

EMERGENCE OF SELF-EMPLOYED IMMIGRANT BUSINESS: CASE OF TURKISH COMMUNITY IN COLCHESTER¹

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ABSTRACT

The following research proposes an explanation of how self-employed immigrant entrepreneurship occurs and resists in labor market of a host country. The focus of this research refers specifically to the self-employed Turkish immigrants within Colchester. This work seeks to answer what is the motivation of the Turkish people that have come to Colchester and have chosen to create a self-employed business. Specifically, the research emphasizes the significance of their reliance on network relations on making decisions regarding immigration, start-up businesses, and how to deal with encounters of resistance in the market. The research is built on the assumption that these network relations are essential. In other words, this study asserts that the decision-making of immigration, building up self-employed business and resistance in the market is based on network relations consisting of immigrants and their acquaintances. Conduct of the research is applied on seven respondents with semi-structured interviews in July of 2013.

Keywords: Self-employment, Turkish migrant entrepreneurship, Social capital, Mixed embeddedness

¹ This paper has been written as a masters dissertation in the University of Essex.

² Bağımsız arařtırmacı.

KÜÇÜK İŞLETME SAHİBİ GÖÇMENLER: COLCHESTER'DA YAŞAYAN TÜRK GÖÇMEN GRUBU ÖRNEĞİ

ÖZ

Bu çalışma uluslararası göçmenlerin varış ülkesine karar verme süreçlerini, göç edilen ülkede kendi işletmelerini kurmalarını ve bu işletmelerin pazarda varlığını sürdürmesini sağlayan faktörleri açıklamaya çalışmıştır. Araştırma İngiltere'nin Colchester kasabasında yaşayan Türk göçmen grubu üzerinde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Niceliksel olarak küçük bir grup insanın Londra'ya yakın bir kasabada toplanması bu araştırmanın çıkış noktasını ifade eder. Türk göçmenlerin Colchester gibi küçük bir yerleşim birimini tercih sebebi, burada yer alan küçük pazara entegre olma çabası ve ekonomik sürdürülebilirlik araştırmanın temel odak noktalarını oluşturur. Bu odak noktaları üç-aşamalı araştırma kapsamında ele alınmış ve sistemli bir şekilde irdelenmiştir. Göçmenlerin network ilişkilerinin bu üç aşamadaki rolü saptanmaya çalışılmıştır. Nitel olarak tasarlanıp uygulanan bu çalışmada göçmenlerle mülakatlar yapılmış ve konuyla ilgili bazı önemli bulgular elde edilmiştir. Göçmenlerin göç motivasyonlarında, serbest meslek sahibi olmasında ve kurulan bu işletmelerin başarısında akrabaların ve kültürel bağların belirgin şekilde önem ifade ettiği saptanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Serbest Meslek, Türk Göçmen Girişimciler, Sosyal Sermaye, Mixed Embeddedness

1.INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores role of networks for the emergence of self-employed Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship in the UK, in particular the town of Colchester, England. It may not be apparent a small Turkish community would choose to locate themselves in this town. Undoubtedly, there are not many employment options in this small settlement. If so, why have these immigrants come and settled in Colchester rather than London? What attracts these people come to such a small town like Colchester? These are the starting questions of this research project. There is no doubt that these questions have given birth to further questions based on literature review.

When the spotlight is directed on Turkish immigration in Europe, a long history and myriad of migrants will be seen in the picture. Undoubtedly, the United Kingdom is not as attractive for Turkish nationals as much as other countries such as Germany or the Netherlands. As Düvell puts; “In terms of major destination countries it is primarily Germany and Netherlands that sit on top of the list, with Sweden and Austria coming next” (Düvell, 2010). There are numerous reasons behind this fact. The most important significance is that the United Kingdom should be taken into account differently than any other EU countries in terms of migration phenomenon. Turkish migration is unique and considerably different than other EU countries due to colonial past of the United Kingdom (Düvell, 2010:1). Crudely, it can be inferred that for instance Netherlands and Germany are similar in many ways for Turkish migrants.

