their colleagues. Negative experiences such as racism motivate people to be self-employed. 34 years old small grocery store owner Bahri says that he has chosen to have his own business after he had been discriminated because of his migrant status;

*I worked at highways. For example, mostly foreigners work there, and most of them are Africans. But I saw there that they treated Germans different. They were (Germans) doing the more comfortable tasks, taking stuff and placing them. All three were German. But Turks, Africans, and Bulgarians were carrying stones. I said why? We all get the same money, and Germans should carry stones like us. Things like this. You might understand my discomfort especially combined with my personality. I had the idea to start my own business.*

Bahri

Kudret's experiences point to similar issues in this case. Although he is a retail store owner, he tried several jobs before he became self-employed. As he described during our interview, when he was working as a technician, he noticed that "foreigners" are paid less than native Germans even though they do the same job. After he started working as a teacher, he observed discrimination again. The school board wanted him to train another teacher who was native German. Then, they took the courses from him and gave them to the new teacher he trained. It does not matter whether a person is

highly skilled or not; the migrant label itself is enough to make employers pay less to them and treat them worse. Kudret thinks that these attitudes are influenced by German nationalism, and Germany tends to “exploit” migrant labour power.

Other discriminations had seemed to motivate migrants from Turkey’s employment choices are, for example, some degrees that are earned in Turkey are not valid in Germany. It requires people who do not have valid degrees to attend several further educations or training to change the status of the degree. However, doing extra courses could not be the option for newly arrived migrants as they had to earn money.

### *From migrant workers to self-employed business owners*

Migrant children were assumed to continue to supply the low-status labour force in the country. In this respect, self-employment is a response to ethnic discrimination; it is almost the only alternative to migrant work, considering the failures of the education system. My aim in this part is to present how being self-employed has become a big motivation for migrants from Turkey in terms of social mobility. Also, I point out that socio-economic integration results in self-employment for the same motivation in some cases.

As Ireland (2004) writes, Germany’s integration policies have been shifting towards German policy evolution. He discusses structural integration, social work and political integration, and political-cultural integration as different integration policies through time. Germany’s failure to develop an adequate and decent integration program for migrants from Turkey had prevented sufficient socio-economic integration for second-generation migrants. Children of migrants had inherited their parents’ works, stayed in the same neighbourhood, and adopted almost similar ways of life. That is to say, social mobility for immigrant children was not an easy movement. Inequalities faced in everyday life and economic activities, together with discrimination in institutional and structural forces, left very little chance for migrant children to have similar opportunities as native children have. Muhsin, 49 years old restaurant owner, talks about one specific event that made him decide not to be a factory worker.

*My father also worked in the pipe factory. I went to the pipe factory when I was 15. Six or seven people were walking toward me. Their clothes were fully workers' clothes. They had hats on their heads. But their faces were black. I couldn't recognize a man. Then I looked, and it was my father. I said, 'I won't work here'.*

Muhsin

From this perspective, once again, we see self-employment as the best alternative to being a labourer, to have upwards social mobility. As Waldinger writes, “*historically, immigrants have gravitated towards small-businesses*” (Waldinger, 1986:249). With a certain amount of capital, risk-taking behaviour, and familial support, next-generation migrant children could have found another employment option that offers better financial outcomes and higher social status. As discussed by several scholars (Faist, 2010; Kloosterman, 2010; Tata & Prasad, 2015), self-employment provides possibilities for upward economic mobility. Respondents clarified that issue by sharing familial biographies about labourer parents. So many of them had stated they saw self-employment as the only alternative to being a factory or construction worker. Similarly, some other respondents said that they have worked as full-time workers, and their experiences had motivated them to build up their own businesses.

Özcan, a 39 years old hairdresser, talks about how his previous work experiences made him decide to be self-employed:

*When I finished school, we realized that surely, we will go to work in factories, just like our fathers. There were automobile factories, I got a job there. I worked there for five years. Did I earn money? Yes, I did, but I didn't like the treatment there despite my earnings. You're looking at yourself and seeing you are at the worst job. Romanian is at the worst job. You look at the German; he is in a better place. Ok, the money is the same, but why are we in hard work? These touched my heart. Leaving before the sun rises every morning and returning when the sun sets. You have no life; you have nothing.*

Özcan

In this respect, entrepreneurship is a way to cope with discrimination. Kiosk owner Serdar comments on why small-scale businesses are dominated by immigrants in Germany,

*First of all, this is an occupation abandoned by the Germans, not an area where they particularly want to work. Because it requires intensified labour. At the same time, it is necessary to show the ability to organize quickly with family, relatives and similar relationships. Especially when starting for business. In this regard, communities such as Syrians, Arabs and people from Turkey can be more effective. A family business, a shop with their spouses and children, is not very feasible for a European. If you look for employment in Germany, if you do not have any education in Europe, and you have come from another part of the world and have little capital, trade is the only way for you to live more comfortably.*

Serdar

Depending on Serdar's comments, family embeddedness and social and human capital as business resources seem to be essential characteristics of migrant entrepreneurship. In other words, upward social mobility as a strong motivation for migrants has found its resources in embeddedness into family and ethnic groups. Yet, financial capital is still one of the strongest aspects when it comes to the business building up process.

I think that the particularity of mobility as a motivation for migrant labourers in economic relations is objectified by ethnic discrimination as well. Migration background has been used for “naturalising” discrimination in education and access to equal opportunities in employment as many respondents comment about their previous work experiences in Germany. In the given circumstances, self-employment appears as a counter alternative where migrants can use their own social and cultural capital, networks, and personal merits as resources. On the other hand, small-scale business ownership cannot be solely defined as a strategical response to structural problems in the social hierarchy. Instead, there are some individual factors that I argue as having strong impacts on motivations and resources for people with migration background.

#### **4.3.2. Individual Agency, Personal Skills, and Preferences**

Self-employment is a specific economic activity that is not only affected by opportunity structure but also strongly influenced by personal skills, expertise, qualifications, and preferences. In most cases, small-scale businesses require direct interaction with customers; owners usually need certain communication and problem-

solving skills. Quick adaptation to changes in market dynamics and customer demands become prominent. Besides these personal resources, the agency of the individual can be another resource and also a motivation at the same time. As shown by Gomez et al. (2020), Jones et al. (2018), and Cederberg & Villares-Varela (2019), individual agency shapes personal motivations in the sense of entrepreneurial activities. Additionally, negative experiences as a worker encourage migrants to focus on their own human capital to become self-employed. During my fieldwork, I observed that some small-scale business owners had chosen entrepreneurship as parallel with their personal skills and expectations after they quit to be workers at German businesses. Those who worked in Turkey and arrived in Germany relatively later are most likely to engage in businesses in which they already have experience. For instance, there were some cooks and chefs who had worked in the gastronomy sector in Turkey and established the same shops in Germany after they migrated. I have also interviewed hairdressers and merchants who are still doing the same business as in Turkey.

What does this say about migration? This question is associated with the migrant's economic, social, and human capital, which have instrumental roles in migrant businesses. With the limited economic and social resources compared to natives, migrants were expected to engage in certain kinds of business sectors where they have more possibilities for success. Previous training, work experiences, and skills are important resources for breaking the structural inequalities and becoming mobile in their economic activities. The very existence of these resources might turn into motivation for entrepreneurship. Besides, the nature of self-employment itself is also a motivation, as it is claimed by many respondents. The main advantages of migrant self-employment have emerged as follows; economic benefits, flexibility in terms of work hours and workload, autonomy, and socialisation.

### ***Advantages of being self-employed***

The nature of self-employment has its own opportunities. Some respondents claimed to take advantage of those opportunities, such as not having to follow strict work hours, not being tasked with doing certain works and not having a boss. A common phrase from the interview is migrants claim that they wanted to be "*their own bosses*", which

turns out to be a strong motivational resource. Being able to make their own decisions suggests autonomy in work which associates with business ownership. As 42-year-old Kiosk owner man Ali stated, being a worker means “*being a tool for someone else*”. He claims that “*employers make money at the expense of others*”. This issue cannot be analysed without referring to discrimination and inequalities in Germany. Yet, the flexibility provided by being self-employed is also very effective to motivate migrants for running an entrepreneurship.

Kadriye, an a 53 years old woman, has a *çiğköfte* shop. After working at a company for almost two decades, she decided to give it a try with her own business. She says that she wanted to be self-employed as she wishes to work on her own. From her own words, “*(...) I came to see that I am at the shop from morning till evening, (...). I thought I'd work for myself rather than work for others. But it is not easy*”.

The arguments related to flexibility are pointed out on several occasions in interviews. Respondents attributed flexibility as an ethnic characteristic; Turks are referred to as more flexible than Germans. Thus, rather than working at a native’s businesses that are enormously directed by German bureaucracy and work ethic, becoming self-employed is preferable as it reflects the “flexible character of Turkishness”.

Another issue to note in this part is for some respondents, the reason to choose to be an entrepreneur is customer relations. They claim that to provide a good product or a service to a person and to have a conversation with them are what they are looking for at an employment. Therefore, small-scale businesses are the appropriate option for people who prefer to engage in direct customer relations. Also, that might be a strategy for migrants to participate in the host society by emphasizing ethnic identity, such as joining ethnic markets.

*Nevertheless, the biggest factor here was the commercial life, communicating with people, doing new things, being admired for the job you do and the fact that people work with you. Of course, it was because it gives pleasure to be able to help people and offer bread and butter. It gives me joy.*

İsmail

As he points out, he enjoys being a provider in society while engaged in a sector that is only available to ethnic minorities. In terms of ethnic relations, one should keep in

mind that opportunity structure and ethnic relations are not affected migrant economic activities as two separate elements; they rather shape the other one as well. Therefore, for some entrepreneurs filling a gap in the market with their ethnic products or goods, particularly in the gastronomy sector, shows both embeddedness in the market and embeddedness in ethnic relations.

Upward social mobility realised in economic benefits as well. Increased income positively affects adaptation to society. Moving out from migrants' ghettos to more sophisticated neighbourhoods, having more resources for leisure activities, and higher social status were the common results of economic benefits of being self-employed in interviews.

*I made the most out of living in Germany as I earned more than I did as an employee (laughs). Economic gain has raised our standard of living. I immediately became interested in hobbies. I started running three days a week. We bought a caravan for our family. We learned how to camp. In the past, even if you could afford it, you didn't have enough time for these. The difference of business is that you have the chance to organize yourself.*

Mehmet

Mehmet's comments represent a common pattern among participants. All of them are educated and previously employed people. Particularly second and third-generation migrants have at least a high-school degree; if not, they had a university education or Ausbildung. They were not unemployed individuals before they engaged in self-employment. On the contrary, they were not satisfied with their work, particularly regarding wages, work conditions, and social status. They were not choiceless at the beginning. None of the respondents argues that they had serious financial problems before they became business owners. Thus, the motivation here appears to have better economic and social status in society. Having more free time, hobbies and leisure activities which they now can afford are framed as "*the most out of living in Germany*". In this respect, the decision to be self-employed associates with the integration into the host country, but in the reverse form. Being integrated into Germany can increase the expectations and standards of living of people with Turkish migration background. In such a situation, entrepreneurial activities are possible opportunities with certain resources.



Economic benefits provide to have other identities in society than being labelled as a migrant labourer. According to Filiz (2015), the cultural image of Turkish migrants has shifted from migrant workers to small business owners, particularly food shops or döner shops. Besides, there are chances to have leisure activities to engage in. New higher social status, new neighbourhood, new activities, and new social networks are considered a successful adaptation to German society by some respondents. In other words, to have a stereotypical everyday life practice similar to native Germans means an attempt at integration. Personal hobbies, sports, family vacations other than visiting relatives back in Turkey, and lastly, having native German friends are signs of the modern German way of life.

This leads me to the final argument for this section, that is, self-employment and particularly small-scale business ownership contribute to a certain level of socialisation thanks to its own nature, which contributes to integration, particularly social integration. In one way or another, communication with customers, interactions with officials and other business actors in the sphere necessitates active engagement in the social surroundings, as it is described by the participants. According to their perspective towards integration, socialisation is commonly linked with being a part of the society they live in and referred to with positive manners. Moreover, the individual agency can be a resource in socialisation processes established through business relations. Being able to develop positive social interactions is often related to personal merits in interviews. However, integration itself is not conceptualised as a mere reason for motivation by respondents. It is rather an acclaimed consequence of an increased level of social interactions and economic benefits.

### **4.3.3. Ethnic Embeddedness**

Migrant entrepreneurship studies usually consider co-ethnic or kin support as a common characteristic of economic activities. Ethnic embeddedness is defined as one of the motivational factors that might be a fruitful resource for business. Tata and Prasad (2015) argue that cultural and ethnic resources motivate migrants for entrepreneurship. Migrants might try to compensate for challenges of discrimination

and inequality to access economic activities as natives with ethnic solidarity and cultural knowledge. Immigrant communities could provide various forms of support, such as financial and emotional. On the other side, migrants might be the first possible customers for the migrant small-scale businesses as another form of support. However, I think that, even though these arguments sound logical, it also seems to me as taken for granted by many studies. To which extent do ethnic solidarity and immigrant community support influence migrant entrepreneurship in social reality? Also, how can we conceptualise the same level of support realised in different contexts? Speaking about the migrants from Turkey in Germany, what do we know about ethnic support and community relations in everyday in 60 years after immigration? While the Turkish population in Germany enjoy Turkish businesses, one might ask, do these entrepreneurships contribute to market ghettoization which in the end leads to social ghettoization as well? As Faist (2010) asks, are they odds for integration?

During my ethnographic fieldwork in Germany, I observed that migrants from Turkey tend to join organisations according to their ethnicity, religion, demographic characteristics, economic relations, and political affiliation. Ethnic solidarity and community support are only realised in a symbolic form. None of the respondents says that they had benefited from any form of financial or social support in the business building up process. On the contrary, some of them told me they had to face some problems and challenges within the migrant community. As Waldinger (1995) notes, *“The trust extended from one member of a community to another is both efficient and efficacious; however it is not available to everyone”* (p.562). In terms of support or trust within an ethnic community, being a member of that group does not necessarily mean that everyone can benefit from an equal amount of social and economic capital. For instance, all three women entrepreneurs I interviewed say that there were some obstacles arising from their social networks,

*The role of the Turks here was to say that she cannot do it.*

Nevra

In the case of women entrepreneurs, it can be said that patriarchal oppression affects family and co-ethnic support and lesser trust from the community. Nevertheless, male respondents also declare that they did not take advantage of significant support. In this

respect, the findings of this research reflect the implications of Berwing's study. Berwing (2019) examines how figurational analysis can be used in migrant entrepreneurship studies in Germany. He argues that figurations can be theoretical complementary to mixed embeddedness. Berwing looks at the co-ethnic resources and interaction in migrant entrepreneurship and finds that most people of migration origin do not use co-ethnic resources in their business. I think his study is very important because it challenges the assumptions about migrant entrepreneurship regarding which resources are used in business. The immigrant community should not be considered a whole unit with solely homogenous identities that provides financial and social support to its members in the host country. Particularly, in the past 60 years of Turkish-German migration history and with the upcoming 4<sup>th</sup> generation, people with Turkish migration background who have already become residents or citizens in Germany, talking about the immigrant community as an ethnic enclave overshadows and neglects certain degrees of integration this population had been associated. According to Esser's the model of intergenerational integration,

Ethnic enclaves and "parallel societies" disappear in the majority of cases in the course of generations, merely because the number of new immigrations decreases, while absorption increases and finally prevails. Occasionally, ethnic enclaves function as intermediate stations for new immigrants. This may give rise to the – wrong – impression that a stable ethnic underclass, or even a marginalized "parallel society," existed, while in fact following generations show a high degree of absorption and upward mobility. (Esser, 2010:21)

In the case of this thesis, a high degree of absorption and upward mobility is explicit in many forms, such as instrumental ethnic embeddedness, utilisation of ethnic resources, multiculturalism as a business strategy, hybrid versions of ethnic products, and increased economic and social status.

Migrant groups have other roles than providing resources. In the previous sections where I examined customer profiles for some small-scale businesses in this research, migrants from Turkey are identified as a particular portion of the target group. According to me, several cultural products and services are the primary reason for customer preferences rather than immigrant community solidarity and support. Scholars point out that halal businesses and halal products are one of the significant defining characteristics of migrant businesses (Selçuk & Suwala, 2020; de Tapia,

2003; Sahin et al., 2007). Besides these features, language might be another effective element. In other words, to buy certain products and services from the people who speak the same mother language is the main objective of customer preferences. This might be another form of support; however, it has to be acknowledged that even though small-scale business owners could enjoy the benefits of migrants from Turkey as being a significant portion of customers for certain economic branches, it is not an act of solidarity but mutual benefits. Serdar's words are quite descriptive for this issue,

*It is impossible to say that any person from Turkey helped me just because I am from Turkey too. Life is really built around language. Human beings organize their relations around language. Therefore, speaking Turkish requires establishing relationships with people from Turkey to express themselves more. Being able to make jokes in Turkish, laugh in Turkish, and think in Turkish is something else. You organize some human interactions around this. Of course, there is a solidarity network between the relations of those organizations. You can also benefit from them, but this is not about being a person from Turkey, Germanness, or anything else.*

Serdar

Then he adds that migrants from Turkey are sometimes the most distant group for him,

*As I said, to the extent that you start to integrate with the universal values here, people who establish a relationship with more conservative, closed and far from European values, neither you nor they want to have a direct relationship.*

Serdar

Ethnic identity and/or migration background are not considered collective characteristics that tie immigrant groups in terms of ethnic embeddedness. Rather than these elements, everyday practices and heterogeneity of people with migration background, language and culture appear to affect immigrant relations. Ethnic embeddedness might embody similar cultures that do not necessarily refer to the same ethnicity or country of origin. In the case of small-scale businesses of migrants from Turkey, that is an instrumental issue. Embeddedness into Muslim immigrant communities is also influential.

Turkish supermarkets also pull other immigrant customer groups since they sell halal products. All respondents who run a supermarket said that they sell products from other nations because of their customer profile.

*My clients are all multiculti (multicultural). As many states and nations exist in the world, they are all coming. Pakistani, Afghan. Chinese, Japanese. Turkish, Kurdish, Arab, German. Multiculti is how you name it. We call it multiculti.*

*For example, I always sell multiculti. For example, there are Iranian items. After that, Lebanon, Arab stuff and such. Turkish goods. They are all here.*

Remzi

*We are not like regular bakeries. At first look, of course, we are, but we have a lot of varieties. Turkish style, Italian style, Turkish food. This place cannot be compared with the normal bakery, nor can it be compared with the imbiss. So a person who comes here always finds something. So let me say it that way. Whether food or breakfast.*

Kadir

Another participant adds similar comments (responding to question about what she offers her customers different than other shops)

*As I serve Turkish food, you know, cigarette börek. Sometimes I serve mantı (Turkish ravioli). It makes a difference when I serve something new and fresh. Bakeries in Germany only serve dry pastries and sandwiches. I'm doing everything you see here. Healthy. I make vegan things, and they love it. Other than that, yesterday, for example, there was karniyarık, so they can find things that are not exactly found in a bakery.*

Gülây

This is associated with the previous arguments about multiculturalism as a business strategy. Ethnic embeddedness is both a motivation and a resource at the same time as it ensures diversity in businesses such as multicultural products. Offering multicultural products works for two business targets. One is diversity in products pulls heterogeneous customer groups from different cultures. That expands the targeted number of customers accordingly. The other one is multicultural products ensure an advantage in the market with more range of products. The number and type of products make the business unique amongst other shops. Migrant entrepreneurs profit from

their cultural capital to expand the range of products. Literature about multiculturalism in the case of Turkish migrant entrepreneurship shows that it is used to point out cultural diversity from which entrepreneurs can benefit in their businesses (Sahin et al., 2006; Pécoud, 2002). According to Pécoud (2002), multiculturalism reflects the “Turkish economy” in Germany. He writes, however, that multiculturalism sometimes causes *overethnicisation* of every economic activity of Turkish migrants in Germany. He states,

Moreover, the heterogeneity among German Turks’ business activities is so important that defining what is a ‘Turkish’ economy is problematic. Some German-Turkish entrepreneurs may be characteristically ‘Turkish’ in the sense that they rely on specifically Turkish networks or customers, but they are a minority. All entrepreneurs of Turkish origin are nevertheless labelled ‘Turkish’ regardless of their actual business activities (Pécoud, 2002:503).

Respondents in this research sell what a usual café bakery or a shop in other economic branches sell, but they also sell other things. Selling multicultural products does not away for them. On the contrary, ethnic identity and multiculturalism in business are consistent in this case. Yet, it is enough to identify them as Turkish businesses in the dominant discourse.

### ***Relationship with the immigrant community***

Business ownership significantly impacts the socio-economic integration of migrants from Turkey. According to Rath et al. (2020), migrant entrepreneurships provide possibilities for economic and social integration in a way that positively affects social status, wages, and recognition in the society of destination. Yet, business ownership also shapes the relationship within the minority group. Regarding migrant entrepreneurship, some further outcomes might also be considered motivations behind business because of upward social mobility not only in German society but also among migrants from Turkey. Many respondents say that business ownership has more social contacts and reputations. Some of them state immigrant community values entrepreneurs.

*Inevitably, something like that happened (his status increased). Now I am a person who is engaged in society in every part. Society values people who have created something that has done business and made an effort. Society feels the need to protect them more.*

İsmail

The value given to migrant entrepreneurs might be originated from two reasons. As discussed in the previous chapter, one of them is that businesspeople are representative figures of the immigrant community and role models for the members. Some respondents examine the other reason migrant business owners are seen as a resource. Some respondents say that they asked for financial help from community members. Similarly, small-scale migrant businesses are often viewed as a work opportunity.

*For example, some people wanted a job from my social environment. My old friends who came and worked in the food and beverage industry at the same time as me, came and told me, 'Murat, I'm looking for a job right now; I'm free; let me come to you and work with you'. After all, this is what happened. Our place in society has changed a bit. Well, for example, a man who just got married brought his wife from Turkey. 'Murat, if you need a cleaner, my wife can come and help you in the evening'.*

Murat

Other participants talk about the same experiences,

*Of course, there are people who ask for a job, help or something because they think 'look, they have a business, so certainly they have a bunch of money'. But they don't know what's happening inside the business, whether we have a problem or not.*

Volkan

*Some people ask, 'brother are you looking for a worker?'. I hire most of them if needed, depending on the current situation, more like this bike courier. There are those kinds of interactions.*

Mehmet

Therefore, I argue that ethnic embeddedness shapes business owners' relationships with the immigrant community in a way that positions them as prestigious members who are often considered resources. Depending on the responses, I argue that the upward social mobility within the immigrant community contributes to business owners' sphere of influence within the group. Besides, it creates a reciprocal

relationship. While business owners may enjoy community support in different forms, such as customers, immigrant communities may consider these businesses as work opportunities. They are seen as economic resources. Members of the immigrant community often reach them via social ties to seek a job, financial help, or business assistance.

### *Decision-making process and migrant identity*

This section goes one more step from my analysis of the role of immigrant groups in the building-up process that I discussed above. In this part, my primary aim is to try to understand whether migrant identity and immigrant community shaped the decision-making processes and, if yes, how. To repeat myself, as with several other issues, decision-making processes differ depending on the business type. Among the branches I included in my research, the gastronomy and supermarket sectors appear to be the most influenced by the migration background of the owners. I think it is no surprise considering the products offered in these types of businesses. Cultural and religious preferences are most likely major significant factors in food consumption. Food represents the familiar and unfamiliar in the migrant experience (Kershen, 2017). A participant highlights the reasons behind his decisions in business,

*We use halal in all of our products. For example, all our products, from oil for fries to every other thing we use here. For example, we do not sell alcoholic beverages. They were here before me in the beginning. For example, they were there in the first six months as well; after I took over the shop, I looked at the shop later. The customers were uncomfortable with alcohol because no one came and sat here to drink beer. I'm not a big fan of something like that either. We made many decisions in that direction, and now many Muslims eat with peace and order in their homes.*

Kenan

Another participant makes his decision about business with consideration of customer profile, which is predominantly Muslim,

*For sure, it is necessarily the case for every customer. I'm looking at which customer potential is more. Ok, there are Turks everywhere, but in some regions, for example, in this region, there are many Arabs.*



*Whatever you do, whether you want it or not, you mostly have Arabic products here. Of course, you still always have all kinds of Turkish things, in one way or another.*

Volkan

I have presented that customer profile is one of the factors that shape the decision-making process, which favours migrants from Turkey and/or Muslim migrants. But, how do customers other than Turkey-originated migrants influence business choices? Respondents whose customer profile consists of more native German have other strategies. Small-scale businesses are profit-based businesses. Therefore, business owners tend to maximise their profits. Depending on the business type, immigrant community preferences might be given less importance or none.

*The most determining thing is, of course, the profit. The profit rate. The philosophy of the business is to buy a healthy product for cheap and sell it for the most expensive that you can. The most decisive thing is how much profit can I make from this product and how much can I sell it. That's why anyone who trades in a shop is very rarely interested in whether it is halal meat in case they can earn money. The determining thing is making money. If they need to sell pork or alcoholic beverages when they think they can make a profit, they will. People who are already very strict with very serious principles do not participate in commercial relations. Trading is a business that requires flexibility. People with strict political, cultural or religious principles cannot be very successful in existing trade relations.*

Serdar

I think that his claim about flexibility as a businessperson is very interesting here. In the case of small-scale businesses, owners have to keep an eye on market dynamics and demands. As Serdar declares, people with radical political, cultural, or religious beliefs might not fit with commercial affairs. The dominance of non-migrant customers might even shape gastronomy businesses. A participant says that he makes his decision according to the demographic characteristics of customers,

*This question is actually related to the customer profile. If I see that I am selling to 51 per cent Turks here, I will make 51 per cent of my decisions according to 51 per cent Turks. I make 49 of my decisions according to 49 per cent of Germans. But right now, there is no such situation; everyone is coming, and how much share the Turks have in this, maybe 10 per cent. Not really, even less than 10 per cent. In that case, I wouldn't consider a decision for the Turks.*

Mehmet

Another participant comments that native German customers influence her decisions more,

*Well, I continue to serve Turkish dishes for this reason, but Germans also like it more. I don't particularly distinguish them as Turks as such. Turks, for example, can drink Nescafe, even if you serve it as coffee. But the Germans actually influenced my decision and choices more. Accordingly, the number of customers increased when I bought the coffee machine.*

Gülay

Therefore, it can be said that if a business is not specifically established to target a group of customers with certain characteristics (i.e., Turkish, Kurdish, Muslim, etc.), the main motivation behind the decision-making mechanism is maximising profit. For the business that addresses particular groups' preferences, profit maximation is provided by the target group itself.

However, product and service choices are not the only elements affected by business decisions concerning migration background. Two respondents say that they hired German workers as a business strategy. Levent, a retail store owner, describes a very interesting issue in his business. He and his brothers took over a shop which was originally a native German retail store. The shop has a very well reputation in the region, and customers are dominantly native Germans. Levent says he chooses German workers intentionally,

*When I came here, as soon as I entered here, I already entered with prejudice as if the shop will be filled with Turks after me. I don't want to do that. Therefore, I primarily chose the people who will work here based on their merits. For example, what they can do, what their sales skills are. If there is a German and a Turkish as two applicants, I can honestly say I will hire the German. Because this is what this region wants here.*

Levent

To not be labelled as a Turkish business is a way to business success, according to his comment. To be perceived as equal to German components in the market is considered higher quality in the business. As he states, German workers are chosen according to customers' demands. This is another insight that means migrant entrepreneurs, in

this case, are not ethnic niches. They are businesses either not connected with the owner's migration background or created a new form of enterprise with multicultural and/or redesigned products and services such as Turkish döner in Germany.<sup>26</sup>

In conclusion, this section analyses the motivations and resources for small-scale migrant businesses. Motivations and resources usually reflect individual agency and structural factors. The analysis considers micro-level personal features and meso-level structural aspects. I look at the discrimination issues which promote self-employment as a strategy for upward mobility. Besides, the ethnic embeddedness of business owners has been taken into account to reflect how relationships with the immigrant community shape motivations and resources in the sense of economic outcomes. Social, cultural, and human capital emerge as significant resources provided by ethnic embeddedness. In contrast, there is not any finding about financial capital support. The mixed embeddedness approach links these impacts of structure and agency in an interactionist way.

#### **4.4. Mixed Embeddedness and Socio-Economic Integration**

Individuals' embeddedness in complex social and economic spheres can be diverse regarding a certain degree of integration into a given context. Embeddedness to multi-layered elements came to interact with each other in different forms. Barberis and Solano (2018) argue that migrant entrepreneurship has not only economic impacts on migrants and the receiving country but also promotes social integration. In this respect, mixed embeddedness has shown a beneficial way of analysing different impacts together. Generational factors and migration history are effective aspects to shape embeddedness as well as several other insights such as individual agency and family and kin relations.

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<sup>26</sup> Döner in Turkey and Germany refers to quite different meals. While döner in Turkey is more about the quality of meat, döner in Germany is enriched with salads, multiple souces including tizzeria (cacik, also a common appetizer in Turkey), and cheese. Customers have more *flexible* options to order döner in Germany compared to its homeland. However, in my personal opinion, quality of the meat does not even come close.

There are some major highlights, particularly for Turkish migrants' case, in terms of mixed embeddedness as a common notion among them. Embeddedness to the German business market, bureaucracy, everyday life in the society, and embeddedness to ethnic relations in the immigrant community have emerged as implicit socio-economic integration for small-scale business owners. Yet, both types of embeddedness have specific features that must be acknowledged carefully. I argue that embeddedness in German business relations, including formal affairs with authorities and bureaucracy, positively contributes to integration processes based on participants' experiences and conceptualisations.

#### **4.4.1. Bureaucratic Relations**

Previous sections analyse migrant entrepreneurs' embeddedness in three types of relationships that occur via business: with customers, local people, and the immigrant community. In this part, I would like to focus on the relationship between small-scale business owners and bureaucracy, such as German authorities and official institutions. My aim is to understand whether or not migrants from Turkey experience discriminatory actions from institutional forces and, if so, how they handle the hostility. Additionally, I attempt to look at embeddedness in bureaucratic and governmental relations in Germany in order to understand relational embeddedness. Discrimination in formal affairs is thought to refer to a lack of integration and the failure of German authorities to recognise people with migration background from Turkey as equal residents as a minority group.

When I asked them to describe the relationship with German authorities such as certain official institutions (Finasamt, Arbeitsamt, Ordnungsamt, etc.) and other institutional actors such as banks, insurance companies, etc., most of the respondents mentioned German bureaucracy as being blind to demographic characteristic differences. On the contrary, German governmental and institutional authorities only care about respecting the laws and regulations. Paying taxes regularly and proper paperwork are two common concepts that are stressed by some of the respondents. Interestingly, these respondents do not relate discriminatory attitudes of officers with institutionalised

discrimination. Racist and discriminatory actions are referred to as individual misbehaviour.