The United Kingdom has a different position toward Turkish migration in Europe historically. First migration flow started from Cyprus in 1940s when Cyprus was a colony of the British Empire (Düvell, 2010). There are four periods for Turkish migration in Düvell’s account. The first period is between the mid 1940s and 1970s. While the second period covers 1980s, the third one covers the 90s. Finally, the last period refers to undocumented Turkish and Kurdish immigrants who came as tourists or students and stayed permanently (Düvell 2010:1). Furthermore, Düvell points out that there has been an increasing number of migrants due to family reunification. Such long periods of migrations caused an inevitable diversity among Turkish community in the United Kingdom. King and his fellows detail three categories for Turkish community. “The three groups - Turkish Cypriots, mainland Turks, and Kurds

from Turkey - arrived at different albeit overlapping times and for different sets of reasons” (King and Thomson, *et. al.*, 2008:7). However there are classifications which are based on time or ethnic origin, it is hard to categorize this community clearly. The difficulty comes from the complexity of group characteristics. In this sense, it is not possible to determine certain number of each ethnic origin. Düvell points out that there is a problem with country of birth question. The question is not detailed enough. For instance a Cypriot-born person can be Greek or Turkish. Whether they are Turkish or Greek, they report Cyprus as a country of birth. On the other hand, there are many ethnic Kurds who were born in both Turkey and Britain (Düvell, 2010:4). The question does not make a distinction for these type of groups, therefore it is very difficult to acquire the exact numbers within each ethnic group. In this respect, there can be large discrepancies between reported census data figures.

Düvell points out that the Turkish immigrant population is heavily concentrated in London (2010:5). Besides London, there are several other places that tend to be destinations for them. Düvell's other significant finding is that Turkish newcomers tended to settle next to previous established Turkish community members. In Düvell's account this is strongly related with *network effects* (Düvell, 2010:5). Edemir and Vasta also put that first months of arrival are crucial for newcomers in terms of community support in order to adopt to host country (Edemir and Vasta, 2007:18). Along with the major destination places, there are some community members who prefer to settle away from mainstream community. From Düvell's point of view, this is strongly related with avoiding dominating trends and networks. He also explains this fact as an upward social mobility. He also lists the other destination places for Turkish immigrants: “Turkish immigrant communities are also found in Liverpool, Leeds, Manchester, Colchester, and Brighton whilst there are small pockets of Turks in Oxford, Leicester and various other cities though little is known about phenomenon” (Düvell, 2010:5). It has been pointed that entrepreneurship is one of the characteristics of Turkish community in the United Kingdom (2010:6). Their entrepreneurship is based on the European Community Association Agreement (ECAA)³. According to the agreement, Turkish nationals have right to establish business in the UK. Their

³ <http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/visas-immigration/working/turkish/>

economic engagement is also crucial. “These communities are marked by numerous restaurants, retail and wholesale businesses and in particular with textile production until it collapsed the early 2000s” (Düvell, 2010:6). According to Düvell’s account, which is based on Labour Force Survey, 41.1% of Turkish born migrants work in London for elementary businesses (2010:6).

So far Turkish community’s characteristics in the United Kingdom, are pictured above. These properties are not entirely appropriate and match our target sample, but some partly apply. On the one hand, some of the characteristics justify our target sample, on the other hand, some characteristics do not. As mentioned above, there are four time periods for arrival of Turkish community at the United Kingdom (Düvell, 2010). It should be pointed that, our sample refers to second and onward time periods of Turkish migrants. Meanwhile our group refers to Turkish nationals who are from mainland Turkey. Some of the interviewees are Kurdish, but they are not taken into account as refugees due to the lack of self-reporting. Secondly, in Düvell’s sense network effects are clearly visible in our sample (Düvell, 2010:5). The sample population of participants migrated to the United Kingdom with a trust of their network relations. Moreover one interviewee reported that his father first came to live next to Cypriot Turks and worked with them in London (See Hasan). Thirdly, our sample refers to smaller communities rather than big integrations municipalities, for instance, the Turkish community in the North of London. In Düvell’s sense, our group partly refers to people who avoid effects of mainstream Turkish community, in particular dominating trends and networks. This makes their intra-group relations even more important, It is definitely hard to imply that our target groups is self-sufficient, due to its lacking several characteristics. It can be also said that the community is quite open to other nations in particular British. Lastly, in terms of business lines, our sample overlaps the Turkish community in London. The sample consists of Turkish migrants who are self-employed with elementary businesses which cover takeaway, restaurants and hair salon businesses.