*Is there any discrimination in the audit thing? Of course, it depends on the person who comes here. If they do not like Turks, they will search for it here to find a problem in one way or another. But these things, those who are like that civil servant in this job, have decreased. I've never had a fine. You always pay your insurance, and you pay everything. You will keep your papers and show them when asked. When you go to an office, an institution, your name, your nationality, people who work there do not care. Whether or not Özcan paid the tax, you are the king. Okay, they do your thing quick. If a German does not pay, can they separate him because he is German?.*

Özcan

A participant looks at this issue from a similar view and says that differences in governmental attitudes are “natural” outcomes of migrant’s mistakes and irresponsibility,

*Maybe we can't say it's racism. For example, the officers working at Finanzamt look at the records. When they look at those who have made mistakes like frauds in the last 20 years, they see that most are foreign-origin business owners. Of course, they become a little more careful towards us. So this is a natural outcome because if I can admit it to myself, I can't sit after that tiredness and do my accounting for half an hour every night after work is done. Some things are overlooked in such cases, even if it is unintentional. I give this task to the accountant.*

Murat

Another participant also points out the equal treatment for all business owners when it comes to taxation. Nevertheless, he also links “overcautious” control for migrant businesses with migrants’ wrong actions;

*(...) you do not have any problems if you do what you must do here on time and as it should be. So, let me take 10 liras in tax from German Hans and 50 liras from this Ismail; there is no such thing. (...) Oh, there is a sociological side to being an immigrant. How is that? For example, the German says that if these Turks do this, they will have a trapezoid. It doesn't happen in our Germans, but in Turks and Greeks, there is a trapezoid. They consider it in general. According to what? According to their own experiences. In other words, 50 places were inspected, and 30 had problems. For example, 25 of those 30 problems belong to Turks. Then they say proportionally that the Turks are dishonest in this business. So, inevitably, you start with a 1-0 defeat.*

I find his and other respondents' comment about this issue very interesting because, on the one hand, they are aware of different treatments of migrant businesses and their outcomes. Relational embeddedness to other actors in the market is explicit in this case. According to Kloosterman

Relational embeddedness refers to 'economic actors' and involves personal relations with one another. Immigrant entrepreneurs are thus embedded in a (relatively) concrete network of social relations with customers, suppliers, banks, competitors, and, not to be ignored, law enforcers (2010:27).

However, on the other hand, they perceive the unequal relationship with authorities as something normal and natural. Officers' discriminatory behaviour is considered individual actions; if not, it is caused by the bad reputation of immigrants. Some respondents seem to accept native Germans as having the opportunity to have a head start against people with migration background as it is associated with migrants' misbehaviour. I think that this perspective also reflects some comments arguments related to integration. Respondents who think it is up to immigrants to integrate themselves into German society also say that overcautious control and different treatment result from migrant business owners' illegal actions, as I have cited above.

Another group of respondents think differently. According to these migrant business owners, different treatment is clearly a form of discrimination, and they do not hesitate to name it.

*(discrimination) is institutional. I witnessed this, and I witnessed it at school. It is done openly among the Germans. (...) I believe that if you do what the Germans are doing, they block you there. (...) They try to block you from every direction. People have adopted this as a policy (...). People (migrants) are afraid when they are called from the bank, as if the state has called them. I saw people at that level.*

Kudret

*When Germany gives money, it is discriminatory. When it receives money, everyone is an equal citizen. Write these. Look, I swear it's true. Is there any difference between Turkish and German when paying tax? No. But when the Turkish gets a salary, why will they get the same money as us? They are already taking it to Turkey. There is this logic about Turks will spend their money in Turkey.*

These two opposite perspectives towards formal affairs with German authorities and integration shows several crucial insights from being a person with a migration background in Germany. In terms of bureaucratic regulations, every resident is equal. Respecting laws and duties as business owners applies to every business owner, not necessarily related to ethnic or migration history differences. However, institutionalised discrimination divides small-scale businesses based on migration background. Most respondents state they experienced different treatment and overcautious control (some said they were fined because of missing documents) by government officers. Even if we assume these officers' attitudes were not intended to be discriminative and overcautious control is the standard for every business, they are still interpreted as if they are, making it a meaningful issue for migrants. Collective memory and individual experiences of everyday discrimination seem significant in terms of the ways in which migrants from Turkey deal with problems.

How respondents evaluate similar experiences is related to their frameworks. In the interviews, I noticed that some respondents talk about discriminatory attitudes only at the individual level even though their lived experiences are very similar to each other as migrant business owners. As Erdoğan (2011) reports that 78% of Turkish migrants in Germany think that far-right extremism represents only a small minority in Germany, respondents tend to link racist and discriminatory behaviour with individual characteristics, not as a structural problem. Even if we accept that officers who do not “like” Turkish people check their businesses as a coincidence, it is an institutional responsibility to make people accountable. In terms of structural embeddedness, similar to the discussion about socio-economic integration, both parts should practice it. At an institutional level, migrants’ embeddedness in this kind of social networks and relationships are directly affected by discriminatory attitudes. They are regularly reminded that they represent a different category than Germans. Therefore, any social interaction at the structural level emerges from having this division in their minds. In the next section, I look at how this division between native German small-scale business owners is perceived by migrants from Turkey.

#### 4.4.2. Comparison with Native Entrepreneurs

Comparison with native German colleagues highlights diversity of advantages and disadvantages. The latter is not a surprise; I have already discussed inequalities and discrimination carried by migration background and lack of social and cultural capital, which might benefit the business compared to native Germans. However, being a migrant entrepreneur does not only come with many disadvantages. First, it might be a strategy for adapting to a new society (Ram & Jones, 2008). Also, as some respondents also mention, migrant identity should not be understood as victimhood; on the contrary, there are certain advantages as well. Cultural capital and especially language skills have an instrumental role in the business. Solona declares that language skills can foster business outcomes. Based on his research about Moroccan migrant entrepreneurs in Amsterdam and Milan, he writes that,

Respondents had a ‘transnational linguistic capital’ (Gerhards 2012), meaning that they knew other languages besides their mother tongue and the language of their country of residence. Having a transnational linguistic capital allowed them to be involved in transnational entrepreneurial activities. Indeed, fluency in several languages provided them with the skills they needed to maintain links with countries other than just Morocco (Solano, 2020:2079).

A participant exactly comments on this advantage,

*Our advantage, according to them, is that we are bilingual. We are multilingual. Those (Germans) who have connections with Turkey are also bilingual, but not like us. Our Turks are very flexible when it comes to business. After that, Turks don't look at the clocks, what time they (workers) come and leave. For example, Germans go to lunch, but if there is a customer here, I do not go. There are these characteristics about Turkish people who roll up their sleeves and get to work.*

Levent

As Esser (2010) writes, according to the segmented assimilation theory, new generation migrant children tend to utilise ethnic resources for upward mobility. Thus, it also reflects the level of embeddedness in opportunity structure in Germany. They are multicultural businesses that exceed ethnic niches in order to cope with opportunity structure. Diversity of products and services helps target a greater customer group and sustain an alternative business type compared to natives. However, multiculturalism



as well as redesigning traditional meals and products in Turkish culture equally reflects the flexibility in terms of ethnic embeddedness too. As Çağlar (1995) argues, döner in Germany is a hybrid form compared to its corresponding version in Turkey. It is not a display of ethnic culture and identity in these small-scale businesses. Still, the products show ways in which the people with migration background negotiate with opportunity structure in the market and create new forms. Therefore, looking at the issue beyond the ethnic lens is a must to analyse the ability of migrants to preserve a place for themselves in urban places (Glick-Schiller & Çağlar, 2013).

In the case of migrants from Turkey, for instance, halal-haram issues seem to be effective in creating their own market, which is only available to certain groups as an entrepreneur. Nevertheless, when one looks at the product range, it is clearly beyond culture-specific products from Turkey but rather tends to offer multicultural and hybrid forms.

A participant compares his shop with German supermarkets,

*The concepts of Germans and Turks' are different, almost the same, but Germans do not have a chance to serve the same products. They cannot find it. They can't do anything at that price. For example, if they are a Turkish market, it is not easy for wholesalers to offer this price to Aldi to Edeka.*

Volkan

Remembering, he also says that they sell Arabic products, and German supermarkets cannot easily compete with Turkish ones. The concept of Turkish supermarkets is all about offering alternatives to the former. Migrants from Turkey have the social network to get these products besides their cultural capital that provides special knowledge regarding the product and services they sell.

As one participant described it to me clearly, her customers are mostly veiled women.

*There are usually people from our country here, but mostly veiled women. Why? If you have noticed, German hairdressers are mostly unisex, men and women. The veiled woman cannot go there. Well, another thing is that you may have seen it in Germany too. For example, there are three hairdressers on X street. They're all on the ground floor, and you can see through the open windows. My place is for women only and inside the building. Everyone can come comfortably.*

Nevra

Nevra works with her mother, and all her other workers are women. Therefore, her female-only business space meets the expectations of customers. This also provides her unique economic advantage in the business market. Any male colleagues cannot compete with Nevra's beauty salon. But more importantly, native German women cannot compete with her business.

*(...) Germans have fine hair and are sparsely haired. (...) German hairdressers here have no ability to take care of bushy hair and how to cut it. It is not their fault either. This is a difference between Germans and Turks.*

*Me knowing about weddings, henna nights, those special days and me being able to meet the expectations of women. There is a comfortable environment here. You know, it's not comfortable like that in German hairdressers. Since a customer comes and speaks Turkish. Or for the veiled ones, this is a comfortable place too.*

Nevra

As a woman from the ethnic community, Nevra is able to know the cultural events and what her customer profile demands for these special days. Hairdressers are itself a social domain. According to her, socialisation in a place where people can use their primary language is another important element. In sum, her sex and ethnicity are the two main determinants of Nevra's small-scale business. In Özcan's hairdresser shop, he says his customers from Turkey surely choose him since he plays Turkish songs.

*All Turks here, come trusting us. Our products are 100 per cent halal, and our meat is delicious.*

Erdal

He claims that there is a trust relationship with his customers in terms of religious preferences. Muslim migrant identity appears to be a positive feature for business economic success.

Some respondents relate native German businesses as being a minority in this sector because work conditions do not appeal to them. Business ownership requires a certain amount of time, energy, and good managerial skills. In the case of migrant businesses, the labour supply can be provided by family. According to some respondents, self-employment does not include a fancy job for native Germans because of financial

reasons and lack of family embeddedness which could contribute to these challenges in business. Tolciu (2011) writes that budget constraints and high search costs lead to hiring family members as it is considered more efficient. Also, family members can work on a schedule which would hardly be accepted by external workers. Besides, it offers less social status compared to other job opportunities. A participant says that branch is totally at the hand of migrants, and he explains why native Germans do not enter the field,

*So, it's not something that appeals to them. Germans also get decent money with a job. Why take the stress out of the shop? Then you have to be flexible about these things. This place closes at 22.30, and Lidl closes at 21.00. A German doesn't want to work until half past 10. When something happens, my relatives stay here; I go on leave, and relatives manage. They don't have anything like that. If they go on vacation, they write 'I'm on vacation on Friday' to the window and go. They do not think about the customers here. Germans say go and buy it from another market. Since foreigners did not do this, the Germans could not compete in this sector.*

Bahri

Comparing migrant businesses with native German colleagues is beneficial to show the degree of embeddedness in business relations as well. Advantages and disadvantages and how immigrants cope with them are crucial aspects of integration into social and economic relations in Germany. Nevertheless, this comparison also highlights the fact that some businesses build up their own business branch in which embeddedness into German business relations is not the case, but embeddedness into migrant businesses. As some job markets are only available to native Germans, some businesses are exclusively open for people with migration background of certain cultures and ethnicities.

### ***Price difference***

Small-scale businesses in the gastronomy sector are predominantly run by people with migration background. Especially some types of shops are only available for certain immigrant communities to become entrepreneurs. A traveller in Germany will definitely come across a Turkish döner restaurant, a Thai food shop, a Greek gyros

restaurant, an Italian pizza restaurant, or an Arabic shawarma and falafel shop. The shop names do not necessarily refer to the owner's ethnicity; some of these shops are owned by people with different migration background than the culture referred to. These shops exceed the ethnic origin; they are rather certain businesses that seem to be mostly open to migrants. However, the customer group is not limited to migrants. The demographic distribution of customers is shaped by cultural and religious preferences, prices, location of the business shop, and in some cases, sex of the owners and workers. Ethnic identity did not emerge as the only determinant for the customer profile in this research. Additionally, the influence of ethnic identity and co-ethnic relations appear diverse according to economic branch. I argue that these elements are more explicit in religious preferences rather than the other reasons that shape customer profiles. Additionally, migrant-owned shops usually charge less money than native German businesses in the same field, according to some respondents.

*If you call it (price difference), there is, but the concept is different. German shops are unlike ours, and the product variety is also less. For example, a German restaurant is on X strasse. But what does it say? It says Spanish restaurant. Is it Spanish? No, an aunt works in the kitchen (also Turkish). Go to its counter. There's a slant-eyed one there. So, the Germans do not have such kind of their own restaurant. There is no such food variety as ours. There are a few (restaurants) in this city, but the prices are five times more than the ones here. Fewer people go there, but younger college students come to us. They come to places like ours.*

Erdal

Another participant's comment supports this view,

*They generally have the hotel industry in Germany. They have restaurants in places where Germans live dominantly. They are very, very different from us. For example, they can sell their products at a very good price. As an example. Some Germans are coming and asking me. They say by themselves that they eat much cheaper than the German restaurants. But the German prepares and sells it for 20 euros, we sell it for 7-8 euros. So there aren't many Germans left in the gastronomy industry. (...) Minority. There are 3 or 4 places in each city.*

Kenan

A kiosk owner, Serdar says as his shop is located at the main train station, his customers are people who are using public transport, students and workers. İbrahim,

who is also a kiosk owner, says similar things. His customer profile is “*everyone who wants to get an easy drink on the way*”. As migrants do not usually live in the neighbourhood where his kiosk shop is, mostly native Germans go there. Murat and Kadriye also claim their target groups of customers are students as the locations of their shops are close to university campuses (these shops are located in different cities). Therefore, they keep the prices at the average level.

Price level, as well as the location of the shop, are two important determinants for every small-scale business, not necessarily to be migrant entrepreneurship. These elements are associated with the socio-economic status of the consumer group since small-scale business as a concept is a diverse entrepreneurial activity ranging from ultra-luxury shops that only target a small minority of the population to migrant family businesses as in this research. One of the participants who have a shop close to the main train station compares his price level with native German hairdressers,

*Everyone comes to my place. Do not think that Özcan hairdresser; is a Turkish barber. It doesn't matter. Most of my clients are Germans and university students. Look, you'll be surprised. Why? Because I'm not a stakeholder here. Go to a German barber; he doesn't know the job, and two, takes 15 Euros. What does this mean? I do a haircut for 7-8 Euros here.*

Özcan

Migrants from Turkey and native Germans have advantages and disadvantages over each other when they engage in the same branches of small-scale businesses. Natives benefit from social networks and cultural capital, which are exclusively available to locals. Also, they might not brand as less quality business which is a common label for many migrant businesses. Ethnic differences seem to be related to the prices; however, as I do not include German small-scale businesses in this research, I cannot make a statement about this issue. Nevertheless, many respondents commented that Germans sell their products at higher prices even though they are a minority in certain business branches such as gastronomy. Yet, as Hatziprokopiou and Frangopoulos (2016) report, migrant entrepreneurs can enjoy different business features. They write about migrant businesses in Greece, “*immigrants stressed their cheap prices and, even more so, their flexible working hours, as major attractions for immigrant and native*

*Greek both customers*” (Hatziprokopiou & Yannis Frangopoulos, 2016:67). They compensate cheaper prices with a higher number of customers.