Based on 2011 census, there are 173, 074 residents in Colchester⁴. Moreover 65.1% of the population is between the ages of 20-69 years old. In this sense, the working age population considerably validates the choice of living in Colchester. This shows that Colchester, as an alternative place, has employment, education opportunities for migrants as well. The 2001 census migration conducted in Essex corroborates this assumption. According to the census, 14.62% of the population consists of the migrants in Colchester⁵. This percentage is higher than the rest of Essex, other Eastern regions and England overall. Additionally, 7.82 % population moved to Colchester from outside of the United Kingdom. This percentage is higher than not only the district of Essex but also regional and national averages (See Census 2001). These percentages are crucial for understanding a town like Colchester. There are five main types of ethnic categories living in Colchester. These are White (92.0%), Mixed (1.8%), Asian or Asian British (3.7%), Black or Black British (1.5%), and Other (1%) (Census 2011). Our research sample is located in White ethnic group of Colchester. As mentioned above, Colchester has a strong work force (20-69 age group) which is about 65.1% of the population. There are three categories of economic activity in Colchester town. The first one is full-time workers (50.589%) which is followed by part-time (18.471%). Third one is self-employed workers that are 12.154% of people who are active in the economy (Census, 2011). There are many nations who are represented in the self-employed workers group, such as Indian, Chinese, Bangladeshi and such. Turkish entrepreneurs are also included in this category. It should be pointed that all of the categories, including the economically inactives, may cover Turkish immigrant group in Colchester For instance, the university employees, bus drivers, and other wage paid workers may have Turkish immigrants within their group. As indicated clearly before, the self-employed Turkish immigrants are the research concern of this dissertation. In this sense, the other Turkish immigrants who are part or full-time workers are excluded.

- The dissertation aims to answer following questions about self-employed Turkish migrants in Colchester:

⁴ <http://www.colchester.gov.UK/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=9616&p=0>

⁵ <http://www.colchester.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=4725&p=0>

- How decision making of migration process evolved, in particular what is role of networks for the process?
- Why do the entrepreneurs concentrate on specific business lines, and how do their start-up business process evolve?
- How do the entrepreneurs survive in the labor market in particular what role is played by networks and social capital for survival of business?

These are main motives of the study which led to establishing a three-step investigation process of this project. In general, the research is focused on a three dimensional analysis of self-employed Turkish migrants in Colchester town consisting of the motives of migration, start-up business, and turnover business. The exploration does not only focus on networks but also the environmental factors which push migrants to be self-employed. In this sense, ‘mixed embeddedness’ theory will be used supported by several approaches introduced by the literature. In other words, the research questions are answered by both internal and external reasons of emergence of self-employed immigrant entrepreneurship.

Under the light of information indicated above, it is assumed that networks play pivotal roles for emergence of self-employed Turkish migrant entrepreneurship in Colchester. Besides networks, there are other essential co-factors which drive the migrant to be self-employed. Crudely, these factors refer to the high entry barriers for the migrant entrepreneurs. These factors are also taken into account in the research.

There are some keywords which should be defined clearly for understanding this investigation well. One of the main concepts is self-employment. In this dissertation, self-employment refers to small businesses which are owned by migrants in particular the small businesses which are running by Turkish migrants in Colchester. Big enterprises are excluded due to number of franchises and their structural differences.

Another important concept is *mixed embeddedness* which is developed by Rath and Kloosterman, in order to explore immigrant entrepreneurship: “Immigrant entrepreneurs and their social embeddedness

should be understood within the concrete context of markets and, hence, opportunity structures. This, in a nutshell, is what our mixed embeddedness is all about” (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001:198). This term presents a multilevel approach for emergence of self-employed migrant businesses. In this work, *mixed embeddedness* is used within the creators intended context.