### ***Business integration: German customers***

The customer profile is a crucial determinant for small-scale businesses. Owners should know their customer group to respond to their demands and changes on these demands. Who is going to these small-scale migrant family businesses highlights the aspects related to integration according to the participant’s perspective.

One important issue about businesses with predominantly German customers is that having this kind of customer profile is presented as a privilege and a sign of business quality and/or business success. I think owners consider that having a customer profile with mostly Germans shows that they stand out amongst other small-scale migrant businesses. It is almost interpreted as a self-acclaimed integration. The shop is no longer a business by immigrants for immigrants. It is rather a usual business like native’s, which makes the owner closer to the native entrepreneurs. According to Edwards et al.’s study (2016), there are cases of a breakout from ethnic niches among migrant businesses. They find that in some migrant businesses, this change is realised in terms of the type of products and customer profile. My research finds a similar trend for some small-scale businesses. These businesses do not limit their target to ethnic enclaves. In fact, having German customers also show that the business offers even better products or services than the native businesses.

*When I started 25 years ago, I had one hundred per cent foreign customers, namely Italians, Greeks, and Turks. Foreign customers. Two years later, twenty per cent German and eighty per cent foreign. Two years later, it was twenty to forty per cent. Six years later, it turned forty to sixty. Twenty years later, the Germans were the majority.*

Muhsin

In the interview, he told me about this demographic change in his customer profile with a proud and confident tone in his voice and a smile on his face. Obviously, he saw this transformation as a success story.

A respondent who has a shop close to a university campus and a neighbourhood where mostly middle-class native Germans live said that he has more German customers than foreigners, with a dramatic difference of 90-95% to 5-10%. He says that his German customers are “awesome”,

*Those here are top-level customers; they really don't make any trouble. Our Turks make trouble always; they want a discount. One buys a börek for 2.60, then says two sixty is very expensive. This is an issue for the Turks.*

*The customers here are perfectly good. Except for some of our folks, there's nothing to do.*

Kadir

Having a German customer group creates its own advantages. It provides better work relations, considering the fact that he is annoyed by extra demands from the ethnic community. On the other, native Germans are considered more preferable customers because they maintain a formal relationship. This relates to the arguments that interaction with the co-immigrant community might have negative impacts. As Greene and Butler (1996) write, links within the co-immigrant community sometimes hinder the growth potential. Therefore, as these examples show for some businesses, lesser embeddedness in the immigrant community in business relations and more embeddedness in the local environment with general German society is a favourable quality.

Particularly in the gastronomy sector, migrant businesses might be considered a business type on their own, not just as an ethnic alternative to natives. In certain cases, such as the shop's location, demanding kin members, and business branches, being like native businesses in the sense of customer group is a sign of embeddedness in business relations. In this respect, mixed embeddedness for migrant businesses positively contributes to socio-economic integration.

#### 4.4.3. Integration and Sense of Belonging to Germany

Before going into a deeper discussion, I would like to mention that the owners' profile strongly impacts a sense of belonging to Germany. Migrant children and people who migrated as adults interpret attachment to Germany from different perspectives. For example, when I asked respondents whether they think being a small-scale business owner has any influence on their orientation in Germany, second and third generation migrants commented on that question by mentioning that living in Germany is their only experience.

*I have never lived anywhere but Germany. I was born here; I went to school here. I built my life here, married, and had children here. That's why I don't know. If you ask someone born and raised in Turkey, they will answer more easily.*

Levent

The concept of sense of belonging implicitly appears for second and third-generation migrants. While Levent says these, he also states that he hires German employers intentionally not to be labelled as a Turkish business. Even though he considers himself a part of society, he is aware of the impact of his migration background. In this regard, for second and third-generation migrants, self-employment and integration arguments should focus on social mobility and intergenerational integration. Economic benefits and higher social status affect integration processes, as I have mentioned earlier. Besides material conditions that influence an individual's relationships with the general society, personal biographies and characteristics are important aspects for discussions related to self-employment and integration.

Respondents commented on questions related to integration in Germany, two main perspectives in general. They either interpreted the concept of integration as a task that needs to be fulfilled by the migrants themselves, or they critically analysed the issues related. At first, I was slightly surprised when I encountered the former perspective. Some of the respondents focused on the problems that are caused because of the lack of integration, prejudices against native Germans among migrants from Turkey, and what would be better integration strategies for the migrants, as it is also highlighted by Abadan-Unat (2006). I asked myself why these respondents take migrants as the sole



actors in the integration process. Why do they think that migrants should work to integrate into German society? Why do some mention individual characteristics as the most important indicator for integration instead of other issues such as policies, regulations, interactions between natives, and so on? The fieldwork and research process shaped my ideas about these questions during my time in Germany. I believe some main factors lead these respondents to consider integration as a kind of responsibility for migrants. These factors are, first, nation-state policies that expect this attitude and second, racism against migrants, including violent attacks.

Erdoğan (2011) shows how far-right extremism shapes Turkish migrants. 55% of the Turkish population thinks the German government protects the NSU members. This might be a challenge belonging to Germany as a nation-state. His study also finds that Turkish migrants feel they are a permanent part of Germany. However, this contradicts the first statistics in a way that people think that government protects racist terror groups; in other words, regarding the nation-state, the migrant community is not accepted as an equal part of the society. Therefore, even though migrants declare that they feel like they are integrated, at the same time, they are aware of the institutionalised racism and discrimination which challenge the integration process.

As Ireland (2014) argues, Germany's problematic integration processes lead to many challenges for immigrants. Policies seemed unaware of social integration; they focused on "*education and job training, housing, and social welfare*" (p.29). Strong emphasis on structural dimensions preserved social integration as migrants' capability to adapt to the norms and cultures in the receiving society.

The sense of belonging can associate with mixed embeddedness. Embeddedness in different social institutions appears to contribute to the level of attachment and integration. In order to get a general insight into the integration and levels of belonging to Germany, I asked respondents if they consider themselves integrated. Only one respondent gave a negative answer to this question. Ahmet, who is also the latest arrived migrant to Germany, came two years ago after he married his wife. His time spent in Germany is dramatically less than the other respondents, and he does not speak German yet. Therefore, his comment can be evaluated as an exemption. Other respondents positively commented on their integration into Germany. Even though

many of them pointed out they are a part of the society, some of them critically described the level of integration. I think these nuances are very important because they show one crucial aspect, integration requires the active participation of both parts in the adaptation process. Being a part of the community does not only mean the sense of belonging by migrants, but it also necessitates collective affirmation by the majority.

*I can say that I experience the feelings of being a local and a foreigner at the same time. I am both integrated and not integrated. So did Germany adapt to me? When I am saying me do, I mean to the migrant workforce like me? Both yes and no.*

İbrahim

As he clearly defines, the sense of belonging to Germany depends on the level of recognition of the immigrant community. Both parts should integrate with each other. In the literature, dominant traditional studies represent what is called a nation-state perspective that implies migrants' responsibility to adapt integration policies and learn the way of life in the host country. This view misleads the equal opportunities in social interaction as well as equality in political and economic spheres. From migrants' lived experiences, this issue explicitly affects interactions with integration.

*To be integrated is not only for the immigrant to see themselves as integrated. I think the subject of this question should be the Germans. You should go and ask them, are the Turks integrated here, are the Syrians integrated here? Even though I see myself as adapted to German life, what kind of harmony can we talk about when Germans see me as a foreigner? If you want, leave your mother tongue and speak German at home. A person's position in society is not just about their own feelings, but how this person is seen and how they are classified.*

İbrahim

Individual experiences about integration, particularly being perceived as a part of the society, reflects the changes in Germany's integration policies. From a political failure of ignorance toward migrants from Turkey for three decades, after the 90s, Germany finally has been started integration programs. Some respondents argue that there is a development in terms of integration into German society for the newest generations.

*We are in a better place than our parents. Right now, Turkish child has a lot of people for them to take as an example: role models. From the moment they started kindergarten here. These are our athletes, our artists. They see such things and say, I can do it too. Now the Turks are*

*also the bosses; I hired German staff here. This means that we can interpret the Turks as integrating here.*

Mehmet

The notion of generational change is highlighted in many other interviews as well. According to Mehmet's view, the success stories of migrants influenced other people in the same community. Role models, artists, athletes, businesspersons, and other figures in media representation are symbols of the minority population in Germany. I think these public figures influence the sense of belonging and embeddedness in diverse social spheres, including the immigrant community.

Nevertheless, a big part of the story is shaped by the everyday experiences of migrants. Feelings to be recognised and accepted by the majority are integral to the integration process. An increase in social interaction via business ownership contributes to socialisation for migrants from Turkey. As many of the respondents told me, it is going better compared to their parents' experiences, yet some of them still have the feelings of being a stranger in the country they were born and raised.

#### **4.4.4. Socialisation Through the Small-Scale Business**

Small-scale business ownership requires being in close touch with other people. Workers, customers, colleagues, neighbour shop owners and their workers, and civil servants are among the groups of people that owners interacted often. Thus, a self-employed business owner carries various social interactions in different settings. In one way or another, business ownership expands the number of contacts. Embeddedness into everyday life through business is classified as a favourable aspect. All respondents I interviewed said that their social surroundings increased via their business. For some respondents, having a bigger social network eases the integration.

*Well, I was over 30 when I came here. We had relatives and villagers, but I had a circle of friends here thanks to this shop. After I opened this shop, I already had a social environment. Being in that environment makes it easier to adapt here. Otherwise, you are alone. The language is different, and the culture is different. It has had a positive effect on*

*me. If I work in the factory, I will only know my friend on the right and left. You have a bond with everyone around here.*

Vedat

The socialisation that emerged from small-scale business is considered a positive outcome. For some respondents, social interactions via business ownership provide to overcome prejudices and develop better relationships with native Germans.

*After becoming an employer, I can say that I took the German culture and the integration of Germany to a higher level. Because when I was a worker, I had a certain group of friends. Turkey or foreign origin. But once you become an employer, you must be open to everyone. German, Italian, with the whole thing. (...) For example, when you only have little interaction with Germans, you say that they don't like foreigners and have little tolerance for foreigners. When I look at Turks from the Germans' side, they also see them differently. Prejudice. But when they become friends, these are not the case.*

Murat

Another participant's comments show similar points. Self-employment has the possibility for people to get to know each other better.

*(...). For example, some Germans were trying very hard for integration, but I still felt distant. But when I entered business life, the German society started to know me, and I started to know the Germans. And I started to get to know the Turks better. They started to work with me and so.*

İsmail

Self-employment and small-scale businesses for migrants can increase the level of social integration (Apitzsch, 2003; Solano, 2015). According to Allen and Busse (2016), migrants' social integration is positively affected by developing interaction between natives and migrant entrepreneurs. To sum up, the findings of this research support their study. Increased social interactions with other people positively affect integration for migrants from Turkey. They have the opportunity to get to know marginalised groups in their own community, for instance, relationships with Germans. Also, socialisation benefits them to have more contacts within their own ethnic community too.

### *Integration into everyday life in Germany as business owners*

This section discusses the common perception of everyday life experiences for migrants from Turkey regarding their affiliations to Germany. I asked respondents what characteristics of everyday life in Germany they like and affiliated with and dislike and not affiliated with. Their answers reflect levels of integration as well as the comparison between Turkey and Germany, particularly how ways of life are different in these countries. Additionally, some characteristics mentioned as embraced by migrants show the role of small-scale business ownership in this progress.

Even though responses to what they like about living in Germany differ among migrants, there is one common answer for what they do not like, bureaucracy. German bureaucracy is known as complicated and usually criticised for not adapting to technological advances. Mail post and fax are still two major communication mediums when it comes to official transactions. From the perspective of migrant entrepreneurs, bureaucratic regulations in Germany are the number one challenge in business ownership. However, many respondents also claim that they favour a working system.

Many respondents say they like Germany to be clean, structured in everyday life and business relations, and disciplined. This relates to other arguments from some of the respondents, particularly that following the rules and paying taxes is enough to have to be an equal resident in Germany.

*The characteristics I like are cleanliness and order. The characteristics I don't like are the paperwork. You see this when you have a shop. It's easy from the outside because you're the boss; it is not. You will write and send everything. Your tax will always be regular. (...) It is so complicated that even though I was born and raised in Germany, there are still things I cannot understand. But if you pay your taxes regularly, you're comfortable here. There is that thing too.*

Nevra

A respondent points out further difficulties of the bureaucratic system,

*And they've made it harder lately. 2 3 years ago, for example, they didn't make us obligate the record work hours of the staff. For example, let's say we recorded a certain amount of 400 600 (euros). For example, we could make them work for 8 hours, but now, you have to write Urlaub dates, that is, vacation plans, from the arrival time to the*

*departure time. For example, I have hired a private accountant for the last three years. Because it was very difficult. They come for controls very often. For example, is the insurance of the workers paid?*

Kenan

He also says that he had never experienced such regulations in Turkey. Bureaucracy seems to be an ethnicity-blind system in theory. Every business owner has to follow certain regulations.

Besides the stereotypical characterisation of everyday life and business relations in Germany, i.e. cleanness, discipline, working welfare system and social structure, the hardship of bureaucracy, etc., some respondents also highlighted human rights, discrimination, and racism. A respondent defines his favourite things about Germany as,

*There are a lot of things I like in Germany. There are really a lot of things, be it human rights. I've never had a problem (in Germany), nothing to do with an Amt or anything.*

Kadir

Yet, his comment also shows another example of individual-based framework of discrimination. In this context, Kadir says he never experienced structural discrimination in Germany. However, later in the interview, he also says that he could not rent his shop at the beginning because the landlord did not want a Turkish tenant. He could only rent the shop under the name of his wife, a native citizen.

Another participant argues about the concept of the individual in Germany,

*There is a thing about Germany; the individual is very strong. People can build their own lives, make their own decisions. They can live their own beliefs.*

Serdar

On the other hand, some respondents point out that these advanced human rights and egalitarianism do not apply to each member of society. They face discrimination and racism, which is considered the most effective struggle for living in Germany. A participant comments about prejudices he experiences in Germany and Turkey,

*What I like is order. What I don't like is the prejudice of these people. (...) Germans say, 'you are a foreigner here but have become a business owner. However, they do not know my background. People in Turkey say that you are rich here. Euro has become 10 lira. (...) The thing I like, people are very disciplined, very loyal to their job, very honest, they are decent. These are the characteristics of Germans, but there is always prejudice and racism. This is something that Germany has always lived through, something that comes from its history.*

Levent

Most of the respondents highlight similar characteristics of life in Germany. Organised society, cleanness, discipline, freedom, and welfare state appear to be common favourite features, and certain degrees of embeddedness are explicit. Additionally, all of those who compare Germany with Turkey mentioned Germany is a peaceful country, whereas Turkey is characterised by chaos, stress, and tension. Many respondents refer to traffic in Turkey as it symbolises these negative aspects associated with Turkey. On the other hand, everyday life issues not favoured in Germany are usually related to cultural differences. Germans are identified with coldness, weak social ties, and a strict attitude, while Turkish culture is celebrated with close human interaction and warmth by some of the respondents. Interestingly, some characteristics of life in Germany are classified under both admired and unadmired categories. Many respondents claim that organisation and discipline are their favourite elements in Germany. Yet, the same respondents sometimes argue they would like Germany to be more flexible and spontaneous. I think that *ambiguity* is a significant concept in terms of everyday interaction. A characteristic might be considered a negative element while admired on other social occasions.