Social capital has a significant position in this study. Undoubtedly, there is a strong relationship between social networks and social capital. Therefore it has an important role for explore of self-employed migrant entrepreneurship. As Coleman indicates;

“Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common; they all consists of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors-whether persons or corporate actors-within the structure” (Coleman, 1988:98).

Before begin the literature review, it will be beneficial to provide brief information about chapter structure of the dissertation. The following section is literature review which provides related theories and approaches to the research subject. The methodology section indicates detailed information about specific research methodology theory and details the data collection process. The fourth chapter is where data analysis is conducted in addition to relevant subtopics. This section includes assessment of collected data informed by a framework of established by the literature. Furthermore the themes which are supported by the raw data, are used to signify the major subjects in this section. Last section consists of a conclusion which draws a general picture of the research results and makes further questions to contribute to future research.

2.LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1.Introduction

Immigration is one of the most popular research interest areas in social sciences. This phenomenon is becoming more and more important because of the increased immigration flow around the world. Undoubtedly, there are numerous dimensions of this migration flow on social life. For example, self-employed immigrant entrepreneurship is one of the affected arenas. Particularly in the US, there are plenty of studies about this research agenda. As Engelen puts, American tradition has been dominant in terms of approaches and assumptions of immigration and ethnic communities (Engelen, 2001:203). Recently, an increasing interest about self-employment has begun to emerge in the EU as well (Light, 2005:650-78). There is not a remarkable difference between the UK and other European countries in terms of number of research projects. Dustmann and Fabbri implies that the works on the self-employed immigrants are inadequate in general, furthermore it is even less for the UK (2005:428). This shows that the studies of ethnic entrepreneurship are a new research agenda in the UK. Lack of research projects on self-employed immigrant entrepreneurship in Britain, make this subject more mysterious and less founded for sociologists. Therefore there is a need for research concentrated on this matter and in particular the case of Turkish immigrant minority in England. Moreover the spotlight will be directed on a small specific immigrant community located in a town where in the South-East region. It should be pointed that there cannot be a single approach or assumption for ethnic entrepreneurship in general. As Dustmann and Fabbri put, all immigrant groups have their own characteristics in terms of small ethnic business. They found that self-employment is quite attractive for immigrants, moreover, their sectoral concentrations may differ according to their country of origin. They also emphasize comparative advantages of immigrant ethnic groups in certain sectors (Dustmann and Fabbri, 2005:461).

From this point of view it should be said that the scope of this study is restricted to the Turkish immigrant minorities community. In other words, the aim of the research is to explore self-employed entrepreneurship among Turkish immigrants in England, particularly in Colchester town in the three areas which will be explored by migration, start-up business and turnover business.

2.2 Theoretical Background

A strong relationship has always existed between economy and social action. Many social scientists believed that the invisible role of economy for determining social action. This belief informs that social actions are determined by short or long term benefits of actors. “Individuals are assumed to act in pursuit of their maximum personal utility, defined as the accumulation of scarce means”(Portes, 1995:3) He also points out this economic embeddedness particularly is justified by social networks (Portes, 1995:8). This statement is crucial for the research interest of this study. Immigration, as a social action, is affected by an economy, which is in turn embedded in social structures and networks. Therefore when immigration is considered as a social or economic action, social network is an inevitable element for investigation of self-employed immigrant entrepreneurship. Although social networks are important in order to understand migration, early debates did not concentrate much on this matter. Social theorists had an economically based explanation for the immigration phenomenon. Immigration is considered a result of demand and supply of labor differences between developed, developing and undeveloped countries (Portes, 1995:19). It is expected that this unbalance and related immigration flow would be less over time. Conversely, both of them have increased. For instance in the UK, Dustmann and Fabbri (2005) found that one-third of all working-age immigrants have arrived in last 10 years (459). This progress has inherently caused an emergence of new approaches in the social theory. Sociologists of immigration have noted plenty of studies which falsified the mainstream economic thinking (Portes, 1995:20). After this awareness, a second wave occurred in the debates. The wave is based on explanation on the community level rather than global level. In other words, the second wave took a position toward immigration with micro-perspective. This wave also refers to contemporary debates of in present day immigration theories. This evolutionary change is classified by Portes. According to his classification, while economy based approaches refer to macrostructural theories, community differenced explanations refer to microstructural approaches (Portes, 1995:20). In other words, macrostructural level refers to nations while microstructural level refers to international community differences. Moreover Portes defines migration as a network-creating process, moreover he emphasizes increasing networks between home and host country (1995:22). The networks are crucial not only for migration but also economic

activities. Flap and his fellows indicate role of social networks as a resource for explanation of starting and survival of small ethnic businesses (Flap, Kumcu and Bulder, 2000:145). Overall, it should be pointed that, this study originated in microstructural level, furthermore, the spotlight will be directed on three aspects of Turkish immigrant community in Colchester town. It should be said that, the aspects are interwoven, therefore they should be taken into account as essentially correlated. These aspects are explained detailed below.

2.3 Three-step Investigation

Emergence of self-employed Turkish business refers to the research concern of this project. As indicated before, networks are crucial as migration motive and set up business (Portes, 1995, Flap, *et. al.* 2000). In this respect, emergence of self-employment is strongly related with migration motives due to networks. Therefore, self-employed migrant entrepreneurship should be taken into account with migration motives. In this respect, while the first step refers to migration motives, following steps are establishment of migrant small business.

i) Motive for migration

This step refers to reasons of migration movement of individuals. Networks of individuals play vital role for decision making of migration. In other words, having relatives in another place is a decent reason for considering migration. Portes and Bach (1985) found that 56.1% of Mexican immigrants have legal residence or United States citizenship by using an immigration law which offers legal status to people who have families in the US (130). This indicates the cooperation of institutions and networks as a major factor in deciding to immigrate. Mexicans use their networks with an awareness of the laws that may assist them. This importance is further supported by a network based migration factor known as ‘chain immigration’, a term coined by John and Leatrice Macdonald.

“Chain immigration can be defined as that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants” (Macdonald and Macdonald, 1964:82).

These developments and policies show strong evidence for the role of networks and institutions for decision making of migration. Using this reasoning, the study will try to find out what particular networks motivate Turkish people to migrate to the United Kingdom.

As mentioned before, this first stage will be explored in the study. It is assumed that having acquaintances in the UK has important impacts on decision making of migration. Basu's findings are in accordance with this assumption pertaining to UK minority groups. These findings show that 47.4% of people reported that their relatives were residing in the UK and they are self-employed (Basu, 1998:320). In this respect, it can be said that having self-employed relatives in the UK can be a motive not only for migration but to start-up small ethnic business as well.

ii) Start-up Businesses

The second step explains how self-employed immigrant entrepreneurs get into British labor market. This step is more complex than it seems on the surface. There are various explanations for this concern founded in the literature. There are two factors, 'push' and 'pull', which lead immigrants into pursuing self-employment. While push factors refer to discrimination and inability to integrate into the economy, these pull factors express cultural tastes and networks.

Some fellow theorists explain self-employed entrepreneurship with market conditions and discriminatory policies, as push factors. Van Tubergen (2005) found that, unemployment and discriminatory policies are substantially effective for emergence of self-employment. Particularly, higher unemployment rates among natives make self-employment more reasonable. He claims that self-employment is an alternative strategy for integrating to labor market of host country (726). Dustmann and Fabbri explored the existence of push factors in the UK. They pointed out that there are heavy concentrations on specific sectors for certain minority groups due to the discrimination in the labor market (Dustmann and Fabbri 2005:456). There is no doubt that this provides an idea on why Turkish immigrants concentrated on certain types of businesses, but pull factors should be taken into account.

Anuradha Basu (1998) has found that pull factors are more efficient for Asian entrepreneurs in the UK.