Another issue I would like to discuss in this section is the question of the impact of migration background on everyday life and business relations. I do not claim they are ineffective; it is odd to ignore these issues. However, I also disagree with the idea that centralises migration background in every social, economic, and political relationship in the host country and sees everything through the ethnic lens. As mentioned above by Pécoud (2002), all migrant actions are overselling in terms of ethnic relations. Mixed embeddedness scholars also discuss that structural factors, networks, and opportunities are also effective in the sense of economic relations. There are some nuances that migrants benefit from their cultural knowledge and identity. It would be

misleading to describe the immigrant community as they suffer from prejudices, discrimination, and racism in all social interactions. According to Zimmermann (2007), for example, *“as immigrants stay in the host country and as the need for their integration into the host country is intensified, economic success requires the persistence of some differences between natives and immigrants”* (p.488). Ethnic identity might be a resource for business strategies for economic success, as discussed.

To conclude, in this chapter, I analysed mixed embeddedness with respect to socio-economic integration. I discuss relational embeddedness, embeddedness to business regulations, bureaucracy, official institutions and to market. The degree of integration with German authorities and the market is discussed in comparison with native German businesses based on respondents' comments. Even though there is no significant problem in terms of ethnic discrimination in the legal framework, discriminatory attitudes of state officials are mentioned several times in the interviews. Nevertheless, these incidents are mostly linked with individual behaviour rather than systematic marginalisation. Furthermore, migrants from Turkey use certain strategies in the market to maximise their profit and business integration. Lesser connection with ethnic enclaves, cheaper prices, and good leadership as business owners appear as common strategies for some respondents. In my view, for the scope of this thesis, mixed embeddedness has been interpreted to have a positive relationship with socio-economic integration. Relational embeddedness and ethnic embeddedness in an instrumental way contribute to economic integration, particularly upward mobility. Socialisation and embeddedness in everyday life in Germany suggest further social integration. Yet, the interconnectedness of the multi-layered aspects in migrant businesses adds particular aspects to degrees of embeddedness, such as family embeddedness in a way that it provides cheap labour. They shape and re-shape each other in diverse ways, depending on structure and agency.

#### **4.5. Succession and Failure**

Business success and embeddedness into business relations as well as social interactions built upon these relations are thought to be significant elements in the



integration process in this thesis. Even though there are multiple motives that affect succession and failure of the business, and some of them might not necessarily relate to socio-economic integration, some main patterns have impacts on certain degrees of integration. These issues are discussed as follows competitive market within migrant businesses and in general opportunity structure, ethnic display on particular business branches, and dynamic changes in ghettoised markets/ethnic niches. From this perspective, I argue that succession for businesses is suggestive of socio-economic integration as it reflects a certain level of adaptation to market dynamics and embeddedness into the local community.

#### **4.5.1. Market Competition**

According to in-depth interviews, small-scale businesses are shaped by market dynamics in two main ways. One is, expectedly, the owners' migration background. Institutionalised discrimination and unequal access to job opportunities negatively affect people with migration background. Self-employment is considered a way to upward mobility; it is an "easy" job where one does not have a boss and can make their own decisions. However, small-scale business ownership has its own particular necessities in which flexibility of labour plays a crucial role. While many might think that flexibility is a positive notion which comes with only advantages, many respondents say it is not the case. Overwork, changing working times, self-exploitation, stress, and bureaucratic challenges are commonly mentioned by respondents. Besides, risk-taking might be necessary to adapt to market competition in certain situations. Some respondents associate risk-taking behaviour with migrant identity and claim it is an advantage against natives.

*The Germans don't have that. What do they call it? Germans don't have a risk-taking thing. Recently, I have a friend (German), we thought about opening a place with him or even buying a shop on the other side of the street, but they don't take risks. Because our folk (Turks) usually takes risks. Whether it will work or not is a different story. The quality of your service is related to the customers.*

Kadir

The other market dynamic that influences competition for migrants from Turkey is market ghettoization. This is, in fact, a consequence of the first one, people of migration origin intensify around small-scale businesses. Nevertheless, market ghettoization is most effective within co-ethnic and interethnic relations. In other words, as certain business branches are dominated by immigrant groups, market competition is happening between different minorities or within one immigrant community.

*This sector has been in the hands of foreigners for years. There were Germans, but they all withdrew. Wherever you look, 80 per cent, at least 70 per cent, are foreigners. It is always in the hands of foreigners.*

Ali

Thus, market competition in this field is usually a competition between immigrant groups, not between natives and minorities. I find this finding quite important because it points to the fact that integration processes go beyond natives' and migrants' dualities as two counterparts of the issue. Socio-economic integration also refers to inter-communal relationships between “migrants” as well as within one group. Ghettoised markets and environments or ethnic niches create their own social and economic spheres where migrants attempt to integrate themselves (Ram et al., 2017; Glinka, 2018).

In this respect, I would like to point out that one issue is crucial here: relationships in the market do not only emerge in competition form. On the contrary, solidarity among business owners also might take place. Some respondents point out that they benefit from other business actors in the market. The state of businesses is strongly shaped by market dynamics and interconnectedness to changing elements. Also, the time dimension appears to be one of the most effective aspects of determining business success. The more time spent in Germany and more owners having a certain degree of integration to business relations, business growth over time emerges as a common outcome for most respondents. From this standpoint, I discuss the state of businesses regarding owners' profiles and their approach to integration.

### *State of business*

Most respondents say that the state of business is either growing or stable. None of them says they are having financial problems. Only Remzi, the supermarket owner, says he wants to sell the shop because he plans to retire. However, as I mentioned in Chapter III, some respondents had previous self-employment experiences other than their current small-scale businesses. Muhsin, a restaurant owner, states that he had bankrupted with first two shops he ran. Some other respondents also claim they changed either their shop or economic branch; however, they do not specifically refer to failure. In this respect, depending on the findings of this research, I am not able to say patterns of business failure as it is not observed enough in the field. However, business change seems like a common behaviour among migrant entrepreneurs.

The majority of the respondents state that their businesses have been growing over time. The first few years, particularly the first few months, are the hardest period for most of them. Yet, business growth also depends on the branch of entrepreneurship. For instance, a kiosk or a hairdresser has limitations for growth compared to a grocery store or a döner restaurant because of the nature of these businesses. Small-scale businesses which have been growing through time, according to their owners, have some commonalities. They are usually businesses established by people with expertise in that kind of entrepreneurship. People who had the same kind of employment as a worker before or those who had entrepreneurship experiences in Turkey or Germany. Moreover, these businesses might be filling a gap in the market and have a huge potential to grow.

Some of the respondents say that success is irreplaceable for them. There is no other option than to be successful as a self-employed person with a migration background, if not turning back to the so-called migrant's work. Additionally, business success is associated with more effort than catching the quality standard in the business field. They *must be better than* the German ones.

*Now, when I go as İsmail Akıncı, a Turk, and the other one goes as Thomas Müller, I start with a 1-0 defeat. Well, I can finish what I started with a 1-0 defeat without conceding a goal. That match, I mean. We are condemned to be successful here if we are trading. So we have to be more successful than the German.*

Small-scale businesses other than those which particularly offer culture-specific products or services have to prove themselves as better than native German businesses to attract German customers. Cheaper prices, longer working hours, and emotional labour such as special attention to customers are common business strategies for migrant entrepreneurs. As labour supply usually originated from family and kin, businesses might benefit from these strategies without extra costs (workers' rights, more wages for more labour, etc.).

Some respondents declare that they have a developing or stable state of businesses. Some of them had previous failures, yet currently, none of them shares any problem other than some negative impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic in the last one and a half years. Every respondent refers COVID-19 pandemic and its impact on the state of business during in-depth interviews. While for some, the pandemic has affected their business negatively because of restrictions and a smaller number of customers (hairdressers, retail store owners, and some of gastronomy businesses), others make opposite claims. Pandemic and restrictions also caused positive impacts in terms of financial gains for some businesses (supermarkets, some gastronomy businesses, kiosks) because of an increased number of shopping and online orders.

One important finding, in this case, is success is considered a must for some of the respondents because of the fact that job opportunities in the business market are not equal to native Germans. Similarly, in the small-scale business field, they have to accomplish more than native Germans to attract customers, depending on the economic branch. This reflects the findings of Nijkamp et al.'s (2010) study. They identify two elements in migrant business success, external and internal factors. External factors are usually related to orientation to market situation and leadership, whereas internal factors are mostly about leadership management and relationship with customers and employees. They argue that internal factors are more likely to contribute to business success level and business performance. A respondent's comments show how external factors are effective in business success,

*Every year, new doner shops are opening in the market. Many doner kebabs are also bankrupting. Those who do not know the finesse of this business cannot stay in the market. (...) We also heard that they were*

*selling doner kebabs for 2,5 euros, what happened then, they went bankrupt. They cannot hold onto the market.*

Erdal

Until now, I only mentioned aspects that shape business success. The reason for this is obvious; I researched ongoing businesses and their owners. Therefore, other than some of the respondents' previous business examples, I did not discuss any issue related to the reasons behind the failure. In this respect, this thesis does not find any information about commonalities in business failure in terms of migrant entrepreneurs, a concept which is studied by many scholars. Jones et al. (2014) show that ethnic minority small businesses trade for less than three years which is shorter than other types of businesses. However, most respondents have business journeys longer than three years in this research. Yet, my sample size is not large enough to make counter-arguments to their findings. For this section, I argue that successful business relations are meaningful elements in socio-economic integration. For the scope of this thesis, it is visible that there is a link between them.

#### **4.5.2. Impact of Newly Arrived Migrants on Migrant Businesses**

While conducting in-depth interviews, I was met with so much interesting information. That is no surprise because the main purpose of ethnographic fieldwork is to study lived experiences of subjects. It is open to new insights and comments as well as new challenges and problems that are not planned at the beginning of the study. One issue in this research was definitely one of those surprising findings from the field. When I was preparing my outline and doing preliminary literature research for my thesis, I never thought and never found anything about the inter-ethnic relationship in the case of migrant entrepreneurship between migrants from Turkey and other newly arrived migrants. I was considering understanding the impact of the increased number of immigrant and migrant entrepreneurs for migrants from Turkey in small-scale businesses; however, interviews and participant observations showed that this issue is far more important than I was wrongly underestimating. By far more, I refer to the fact that the impact of newly arrived migrants on small-scale migrant family businesses is referred every interview in several parts, even though I was not specifically asking

that. Not only in terms of economic competition, as it is mainly referred to in interviews, but also in other forms such as solidarity among migrants from different origins. From the scope of my thesis, I will only look at the impact of newly arrived migrants in migrant entrepreneurs regarding market relations; however, it should be mentioned that inter-communal relationships between different migrant groups are multi-layered and complex issues which require specific attention and research.

Most respondents refer to new migrant groups who also enter similar small-scale business branches with negative comments. In many interviews, newly arrived migrants, mostly Syrians, Iraqis, Afghans, Bulgars, and Albanians, are blamed as they are taking over jobs, causing “a bad migrant image”, and undercutting the prices. Some respondents argue that newly arrived migrants choose similar small-scale businesses, often the gastronomy sector, because they assume it is an easy employment field. Therefore, many respondents say that these new migrant entrepreneurs have a huge negative impact as they are run by people not qualified for this job.

*The biggest competition here is that foreign-origin people doing this business are not the people who are qualified for that. They think that this is an industry where money can be easily earned. (...) Mostly, Syrians and Iraqis caused this.*

Murat

Some other respondents argue that special policies and public support for refugees create inequality for their businesses.

*After the arrival of the refugees in Syria, Germany's economy was destroyed in many areas. (...) When we (Turks) want to start a business, we can't get any support from Germany, from the state (...), but when Syrians start a business, they really get full support from the state. (...) Syrians have a lot more chances than children who study here. Even if they open a shop, become a shop owner, or even if they do Ausbildung. People are very angry about this.*

Kadriye

One can easily see the anti-migrant rhetoric in her comments. What makes it interesting is the fact that she is a migrant too. And she is not only a migrant but also an entrepreneur who is blamed for taking over jobs by far-right politicians. Thus, these

kinds of claims by people with migration background can be considered as a form of integration in a way that is associated with the native's perspective.

According to an OECD & EU report, “*Support to migrant entrepreneurs has drastically been expanded in recent years, partially due to the refugee inflow since 2015, supported by the idea that immigrants have a higher propensity to start a firm than people born in Germany*” (OECD & EU, 2018:22). There has been a flow of Muslim refugee and migrant groups into Western Europe. Considering the new settlements and changes in neighbourhoods where most migrants live and the rise of migrant businesses in Germany in recent years after the arrival of newcomers, interethnic relationships between migrants have revoked social and economic transformation for migrants from Turkey. The established groups might interpret the outsider groups as threatening their own standing (Elias & Scotson, 1994).<sup>27</sup> I think migrants from Turkey constitute an established minority group, whereas newly arrived migrants can be identified as an outsider minority group when we adapt Elias' figurational analysis. I also think small-scale migrant businesses significantly reflect inter-communal relationships in Germany, as self-employment is a common migrant economic activity. A respondent's words show how the established group identity is constructed,

*For example, Iraqis and Syrians came; they went immediately to the Turkish neighbourhood. What did the Turks do? They moved to the German quarters. After they came, they opened a barbershop in X, but only for themselves. All signs are Arabic and such. Mine, on the contrary, appeals to everyone living here. Suppose we think that from the side of the Germans, they now know the value of the Turks. In other words, the German does not go there; they come here.*

Özcan

As I also discussed in previous chapters, socio-economic integration does not specifically refer to adapting the culture and way of life of the majority in the society. Integration is a complex issue. Migrants from Turkey have relationships with other minority groups in everyday life and business. Discussions about integration should cover these conflicts of interests, practical interactions, types of solidarity and contact. Thus, I think it is crucial to point out this issue because intercommunal relationships

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<sup>27</sup> I thank to Prof. Levent Tezcan for suggesting me readings of Elias in this context.

with other minorities in Germany strongly influence small-scale businesses. Many respondents have talked about changing market dynamics in recent years.

*Before the Syrians, we could earn bread. Now, it does not exist too.*

Remzi

Another respondent shares his sociological analysis,

*Other food and beverage shops, doner shops, falafel shops, kebab restaurants; you can see that there is a serious concern in the market here. It would be appropriate to say that there is a negative effect that comes with refugees establishing a business and the state paying their employees wages. The Italian pizzeria, Turkish doner kebab, and Greek gyros restaurant were opened in the past.*

İbrahim

On the other hand, there are some other respondents who think newly arrived migrants have a positive impact on their businesses. First of all, some of them, especially those who offer culture and religion-specific products or services, say there is an increase in their target group of customers. Also, new migrant entrepreneurship is not a threat to existing businesses. It is the opposite; they help to extend the market.

*For instance, like there are jewellers bazaars in Turkey, all jewellers are side by side, people go there to buy gold. That's what happened to Germany. The more doner shops are next to each other, the more the food places work because people say, 'let's go there'.*

Kenan

A participant's comments support this view,

*Of course, it affects the market positively. The more the number rises, the higher our thing rises. The market is growing. The slice of the pie is getting bigger.*

Murat

One of the respondents reminds us they also have a migration background,

*Because we were also immigrants. They will learn too. I don't see it as a problem; I see it as an opportunity in the market.*

Muhsin



In conclusion, even though new migrant small-scale businesses might cut down prices and change market dynamics, they contribute to the market by creating more attraction. Migrants from Turkey who were already engaged in the small-scale business sector may find themselves in an advantageous position based on experience, reputation, and social network. Some of their comments show patterns of integration. However, there might be certain cases where adaptation to a new market environment is difficult because of high-level competition. According to me, newly arrived migrants have multifaceted outcomes in business relations that we cannot foresee the outcomes yet. Nevertheless, as respondents share, there are positive and negative impacts, and this issue requires more attention and research for future studies.

This section presents the succession and failure dynamics for small-scale migrant businesses. For the sample of this research, all businesses are in a stable or growing state. Migration background can be a struggle or an opportunity in the market depending on the economic branch and other business relations, especially for the cases in which ethnic display has an instrumental role in business success. Ethnic niches create their own competition within the migration background communities that are included. This issue is very explicit in terms of newly arrived migrants. Respondents seem to be divided on their frameworks to that; while some complain about the cut-down prices and federal promotion for new migrant businesses, others think they benefit from the growing market and clients. Yet, there still needs to be further research on that issue.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **CONCLUSION**

In the 60 years of Turkish-German migration history, Turkey originated population has accumulated certain ways of livelihood in complex structures of social, economic, political, and cultural spheres. Even though the degree of integration is diverse among the people with Turkish migration background, daily life experiences and embeddedness in certain ways of life of recent generations are very different compared to the first-generation. In contemporary Germany, those guestworkers are no longer temporary labour migrants, but most of them are residents with their families and constitute the biggest minority group in the country. Migrants from Turkey are surely an established minority community in Germany with multi-layered interactions in several social structures within the ethnic community and general society. One of the most important aspects in terms of these complex interrelationships and social positions is employment practices. Employment type and rate can tell a lot of issues regarding the degrees of integration. The shift from dependent first-generation workers to the unemployed second generation in the 90s is followed by the birth of common self-employment businesses (Selçuk & Suwala, 2020).

In the light of these, to evaluate the interaction between small-scale migrant family businesses and socio-economic integration mixed embeddedness approach is chosen to frame theoretical and methodological perspective on the topic of this thesis. My understanding of the research problem is it needs to be analysed by referring to structural factors that lead to self-employment, which eventually appears to have a significant role in terms of socio-economic integration and individual agency; that is

also implicit to the issue as it points out migrants' personal skills, preferences, attachments to cultural and ethnic relations, and compatibility with business interactions.

In the case of migrants from Turkey in Germany, mixed embeddedness approach had become a beneficial theoretical framework since my standpoint on it respectively takes migrants' certain strategies for social and economic life into consideration. Rather than admitting Turkish migrants as a victimised minority identity, by using a holistic perspective towards structure and agency, my intent was to understand what kind of roles that are emerged in social and economic interactions and how they impact integration. In other words, I tried to examine the motivations and resources of migrant entrepreneurship in their multi-layered relationships. That eventually provided me to avoid reductionism to recognise migrants from Turkey only with their oppressed minority identity and a marginalised group in the society. My opinion in this respect is that these unfortunate reductionisms reproduce already existing power hierarchies in a way that interprets them as almost natural and inevitable phenomena and view every action of people with Turkish migration background through the ethnic lens. In the case of small-scale migrant businesses, structural discrimination against people with Turkish migration background has a crucial role, yet the issue is much more than a survival strategy for the immigrant community. I believe that the findings of this thesis show some important aspects of the multi-layered nature of the case.

First and foremost, this thesis argues that despite the 60 years of migration history and upcoming 4<sup>th</sup> generation as well as almost 4 million Turkey originated population, people with Turkish migration background face multiple discrimination challenges. Children of migrants are replaced by migrant work, which once *guestworker* labour migrants did (Abadan-Unat, 2006), and they are still expected to do so. Low-paid, low status, and labour-intensive employments that do not require certain levels of education and are not considered preferable by natives are considered migrant works. It is not hard to see racist ideology behind this since second and third-generation migrant children are not actually migrated individuals by themselves, as most of them are born and raised in Germany. Therefore, the mere reasoning of this indispensably arises as people with Turkish migration background are attributed secondary status, which is used to legitimise discriminating them as a community in respect to accessing

equal education, equal opportunities in the job market, and equal relationships in everyday life as rightful residents in Germany (Tezcan, 1999, Gitmez 1979). In this respect, self-employment arises from a certain level of integration. People with Turkish migration background consider themselves a part of the society. They have very different life expectations as well as legal rights compared to guestworker first-generation. That constitutes one of the biggest motivations for decisions about self-employment and upward social mobility. To have better life chances and economic benefits against relatively limited social, cultural, and financial capitals, as Faist (2010) and Tata & Prasad (2015) also discuss, migrant entrepreneurship is a promising employment type.

Migrants from Turkey, particularly those from migrant worker families, did not accumulate generational wealth as might be the case for natives. Business branches in which cultural and religious values are displayed replace deficiencies resulting from migration background and structural discrimination. Building up a business that offers cultural and religious specific products and services provided owners to use ethnic embeddedness in their favours. Besides, the shops start their business journey with a certain target of customer profile. Yet, this thesis also finds that even though they are the most common ones, migrants from Turkey are not only engaged in the types of small-scale businesses according to shared cultural and religious values of the immigrant community but also in various branches. Even the small-scale businesses that offer culture and religion-specific products and services are not ethnic niches or enterprises but multicultural and flexible alternatives to similar businesses of natives. Therefore, it causes a misconception for the public to assume that people with migration background do join exclusively ethnic markets. Depending on the owner's preferences and skills, location, customer profile, and other market relations, migrants from Turkey are observed to run very diversified business types.

Another finding of this thesis is that, along with economic benefits, small-scale business ownership enables owners to improve their socialisation through business relations. Upward social mobility is understood to climb from lower income and status migrant workers to self-employed, economically advantageous business ownership (Kloosterman, 2010; Kim, 2020; Villares-Varela, 2018; Rath et al., 2020). Yet, social mobility appears to provide further benefits such as changes in social activities,

consumption, residence, and habitus at certain levels. To have leisure activities as natives, such as sport, hunting, camping, and vacations other than visiting hometowns and villages in Turkey, reflects socio-economic integration. As small-scale ownership increases the level of integration, integration can also influence entrepreneurship. These practices might not necessarily emerge in every case and eventually might not affect socio-economic integration in the same way in this respect; however, social interactions which come forward from business relations are commonly observed. It might be customer relations or interactions with workers within the workplace and with other shops, or formal affairs with German official institutions, socialisation that is built via business has a significant contribution to the owner's socio-economic integration. Socialisation through business is also a way to get to know people outside of one's ethnic community, particularly for first-generation migrant entrepreneurs.

A certain degree of knowledge about laws, regulations, responsibilities, and duties is essential for entrepreneurs. Considering the fact that migrants have a relatively less social network and lack of generational knowledge and wealth which might be considered as resources to get information and familiarity for these issues, learning them through business ownership shows the positive relationship between self-employment and integration. Nevertheless, they use family and kinship as a resource, particularly for labour supply which is usually cheap and guarantees profit more than native businesses. In other words, labour exploitation which also implies gender issues as well provides better profit for the owners. Possibilities of having unpaid and uninsured workers are higher in the migrant entrepreneurships, especially thinking about what happened to me as a worker. Additionally, family and kinship networks extend flexibility in business relations. There is often a member of the kin who can handle the shop when the owner is unavailable. It is not as hard as it is for native businesses to find someone who is expected to work longer hours than they are paid. The notion of flexible business is, on the one hand, a strategy to deal with opportunity structure in the market. The features of this strategy are usually longer opening hours and days, along with multicultural products and services. However, on the other hand, it is mere labour exploitation.

Family embeddedness appears to fill the gap of lack of ethnic embeddedness. In terms of interaction with the ethnic community, or migrant diaspora, regarding socio-

economic integration and business ownership, this thesis presents two main findings. The first one is that migrants from Turkey use almost no co-ethnic support in the business building-up process. In other words, ethnic embeddedness cannot be argued as a resource for small-scale businesses. In this respect, the findings of this thesis parallel Berwing's (2019) study. Instead of co-ethnic support, migrants from Turkey use family as a resource, including financial and human capital, which provides cheap and unpaid labour supply.

The second finding in this issue is ethnic embeddedness plays an instrumental role in business relations. Products and services, and in some cases, the owner's individual ethnic and religious identity, are displayed in association with embeddedness into the ethnic community in the business context. Ethnic resources are utilised for upward mobility. Products can be hybrid and redesigned forms of original traditional versions. In other words, the migration background of the owner does not directly lead to market ghettoization, but the products and services offered add uniqueness to the business. Additionally, in some cases, especially in the gastronomy sector, migrant businesses are observed to create a new type of shop where diverse, multicultural products are accessible. For instance, a Turkish market in Germany is not understood as a shop where just Turkish brands are sold as an alternative for German markets to respond to the community's culture and religious specific needs. On the contrary, it is a type of shop where several multicultural products are offered concerning the cultural image of Turkish markets in the public eye. In this regard, migrant identity has an instrumental role that ensures accessibility to becoming an entrepreneur in these particular businesses. These being said, I do not think that migrant businesses are odd for socio-economic integration in a way that they make the ethnic difference visible. Multiculturalism and flexibility in business sustain an alternative type of entrepreneurships that can produce unique products which do not necessarily represent ethnic differences. Rather than that, they can represent the co-existence of Turkish and German cultures, such as döner.

All the issues above should be understood by acknowledging certain characteristic differences among small-scale businesses in order to see the heterogeneity of migrant business ownership. Views attributing a homogenous character to migrant entrepreneurs regarding values, cultures, achievements, and identities reinforce ethnic

lens (Glick-Schiller & Çağlar, 2013). Individual agency, along with generational background, communal ties, and market relations specific to that business branch and location, operates the dynamics between small-scale business ownership and socio-economic integration. Density in some business branches, class differentiation, diversity in status quo, sex and gender, and other aspects which could considerably influence willingness and accessibility for self-employment are not exclusively included in this thesis. This directs to my intention; I did not aim to understand and analyse merely the entrepreneurial activities among migrants from Turkey. On the contrary, I attempted to examine how we can approach self-employment in relation to socio-economic integration for small-scale migrant family businesses. In this preferred direction, I structured my research with the analysis of motivations and resources regarding the agency of the individual. Yet, the heterogeneity of business owners is also important to recognise and call for further studies. In the scope of this thesis, I argue that generational difference is the most significant factor that operates in business relations. For further studies, for instance, sex and gender would be a matter of objectives in self-employment and integration research in migrants from Turkey's context, considering the fact that 20 out of 23 respondents in my thesis were males.

Business success contributes to socio-economic integration with positive manners. A well-going business might give owners certain credibility and socio-economic status within the immigrant community and general society, mostly thanks to economic benefits, as Esser (2010) points out. Businesspeople are often valued with their spheres of influence, which are provided by again economic benefits and upward mobility, and improved social relationships with the customer group, including members of the immigrant community and natives, as well as their ties with official institutions in Germany. The status attributed to business owners has a linear relationship with business income. Furthermore, business success is also associated with embeddedness in market relations that are not necessarily built between migrants from Turkey and natives but with other immigrant groups. In some business branches, for instance, gastronomy, the market is dominated by *Ausländer*. This points to a different type of interaction in which migrants from Turkey are not a minority community in front of locals but an established resident foreigner group among other immigrant communities. There are complex issues which are already surfacing with the arrival of new migrant groups, particularly from other countries with high Muslim populations.

Further studies on this topic should evaluate which kinds of interactions are constructed in multiple spheres and how different immigrant communities shape each other's embeddedness in several aspects in particular ways. The similarities and differences in terms of motivations and resources in the case of small-scale business ownerships among other migrant minorities can be used to explore each group's integration process. Comparative analysis of future studies can focus on the structure of the density of members from the certain immigrant group as well.

As a researcher, this was one of the issues I was not expecting to find out before fieldwork. I learnt about inter-communal relationships between different immigrant groups, and honestly, I was quite surprised when I understood it is a way more important aspect than I thought. My original idea was to learn the role of small-scale businesses in the processes of integration and what are the motivations and resources for migrant entrepreneurship. However, I learnt that the interaction between self-employment and socio-economic integration can be a mutual issue as well. Another finding after the fieldwork and analysis that surprised me was that migrants use almost no co-ethnic support. I was aware of the family embeddedness as a resource since I worked at that gözleme shop. Yet, I did not expect to see family embeddedness to replace ethnic embeddedness to this degree. After this research, I realised that labour exploitation has much more impact than I thought.

In the light of all these points, the key argument of this thesis becomes as follows; successful small-scale business ownership can significantly promote socio-economic integration for migrants from Turkey in Germany. Similarly, integration itself can encourage small-scale business ownership too. For the case of second and third-generation migrant children, entrepreneurship is the best alternative to migrant works for upward social mobility. In contemporary Germany, people of migration origin from Turkey are still subjected to discrimination and inequality to access the same opportunities in education and employment. In this respect, in the scope of this thesis, I do not evaluate small-scale migrant businesses as a certain economic activity that could only be celebrated regarding its contribution to socio-economic integration. Even though there are positive implications that emerged from successful business establishment, by looking at motivations behind the decision-making for self-employment and resources which usually replaces the opportunities available to



natives, it can be argued that small-scale business ownership is a favoured way to adapt to handle challenges for migrants from Turkey. In these terms, socio-economic integration does not appear to be the leading motivation but an unintended and welcomed outcome.

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## APPENDICES

### A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

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Sayı: 28620816 /

26 Temmuz 2021

Konu : Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

**Sayın Ayça ERGÜN**

Danışmanlığınızı yürüttüğünüz Melisa ÇELİK'in "Almanya'da Türk Göçmen Küçük Ölçekli Aile İşletmeleri" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve 314-ODTU-2021 protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof. Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY  
İAEK Başkan

## B. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Subtopics:

A. Analysis of the Business

Questions:

- 1- İşletmenizi nasıl kurduğunuzu anlatabilir misiniz?
- 2- Neden bir işletme kurmaya karar verdiniz? Yapabileceğiniz başka işler de var mıydı? Zamanla işlerinizi geliştirdiniz mi? Genişlettiniz mi?
- 3- Müşteri profilinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız?
- 4- Farklı kökenlerden insanlar sizden alışveriş ediyor mu?
- 5- Devamlı müşterileriniz var mı? Onlarla herhangi bir sosyalleşme ilişkiniz oldu mu?
- 6- Sizce siz müşterilerinize diğer işletmelerden farklı olarak ne sunabiliyorsunuz?
- 7- Buradaki hayata uyum sağladığınızı düşünüyor musunuz?
- 8- İşyeri sahibi olmanızın buraya uyum sağlamanızda bir etkisi olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Sizce nasıl bir etkisi oldu?
- 9- Buradaki yaşam tarzında beğendiğiniz ve benimsediğiniz özellikler nelerdir?
- 10- Buradaki yaşam tarzında beğenmediğiniz ve benimsemediğiniz özellikler nelerdir?
- 11- Bu işletmeye sahip olmak Almanya da yaşamaya ilişkin size ne öğretti? Neler kattı?

B. Motivations and Resources

Questions:

- 1- Türk göçmen topluluğunun işletmenizin kuruluş aşamasındaki rolünü değerlendirir misiniz?
- 2- Türk göçmen çevrenizle işletmeniz özelinde nasıl etkileşimlere girdiniz?
- 3- İşletme sahibi olmanızın Türk göçmenlerle ilişkilerinizi nasıl etkilediğini tarif eder misiniz?
- 4- İşletmenizle ilgili karar ve tercihlerinizle göçmen olmanız arasındaki ilişkiyi nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?

C. Mixed Embeddedness

Questions:

- 1- Kendi işletmenizi kurmaya nasıl karar verdiniz? Bu kararın nedenlerinden bahseder misiniz?
- 2- İşletmeniz çerçevesinde Alman resmî kurumlarıyla ilişkinizi tarif eder misiniz? Nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
- 3- Herhangi bir destek programından yararlandınız mı?

- 4- Kendinizi aynı sektördeki Alman meslektaşlarınızla karşılaştırabilecek durumda mısınız? Nasıl bir karşılaştırma yaparsınız?
- 5- Kendi işletmenize sahip olmanız Almanya'daki hayatınızı nasıl şekillendirdi? Değerlendirir misiniz?