She found two significant factors for emergence of self-employment among immigrants in the Britain:

immigrants' desire for well being in the sense of finance and being independent are these factors. Moreover, she regards these as 'pull' factors (319). By contrast with Van Tubergen, Basu claims there is no unemployment effect for emergence of small ethnic businesses in the UK. From Basu's perspective, these evidences do not deny reality of push factors, but they show that pull factors are more effective in terms of UK labor market. Therefore, besides push factors, there must be a strong concentration on pull factors in this research.

Inside of these pull factors are networks that are crucial in terms of interpretation of self-employment. "The literature focuses on the use of social ties for raising capital, gaining information relevant to starting and running a business, and creating a compliant labor force through relations of trust and reciprocity" (Anthias and Cederberg 2009:902). In general, it can be pointed that there are internal factors and environmental factors which refer to market conditions and discriminatory policies. In this sense, the start-up self-employed business will be explored with both sides, internal and environmental sides, in this research project.

iii) Turnover Business

The third step refers to stability of self-employed business in the UK labor market. It has been found that the relative size of the market and the tendency towards self-employment can be interpreted as a negative relationship. As Van Tubergen (2005) says; "this study provides insight in the role of social capital, suggesting that co-ethnics can both help and hinder each other in starting and maintaining a business. The results show a negative relationship between the relative size of an ethnic community and the likelihood of self-employment" (727). From this point of view, self-employment is can be conceived as more competitive and difficult. This refers to one of the main research questions for locating the reason for settling in Colchester. It then follows that Colchester is a smaller market than London which means there is less competition and more likelihood of self-employment. "This finding indicates that competition between co-ethnics for small market is stronger in more sizeable group, which makes self-employment in larger groups more difficult" (Van Tubergen 2005:727). Self-employed entrepreneurs prefer small markets, like Colchester, because of less competition and more stability in the market. This

also means that less capital is required for start up businesses in small size markets. In addition to relative size, role of networks should be discovered for maintainability of business as well.

2.4 Mixed Embeddedness Theory

As indicated above, self-employed immigrant entrepreneurship is a new research agenda both in the Europe and the UK. It is not possible to say that theories which developed in the US can precisely fit on European experience. There are tremendous differences between the two destinations. These differences are mainly about structural traits of states, in particular immigration policies and regulations (Light, 2005:660). Therefore, European countries experience immigration and ethnic business differently. Kloosterman and Rath and are two important scholars for self-employed immigrant entrepreneurship of Europe. Mixed embeddedness, as a theoretical approach, which is developed by Kloosterman and Rath (2001). This theory explains self-employed immigrant entrepreneurship with internal and environmental perspectives. It is imperative to acknowledge that self-employment must be taken into account not only with internal factors but also external factors. For the UK case, Barrett and his fellows implied importance of interaction between internal and external forces for establishment of ethnic entrepreneurship. They claim that, besides group characteristics there are environmental effects for start-up small ethnic business (Barrett et al. 2002:11). The mixed embeddedness thesis is based on an perspective that focuses on networks toward opportunity structure.

“We also look at the embeddedness of the immigrant entrepreneurs in social networks, but we do this by explicitly relating this to the opportunity structure in which these entrepreneurs have to find possibilities to start a business and subsequently maintain or expand that business. We have dubbed this approach mixed embeddedness” (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001:190).

In this respect, the theory is quite consistent with our three-steps investigation within the context of start-up and turnover business. Furthermore this investigation, on both networks and institutional level, will solidify the research providing a clear and accurate understanding of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship in Colchester.

Rath and Kloosterman attribute vital importance to opportunity structure for understanding self-employment. They point out that, unless there is the presence on an *opportunity structure*, there is no way to understand immigrant entrepreneurship (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001:190). They also indicate that two key aspects of opportunity structure which are extremely important to find their theoretical perspective. The first aspect is *accessibility* of market for newcomers. This aspect refers to have easy access to start-up business. The second aspect refers to sustainability and *growth potential* of the market (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001:193-4).