D. Succession/Failure

Questions:

- 1- Bulduğunuz pazardaki rekabetten bahseder misiniz?
- 2- İşletmenizin ticari durumunu nasıl değerlendirirsiniz? Bu durumu etkileyen faktörlerden bahseder misiniz?
- 3- Zaman içinde göçmen sayısının ve işletmelerinin artmasının işlerinizi ne şekilde etkilediğini değerlendirir misiniz?



## C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

2021, Türk-Alman İş Gücü Antlaşması'nın 60. yılına karşılık gelmektedir. Günümüzde Almanya'da yaşayan Türk kökenli göçmenlere bakıldığında ilk kuşağın sosyal durumuna kıyasla önemli değişimler dikkat çekmektedir. 1961'de başlayan iş göçü Türkiye'den Almanya'ya giden "konuk işçilerin" bir müddet çalışma sonrası ülkelerine geri döneceklerini öngörmekteydi. Oysa bilhassa aile birleşimi yasası sonrası Türk göçmenlerin ciddi bir kısmı Almanya'ya yerleştiler. Bu tezin yazıldığı zaman diliminde sayıca 4 milyona yakın göçmen kökenli insan artık Alman vatandaşı veya yerleşik yabancı statüsünde bulunmakta ve yetişmekte olan 4. kuşakla birlikte varlığını sürdürmektedir.

60 yıllık bu süreç sosyal, ekonomik, kültürel ve politik alanlarda pek çok değişimi dinamik olarak barındırmaktadır. İlk kuşağın temel göç sebebine bakıldığında özellikle ekonomik aktivitelerdeki değişimler günümüzdeki göçmen kökenli nüfusun sosyoekonomik statülerine dair önemli göstergelere işaret eder. Bu tez çalışmasındaki amacım Almanya'daki Türk göçmenler arasında yaygın olan kendi hesabına çalışma durumunu incelemek ve bunu kuşaklar arası değişimler anlamında değerlendirmektir. Bu bağlamda yine Türk göçmenler için öne çıkan bir ekonomik aktivite biçimi olarak küçük ölçekli işletmeler ve sosyoekonomik entegrasyon süreçlerini birbirleriyle ilişkili olacak şekilde araştırmamın sorusu olarak belirledim. Küçük ölçekli işletmeciliğin sosyoekonomik entegrasyon açısından değerlendirilmesi sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel alanlardaki etkisine bütünsel bir bakış açısıyla yapılmıştır. Göçmenlerin işletme sahibi olmaktadır ve kaynakları karma gömülülük yaklaşımı üzerinden incelenmiştir.

Kapsamlı bir analiz ve değerlendirme sunabilmek amacıyla bu tez özelinde Türkiye ve Almanya arasındaki göç olgusu göçün tarihsel bağlamı gözetilerek incelenmiştir. Bu noktada, çalışmamda günümüzdeki küçük ölçekli göçmen işletmeciliğini kendi

içinde anlamlı bir ekonomik aktivite olarak ele almak yerine göçmenlerin motivasyon ve kaynaklarını görünür kılmak amacıyla gerek Türkiye gerek Almanya açısından İş Gücü Antlaşması'nın nedenlerini kuşakların Almanya'daki deneyimleriyle birlikte ele aldım. Tarihsel göç bağlamı özelinde birbiriyle ilişkili olguları bütüncül olarak sunabilmek için klasik göç teorileri ve yaklaşımlarının göç sosyolojisi literatüründeki önemli örnekleri üzerinden giderek değerlendirilmiştir.

1961 yılı Almanya için yenilgiyle sonuçlanan II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası ağır hasarlar alan ülke ekonomisini yeniden inşa sürecine dahildi. Savaşlar sonrası kaybedilen emek arzı farklı ülkelerle yapılan iş göçü antlaşmalarıyla karşılanıyordu. Türkiye açısından ise 60lı yıllar köyden kente yoğun göç ve istihdam edilemeyen artık emeğe sahne olmaktaydı. Bu sebeple iki ülke de karşılıklı çıkarlara dayalı iş gücü antlaşmasına taraf olmuştur. Türk işçiler geçici sürelerle Almanya'ya gidecek, yoğun emek isteyen işlerde çalışacaklar, bir miktar birikim yaptıktan sonra ülkelerine geri döneceklerdir. Türkiye hem artık emek sorununu belli ölçüde çözecek hem de geri dönem göçmen havaleleri ülke ekonomisine katkıda bulunacaktır. Ancak Almanya'nın dışa bağımlı iş gücü açığının devam etmesi ve göçmenlerin aile birleşimi yasası sonrası tüm geriye göç teşviklerine rağmen ülkede kalıcı olması konuk işçilerin yerleşik hale gelmelerine yol açmıştır. İlk kuşağın ağır sanayi, inşaat ve fabrika işlerinde çalışmasını, ikinci kuşak için artan işsizlik ve uyum sorunları takip etmiştir. Kendi hesabına çalışma, bu noktada ev sahibi ülkenin sosyal ve ekonomik koşullarıyla başa çıkma stratejisi olarak kendini göstermiştir. Zaman içerisinde göçmen girişimciliği, göçmenler için yaygın bir ekonomik aktivite olmuş, Almanların gözünde kültürel bir sembol olarak Türk konuk fabrika işçisi kavramı, Türk dönerci ile yer değiştirmiştir.

İlk kuşak göçmenlerden bahsederken göçün temel sebeplerini açıklamakta Lee'nin itme ve çekme kuramına göç literatüründe önemli yer verilmiştir. Göçmenler anavatanlarındaki ekonomik, sosyal, kültürel ve politik sorunlar nedeniyle farklı mekanlara itilmekte, başka ülkelerin daha avantajlı sosyal alanları tarafından da çekilmektedir. Lee'nin bu kuramı halen önemli bir bakış açısı sunsa da aynı yapısal koşullar altında neden belli bir grubun göç ederken diğerlerinin yerlerinde kaldığını açıklayamamaktadır. Türk-Alman göçü bağlamında yukarıda açıkladığım nedenler itme ve çekme unsurları olarak değerlendirilebilir. Ancak kuşaklar arası değişimlere

bakıldığında uluslararası göçü çok katmanlı değerlendirebilmek için farklı yaklaşımlara da ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Ulusötesicilik, göçmen girişimciliği özelinde göçmenlerin hem Türkiye hem de Almanya ile çok katmanlı ilişkilerini birbirleriyle etkileşimlerini gözeterek değerlendirme anlamında yardımcı olan bir yaklaşımdır. Göçmenler işletme kuruluş süreçleri de dahil olmak üzere, sunulan ürünler ve hizmetler ve göçmen komünitesiyle ilişkilerinde etnik kaynaklardan faydalanırlar. Ulusötesicilik bu noktada bu tezin kuramsal çerçevesini oluşturan karma gömülülük yaklaşımıyla etnik ilişkiler bağlamında ilişkilidir.

Karma gömülülük yaklaşımı, bu tez çalışması özelinde Kloosterman ve Rath'ın çalışmaları esas alınarak değerlendirilmiştir. Göçmen girişimciliği literatürüne bakıldığında, karma gömülülük yaklaşımını kullanan çalışmalar bu yaklaşımın temel bakış açısının oluşturan etnik ilişkiler ve ev sahibi ülkenin fırsat yapısının etkileşimini konu edinmektedirler. Bu tez çalışmasında ben de Türk göçmenlerin etnik ilişkilerini etnik kaynaklar ve göçmen komünitesiyle karşılıklı etkileşim bağlamında değerlendirdim. Aynı zamanda Almanya'daki fırsat yapısını göçmenlerin ekonomik aktivitelerini anlamlandırmak açısından inceledim. Ancak bu tez literatürdeki önceki çalışmaların aksine göçmen girişimciliğini salt ekonomik veya kültürel alanlar üzerinden okumak yerine sosyoekonomik entegrasyon süreçlerinde kuşaklar arası değişimlere paralel olacak biçimde karşılıklı etkileşim yönünden ele alır. Karma gömülülük yaklaşımı göçmenlerin motivasyon ve kaynaklarını, ev sahibi ülkenin devlet ve pazar ilişkileri temelli fırsat yapısı şeklinde analiz etmeyi gerektirir. Motivasyonlar ve kaynaklar birbirlerinden bağımsız olgular olarak değil, aksine çok katmanlı ve birbirleriyle ilişkili unsurlardır. Yine başa dönmek gerekirse tüm bu değerlendirmeler göç bağlamı da gözetilerek yapılır. Bu tezde Türk göçmenlerin motivasyon ve kaynakları tarihsel olarak anlamlı bir bütün halinde sunulmuştur.

Tezin bulgularında da değindiğim üzere, aile gömülülüğü küçük ölçekli Türk göçmen işletmelerinde önemli bir kaynaktır. Almanya'da pek çok Türk kökenli işletmenin aile işletmesi olduğu göze çarpmaktadır. Bu anlamda durumu bütüncül olarak ele almak için çalışmanın konusu aile işletmeleri olacak şekilde belirlenmiştir. Göçmenler ev sahibi ülkenin fırsat yapısından kaynaklanan sorunlarla başa çıkarken aileyi yaygın biçimde kaynak olarak kullanırlar. Öte yandan aile gömülülüğü kendi içinde farklı

anlamlar da barındırmaktadır. Göçmen girişimciler aileyi bir sermaye biçimi olarak kullanırken sıklıkla emek sömürüsü ortaya çıkmaktadır. Özellikle kadın emeği sömürüsü olarak kendini gösteren bu durum pazarda göçmenlerin yerel girişimcilere göre avantajı haline gelmiştir. Aile ve iş ilişkilerinin birbirleriyle iç içe geçtiği durumlarda ucuz işgücü, düzensiz çalışma saatleri, fazla mesai ve kayıt dışı çalışma göçmen girişimciliği tartışmalarında göz ardı edilmemelidir.

Karma gömülülük yaklaşımı bu tezin yalnızca kuramsal değil aynı zamanda yöntemsel çerçevesinde de benimsenmiştir. Sınırlı bir belirleyen olmaksızın, çok katmanlı ve etkileşimli bir araştırma yapabilmek için kalitatif yöntem karma gömülülük yaklaşımını besleyen bir araştırma biçimidir. Göçmenlerin deneyimlerini kendi değerlendirmeleri üzerinden analiz etmek aynı zamanda yöntemsel milliyetçiliğin ulus-devlet temelli önyargılarından uzak bir çalışma sunabilmeyi sağlar. Bütün bunlar ışığında bu tezde katılımcı gözlemci bir rol edinerek derinlemesine görüşmeler yapmayı araştırmanın yöntemsel stratejileri olarak belirledim. Etnografik saha çalışması göçmen odaklı bir çalışma yapabilmek için karma gömülülük yaklaşımının işaret ettiği biçimde organize edilmiştir. 2021 Nisan ve Eylül ayları içerisinde Almanya’da araştırmacı olarak bulunup Temmuz-Eylül ayları arasında 23 derinlemesine görüşme yaptım. Yöntemsel bu tercih araştırmanın sorusu ve amacıyla tutarlı ve destekleyici olarak kendini göstermiştir.

Gerek motivasyonlar ve kaynaklar gerekse sosyoekonomik entegrasyon açısından göçmenlerin kendi kavramsal çerçeveleri içinde deneyimlerini ve tanımlamalarını çalışmanın merkezine almak herhangi bir önyargının etkisinde kalmadan değerlendirme yapabilmeyi mümkün kılmıştır. Göz ardı edilen unsurları göçmen bakış açısıyla görebilmeyi, bilhassa entegrasyonun göçmen seviyesinde nasıl değerlendirildiğini anlamayı sağlamıştır. Kuşaklararası değişimler de düşünüldüğünde güncel entegrasyon süreçlerini anlamanın bir araştırmacı olarak bana göre en verimli yolu meseleyi göçmenler yönünden incelemektir. Bu yöntem hem birbirinden farklı süreçleri görebilmeyi hem de yerleşik kurumsal bakış açılarına eleştirel yaklaşabilmeyi sunar. Nitekim bu tez çalışmasının bulguları etnik gömülülük ve sosyoekonomik entegrasyon süreçleri açısından önemli ve dikkat çekici olgular barındırmaktadır.

Çalışmanın en önemli bulgularından biri Türk göçmenlere yönelik ayrımcılığın kurumsal düzeyde olmasa bile günlük yaşama etki edecek seviyede halen varlığını sürdürdüğünü ve kendi hesabına çalışma kararında önemli bir motivasyon olduğudur. Bu noktada hemen hemen hiçbir katılımcının yapısal ayrımcılıktan bahsetmediğini, ırkçılık da dahil olmak üzere yaşadıkları olumsuz tecrübeleri bireysel ölçekte değerlendirdiklerini belirtmek gerekir. Ne var ki ifade edilen tecrübeler ve bunların yorumlanmış biçimlerine bakıldığında pek çok ortak nokta göze çarpmaktadır. Bunlardan bir tanesi Türk göçmen kökenli insanların işletmelerinin daha sıkı denetlenmesi ve bunun görüşmecilerin çoğu tarafından olağan karşılanmasıdır. Türklerin hali hazırda usulsüz iş yapmaya yatkın oldukları ön kabulü ilginç bir şekilde katılımcılar tarafından doğal karşılanmaktadır. İrkçı ve ayrımcı tavır sergileyen devlet memurları münferit vakalar olarak yorumlanmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra eğitimde kâğıt üzerinde eşitlik olsa da ikinci ve üçüncü kuşak göçmenler Almanlara göre dezavantajlı olduklarını söylemektedirler. Almanların sosyal ve kültürel sermayelerinin iş piyasasında hem birikim hem sosyal ağ anlamında göçmen kökenlilere göre avantajlı oldukları belirtilmiştir. Bununla birlikte göçmenlerin kendilerine ait ayrıca erişilebilir sosyal ve kültürel sermayeleri küçük ölçekli işletme kurmada kaynak olarak kullanılmaya elverişlidir.

Tez çalışmasının katılımcıları arasında en belirleyici demografik fark kuşaklar arası fark olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Almanya’da doğan ve yetişen veya küçük yaşlarda göç eden girişimcilerle, yetişkin olarak göç eden birinci kuşak göçmenlerin motivasyonları ve kaynakları arasında birtakım farklılıklar vardır. İkinci ve üçüncü kuşak göçmenler yukarıda belirttiğim ayrımcılık ve eşitsizlik durumlarına daha çok vurgu yapmış doğup büyüdüğü ve eğitim gördükleri ülkede ikinci sınıf sosyal statüye sahip olmaktan duydukları rahatsızlığı belirtmişlerdir. Nermin Abadan-Unat’ın da çalışmalarında belirttiği gibi bir zamanlar ilk kuşak konuk işçi göçmenler için uygun görülen emek yoğun, düşük ücretli ve düşük statülü işleri göçmen çocuklarının devralması beklenmiş, bir tür göçmen işi doğmuştur. Almanya’nın uzun yıllar göç ülkesi olduğunu kurumsal düzeyde kabullenmemesi, göçmenlere yönelik sosyal politika eksikliğini başarısız asimilasyon girişimlerinin takip etmesi on yıllar boyunca Türk göçmen kökenli nüfusun eşit olanaklardan yararlanamamasına yol açmıştır. 90lar sonrası

yaşanan politika değişikliği entegrasyon politikalarını da etkilemiş ancak Almanya'nın Türklere yönelik entegrasyon girişimleri çokkültürlülük veya asimilasyon arasında değişmiştir. Sosyal entegrasyon politikaları ancak daha sonraları gündeme gelebilmiştir. Bunun sonucu olarak ikinci ve üçüncü kuşak göçmenler için göçmen işlerine alternatif olarak en uygun seçenek girişimcilik olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Mevcut ayrımcılıklar ve fırsat yapısındaki eşitsizlikler göz önünde bulundurulduğunda Türk göçmenler kendileri için erişilebilir etnik gömülülük temelli kaynakları değerlendirerek küçük ölçekli işletmeciliğe yönelmişlerdir. Katılımcıların hiçbiri işletme sahibi olmadan önce işsizlik veya ciddi finansal sorunlar yaşadıklarından bahsetmemişlerdir. Hepsi en az lise seviyesinde eğitim görmüş, pek çoğu üniversite mezunu veya mesleki eğitim sahibidir. Bütün bunlara bakıldığında göçmen girişimciliğini yukarı toplumsal hareket beklentisiyle yorumlamak yerinde olur.