As the scholars illustrated above, accessibility and sustainability of the businesses are two important aspects of opportunity structure. Within this context, *accessibility* refers to start-up business which is featured in step two. Sustainability refers to turnover business-which is reviewed step three. Rath and Kloosterman also explain four key points which are integral parts of self employment. Firstly, there should be a demand for business. Secondly, market conditions should be feasible for the opening of a self-employed shop. In other words, the market should be accessible in economic terms. Thirdly, the market should also be accessible at the institutional level as well. Eventually the opportunities should be occupied in a tangible way (See Kloosterman and Rath, 2001). These are essential cornerstones of self-employed entrepreneurship in terms of the mixed embeddedness approach. In this respect, these key-points are quite essential for our research topic pertaining to start-up and sustainability of business. These key points provide an idea about how Turkish immigrant self-employed businesses have started and continued to exist in the UK labor market. Generally, Rath and Kloosterman picture an overall self-employed immigrant entrepreneurship within both institutional level and network level.

According to Rath and Kloosterman the opportunity structure is defined as recognition of the products deficiency of certain types of businesses and the institutional situations in markets. “This opportunity structure was seen to consist of market conditions (‘ethnic consumer products’ and ‘non-ethnic/ open markets’) and of access to ownership (‘business vacancies’, ‘competition for vacancies’, and ‘government policies’)” (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001:191). Human capital and opportunity structure are interwoven elements, therefore while exploring opportunity structure human capital should be taken into account as well. In this respect, individuals’ previous experiences are also important in the sense of

human capital. “The type of business chosen is influenced by previous experience and a perception of the business being relatively easy to enter and operate, gained from family and community members in the same line of business” (Basu, 1998:324). Skills and previous experiences are important for decision making of self-employed entrepreneurship. A research in the UK showed that propensity of self-employment is lower for next generation of immigrant groups. According to Clark and Drinkwater this finding is strongly related with human capital (Clark and Drinkwater, 2009:164). Clark and Drinkwater’s findings show that second or third generation of immigrants are integrated to UK’s education system better than their ancestors. From this context, the lack of human capital has important role for first generation of immigrants. Language skills, certificates, business skills, and familiarity of the British culture are part of human capital. Our research sample is focuses on first generation Turkish immigrants, therefore their lack of qualifications can have a meaningful impact on the emergence of self-employed small businesses.

“The newcomers tend to differ in the bundle of resources (human, financial, social and cultural capital) at their disposal when compared to their indigenous counterparts. They are, therefore, on the whole dependent on other segments of the opportunity structure. For them it is mainly segments that usually require only small outlays of capital and relatively low levels of education where they can set up shop” (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001:191).

From their point of view, self-employment offers lower barriers to immigrants for getting into market. In this respect, entrepreneurs’ qualifications are important for their position toward British labor market. Kloosterman and his colleagues point out that immigrants have a disadvantaged position in the labor market due to their lack of financial and human capital. This situation drives immigrants to be self-employed. Small ethnic business requires less financial and human capital, therefore it is reasonable for many immigrants (Kloosterman, Van Der Leun, Rath 1998:259).

The purpose of this research project is to understand how networks function for Turkish immigrants’ arrival, start-up business, and sustain the business. When they first arrive, inherently immigrant ethnic minorities are not able to cover all of requirements of *opportunity structure*, therefore they try to change

or mould them according to their qualifications (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001:192). A research project was conducted about ethnic entrepreneurship, in which Dustmann and Fabbri (2005) found that in the UK, immigrants are not able to transfer their skills to host country directly, therefore they need to modify themselves and acquire new skills which are more eligible for host economy (425). The moulding process is important for our research in terms of exploring Turkish experience. The three level approach is used for explanation of the molding process in mixed embeddedness. The three-level approach also covers the *national, urban/regional and neighborhood levels* (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001).

The first level is the national level which refers to nation state and its effects on economic life. Every country has their own regulations and policies for immigrants and their own positions toward institutions. These elements are parts of opportunity structures, therefore immigrant ethnic entrepreneurs have to meet requirements of opportunity structures in order to involve economy. These requirements can be certificates, language skills, immigrant status and such. Acquiring these qualifications is not easy and cheap, therefore immigrants tend to be self-employed which requires less qualifications and more earnings than wage employment.