Yukarı toplumsal hareket entegrasyonun bir göstergesi olarak da yorumlanmıştır. Bu tezin bulguları bu bakış açısıyla doğru orantılıdır. Esser'in kuşaklar arası entegrasyon yaklaşımıyla birlikte düşünülecek olursa, daha iyi ekonomik ve sosyal koşullar beklentisiyle girişimcilik faaliyetlerine yönelmek Türk göçmen kökenli işletme sahipleri için bu şartlar altında olumlu etkilere sahiptir. Kimi katılımcılar kendi işlerinin sahibi olduktan sonra toplumdaki saygınlıklarının ve tanınırlıklarının arttığından ve daha fazla hobi ve özel uğraş edindiklerinden bahsetmişlerdir. Bana kalırsa bu tezin literatüre en önemli katkılarından biri ayrıca şu bulgu olmuştur; entegrasyonun kendisi de girişimciliği tetikleyen bir motivasyondur. Başka bir değişle küçük ölçekli işletme sahibi olmak pek çok sosyoloğun da belirttiği gibi sosyoekonomik entegrasyona olumlu etki yapabilir, ancak bunun tersi de bu tez çalışmasında kendini göstermiştir. Girişimciler işletme sahibi olmanın getirdiği ekonomik ve sosyal faydalarla Almanya'da daha iyi olanaklara sahip olduklarını ve toplumsal ilişkilerinin bilhassa Almanlarla olumlu anlamda geliştiğini belirtmişlerdir. Öte yandan, ikinci ve üçüncü kuşak göçmenler için dilini ve kültürünü küçük yaşlardan itibaren öğrendikleri ev sahibi ülkedeki sosyal pozisyonlarını yükseltme eğilimi yerellerin yaşam standartlarına benzer olanaklara sahip olma anlamı da taşımasından ötürü entegrasyonun bir sonucu olarak yorumlanabilir. Bu anlamda küçük ölçekli işletme sahibi olmak ve sosyoekonomik entegrasyon arasında karşılıklı ve birbirini etkileyen bir ilişki olduğunu söylemek mümkündür.

İşletme sahibi olmanın getirdiği artan sosyal statü göçmen topluluğu içerisinde de anlamlıdır. Katılımcılar çevrelerindeki Türklerin gerek iş gerek finansal destek anlamıyla kendilerine geldiklerini, toplumda saygın bir yer edindiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Kimi görüşmeciler dernekçilik gibi çeşitli sivil toplum faaliyetlerinde aktif rol oynayan bireylerdir. Ancak etnik gömülülük işletme kuruluş sürecinde bir kaynak olarak ortaya çıkmamıştır. Bana göre enteresan olan bu bulgu literatürdeki pek çok göçmen girişimciliği çalışmasına tezat oluştursa da Berwing'in sonuçlarıyla benzerdir. Kuşak farkı gözetmeksizin katılımcıların hiçbiri özellikle işletme kuruluş süreçlerinde Türk göçmen komünitesinden herhangi bir destek gördüğünü söylememiştir. Aksine, başta kadın girişimciler olmak üzere toplumsal baskı gördüklerini ifade edenler olmuştur. Türk göçmen topluluğu ekonomik ve/veya sosyal sermaye sunan bir kaynak olarak addedilmemiştir. Bu tip kaynak görevi etnik gömülülük yerine aile gömülülüğü ile ortaya çıkmıştır. Yine bir araştırmacı olarak bana göre bu tez çalışmasının dikkat çekici bulgularından biri de budur. Etnik gömülülük çeşitli sermaye biçimlerini sunan ve toplumsal dayanışmanın örgütlendiği bir olgu değil ancak araçsal bir motivasyon ve kaynaktır.

Etnik gömülülük bilhassa gastronomi sektöründeki işletmeler için ürün ve hizmet çeşitliliği ve bunları sunabilmekteki sermayelere sahip olabilmekteki araç olarak ifade edilebilir. Söz gelimi döner, çiğ köfte ve diğer birtakım kültürel ürünleri hazırlayabilmek ve sunabilmek için gereken bilgi, beceri ve etnik kimlik etnik gömülülükle mümkün olmuştur. Bu noktada özellikle dönerin Almanya özelinde Türkiye'dekinden oldukça farklı ve adeta hibrit bir forma sahip olduğunu, her ne kadar Türk göçmenler tarafından geliştirilse de kimi döner restoranlarının diğer çoğunlukla Müslüman göçmenler tarafından da işletilebildiklerini not etmek gerekir. Ayşe Çağlar'ın McDöner çalışmasında da belirttiği üzere Almanya'daki döner geleneksel Türk dönerinin çeşitli sosyal ve salatalarla *fast food* haline getirildiği bir türdür. Araçsal etnik gömülülük bu durumda da kendini gösterir. Türk göçmen işletmeleri belli bir etnik grup tarafından yine aynı etnik grubun kültürel ve dini ihtiyaçlarına yönelik açılan etnik nişler olmayı çoktan aşmışlardır. Kimi Türk marketlerinin müşteri kitlesinin önemli bir kısmını hale Türkler oluştursa da genel anlamda küçük ölçekli

Türk göçmen ailelerin işletmeleri çokkültürlü ürün yelpazesine sahip çoğunlukla yerel benzer işletmelere alternatif bir ekonomik branşı temsil ederler.

Çalışmanın katılımcıları buldukları sektörlerle paralel olacak şekilde farklı kültürlerden ürünlere yer verdiklerini söylemişlerdir. Ben de hemen hemen tüm işletmelerde bu durumu doğrulayan örneklerle karşılaştım. Örneklendirmek gerekirse Almanya’da yaygın bir işletme biçimi olan fırın kafeler, Türk göçmenler tarafından açıldıklarında sadece hamur işleri ve sandviçler barındıran değil bunlarla birlikte çeşitli mezeler, ev yemekleri, tatlılar da sunan alternatifler olarak göze çarpmaktadır. Bu noktada üzerinde durulması gereken önemli bir nokta etnik kimliğin kendisinin de araçsal olarak kullanılmaya elverişli bir kaynak olmasıdır. Türk göçmen kökenli olmak özel olarak çok kültürlü ürün yelpazesine sahip olmayı olağan kılmaktadır. Başka bir ifadeyle etnik kimlik sadece ayrımcılık için kullanılan ve göçmenlere her alanda ve her koşulda olumsuz getirilere sahip bir olgu olarak yorumlanmamalıdır. Bana göre göçmen kimliğini salt dezavantaj getiren bir anlamda okumak ayrımcılık ve ırkçılığı doğallaştıran bir yön barındırmaktadır. Özellikle günlük yaşamda Türk göçmenlerin ayrımcılık ve ırkçılık sorunlarının hala güncel olduğu reddedilemez bir gerçektir. Ne var ki etnik gömülülük çok yönlü, çok katmanlı ve indirgemecilikten uzak değerlendirme gerektiren bir olgudur. Bu tez çalışmasında da kimi durumlarda belirli pazarlara sadece göçmen topluluklarının erişimin olmasının, etnik bir niş olmaktan çıkmış bu tür işletmeler için olumlu getirileri olduğu ortaya konmuştur.

Katılımcıların neredeyse hepsi sektörel farklılıklar olmaksızın müşterileri profillerini tanımlarken büyük çoğunluğunun Almanlar olduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Kuaför, eşya dükkânı, büfe, yeme-içme yeri fark etmeden yereller ticari ilişkilerde öne çıkmaktadır. Bunun iki önemli sonucu vardır. Bunlardan bir tanesi girişimcinin Alman toplumuyla sosyalleşme deneyimlerini arttırıp özellikle sosyal entegrasyona olumlu etki etmesidir. Diğer bir sonuç ise işletmeyle ilgili alınacak karar ve tercihlerde Türk göçmen komünitesinin değil müşteri kitlesinin çoğunluğunu oluşturan Almanların beğeni ve isteklerinin esas alınmasıdır. Hibrit bir forma sahip döneri de bu şekilde okumak mümkündür. Etnik gömülülüğün karar ve tercihlerdeki rolü belirli sektörlerdeki helal gıda hizmeti şeklinde görülmüştür. Başta helal kesim et ve et ürünleri olmak üzere domuz eti ve domuz türevi içeriklere sahip olmayan Alman marketlerinde



bulunmayacak ürünler Türk marketlerinde satışa sunulmuştur. Dini ihtiyaç ve taleplerle şekillendiği görülen bu tür kararlar olmasına rağmen Türk marketlerinin de özellikle diğer Müslüman göçmen topluluklara yönelik ürünler satması çokkültürlülüğün etkisine bir başka örnektir.

Aile gömülülüğünün etnik gömülülüğün sunmadığı kaynakları esnekliğe dayalı olarak ürettiği ortaya konmuştur. Çalışma saatleri ve biçimdeki emek sömürüsü girişimci için pazarda yerellerin rekabet edemeyeceği bir avantaj oluşturur. Bu durum kimi zaman girişimcinin öz emek sömürüsü şeklinde de ortaya çıkabilir. Esnek çalışma saatleri, dükkânı idare edecek bir aile üyesi veya akrabasının çoğunlukla ulaşılabilir olması ve ucuz iş gücü potansiyeline sahip olmaktan gelen yüksek kâr marjı göçmen işletmelerinin pazardaki durumunu avantajlı kılan özelliklerdir. Saha çalışması boyunca esneklik bir çeşit meziyet olarak da yorumlanmıştır. Kimi katılımcılar Almanları kültürel olarak sabit fikirli ve kuralcı olarak yorumlarken Türklere esneklik ve yaratıcılık gibi nitelikler atfetmişlerdir. Karma gömülülük yaklaşımının yapı ve fail üzerinden birbiriyle ilişkili değerlendirmesi bu durumda bireysel nitelik ve meziyetlerin, girişimcinin eylemleriyle birlikte bir başka motivasyon ve kaynak olarak ortaya çıkabileceğini söyler. Bu tez çalışmasında da Türk göçmen kökenli girişimciler karakter özelliklerine sıklıkla vurgu yapmış, girişimciliğin risk alabilmeyi gerektiren doğasından bahsetmişlerdir. Kararlılık ve üstün sosyal beceriler esneklikle birlikte en çok vurgulanan niteliklerdir. Yapısal koşullar benzer veya aynı olsa da neden tüm göçmenlerin girişimciliğe yönelmediği bu açıdan da yorumlanabilir. Öte yandan 60 yıllık göç sürecindeki tabakalaşmış Türk göçmen topluluğunun kendi içindeki farklılaşmasını da göz önünde bulundurmak gerekir. Bu anlamda yukarı toplumsal hareket birey düzeyinde bir eylem motivasyonu olarak da düşünülmelidir. Hem Alman toplumu içerisinde hem de özellikle birinci kuşak göçmenler için Türk göçmen komünitesi dahilinde daha yüksek sosyoekonomik statüye sahip olma isteği motivasyonel bir kaynak olarak kullanılabilir.

Küçük ölçekli göçmen işletmeleri özelinde yerel işletmelerle karşılaştırmalı değerlendirme yukarıda belirttiğim aile gömülülüğü, çokkültürlülük, esneklik ve araçsal etnik gömülülük kavramlarıyla açıklanmaktadır. Ancak özellikle yeme içme sektöründen bahsedecek olursak pazardaki rekabetin hem Türk göçmen topluluğu

içerisinde hem de diğer göçmen topluluklar arasından gerçekleştiği ortaya çıkmıştır. Başka bir deyişle yalnızca helal gıda sunan ve en büyük niteliğini bu özellik üzerinden inşa eden girişimciler kendilerine rakip olarak standart Alman işletmelerini değil yine başka göçmenlerin işletmelerini görmektedirler. Kimi katılımcılar bu durumu pazarın büyümesi ve müşteri kitlesinin artması olarak yorumlarken diğer kimi katılımcılar ise özellikle son yıllarda yeni gelen göçmenlerin piyasanın dinamiklerini bozduğundan dert yanmışlardır. Genel anlamda Almanya'da gastronomi sektörünün çoğunlukla göçmen topluluklar tarafından domine edildiği göz önünde bulundurulursa, bu sektördeki rekabet yerel ve göçmen değil göçmenler arası rekabet şeklinde değerlendirilmiştir. Almanların gastronomi sektöründe azınlık durumuna düşmeleri bu sektörün uzun ve yoğun çalışma saatleri içermesi ve göçmenlerin aile gömülülüğünü bir kaynak olarak kullanıp çoğunluğu ellerine almaları ile değerlendirilmiştir.

Dikkat çekici bir nokta Türk göçmenlerin yeni gelen göçmen gruplara karşı tavır ve tutumlarının yerellerinkiyle paralellik göstermesidir. Yeni gelen göçmenlerin iş piyasasına olumsuz etkide buldukları, girdikleri sektörün dinamiklerini bozdukları, önceden gelmiş yerleşik göçmenlerin kültürel imajını zedeledikleri ifade edilmiştir. Kimi katılımcılar açıkça göçmen karşıtı yorumlarda da bulunmuşlardır. Bütün bunlar bana göre bir başka tür entegrasyon göstergesidir. Türk göçmenler sadece özel zaman aktiviteleri, hobiler ve yükselen yaşam standartlarıyla değil tutumlarıyla da yerellere benzerlik gösterebilmektedirler. Bu tez çalışması göçmen gruplar arası etkileşimi özellikle konu edinmediği için çok katmanlı bir analiz yapabilmek mümkün değildir. Bu konuda daha fazla akademik çalışmaya ihtiyaç vardır.

Sona gelirken küçük ölçekli Türk göçmen aile işletmelerinin ulusötesi bağlarının sosyoekonomik entegrasyona bir engel olmadığını söylemek gerekir. Zira pek çok örnekte belirtildiği gibi bu işletmeler etnik niş değıllerdir; yeni ve alternatif ekonomik faaliyetlerdir. Faist'in sorguladığı gibi kültürel farkları daha görünür yaptıkları için entegrasyonu olumsuz etkileyip etkileyemeyecekleri bu tez çalışması özelinde tutarlı değildir. Kültürel farklılıklar çoğu durumda sembolik ve araçsal olarak kullanılmış, kaynak görevi görmüşlerdir. Türk kültürünü temsil eden kimi ürünler esasen Almanya'daki Türk göçmenler tarafından geliştirilmiş kendi içinde entegrasyon belirtileri gösteren niteliklere sahiptirler.

Bundan sonra yapılacak alıřmalarda yukarıda belirtilen gmen topluluklar arası etkileřim ve Trk giriřimcilerin cinsiyet ve sınıf farklılıklarının sosyoekonomik entegrasyona etkisi konu edinilebilir. Bu tez alıřması toplumsal cinsiyet konusunda kapsamlı bir deęerlendirme yapmamıřtır. Btn bulgulara bakıldıęında, katılımcıların erevelerine dayanarak, kk lekli iřletmelerin sosyoekonomik entegrasyonu olumlu etkiledięi ancak buradaki temel motivasyonun entegrasyonun kendisi olmadıęı vurgulanmıřtır. Entegrasyon, amalanmamıř ancak memnuniyetle karřılanmıř bir olgu olarak deęerlendirilmiřtir.

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