“the creation of openings at the lower rungs of the entrepreneurial status-ladder for less fastidious newcomers from Third-World countries through upward mobility of the longer-established business people is, of course, the entrepreneurial counterpart of the residential process of invasion and succession known as the *vacancy chain*” (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001:195).

In this respect, immigrants are filling a gap in labor markets of host countries. This seems like they are stuck somewhere in the market and upward mobility movement is not a likelihood for these people. Similarly ‘Blocked Mobility Thesis’ claims the same argument. “Many immigrants suffer from unfamiliarity with the social, economic and legal structures of the host society, difficulties with languages, non- recognition credentials and discrimination” (Beaujot, Maxim and Zhao, 1994:82). Based on this, even education is not a viable solution for entry barriers, therefore analysis at the *national level* is crucial in terms of understanding environmental or institutional dimension of self employment.

It should be said that education is important for emergence of self-employment under the institutional impacts. These leads us to assume that Turkish entrepreneurs will be less educated and cover only main requirements for involvement with the British market.

The following level is the regional or urban level which relates to the regional economic properties of a place. Rath and Kloosterman emphasise the importance of certain character properties of specific places. There can be specialized districts that are based on economic production.

“Urban regions, in other words, are more connected and at the same time more specialised in certain activities. This implies that by becoming part of the global mosaic, advanced urban regions are also becoming rather more distinct socio-economic *milieux* (‘new industrial districts’) with a specific orientation towards certain economic activities and, hence, also individual growth trajectories” (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001:196).

As mentioned above, success of small businesses are more likely in small districts due to less competition between small businesses (Van Tubergen, 2005). Besides less competition, small businesses have more growth potential in small and less competitive markets. These aspects are strongly related with interest area of the research, particularly both in the emergence and sustainability of the business. On the other hand, it is not likelihood that Turkish immigrants are concentrated because of a specific industrial activity in Colchester. There has no been evidence of such a characteristic, for especially industrialised area for Colchester. From this point of view, it can be assumed that Turkish entrepreneurship has emerged in Colchester because of low barriers of economy and more growth potential rather than specific industrial activity. In this respect, this level of analysis is not applicable on our sample.

The third level is mostly related with clustered immigrant ethnic neighborhood in a geographical area, therefore, it is named neighborhood level by Kloosterman and Rath (2001). Basically this level refers to closed, self-sufficient immigrant ethnic communities. The Turkish immigrants, who have settled in north London, are a good example as a self-sufficient group (See King, Thomson, Mai and Keles, 2008). Their economic production is mostly based on ethnic products. “Concentrations of specific groups of

immigrants may constitute 'natural' or even 'captive' markets for immigrant entrepreneurs offering their co-ethnics products that are not provided by indigenous suppliers" (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001:197). Similarly an interactionist approach, from literature, explains that these communities exist via demand and supply relations (See Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward, 1990:21). Dustmann and Fabbri have found this level in the UK for self-employed ethnic minorities. They stress that immigrants have the advantage toward their co-ethnics in terms of catering and other services (2005:452). One of the most known characteristic of these groups is their intense internal group relations, therefore network relations are strongly important for these communities. Their entrepreneurship and growth potential are entirely reliant on networks.

“Moreover, neighbourhoods imply proximity and in this sense they constitute the obvious concrete locus for many social networks and hence for the nurturing of the social capital that is so important in many immigrant businesses. It is particularly at this level that the way actors are positioned in social networks(their social embeddedness), and the way markets they are active in are structured, come together and epitomise our concept of *mixed embeddedness*” (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001:197).

There is also another dimension of this level which is the very low wage employment for co-ethnics. Immigrant entrepreneurs employ co-ethnics with cheap labor force. In this respect the *stepladders* thesis overlaps with this level (See Raijman and Tienda, 2000:685).According to *stepladders* approach, newcomers are low paid workers in their acquaintances who provide them business and market experiences (2000). There is yet another level of approach. “Light used the term *protected market* to describe the special, culturally based tastes of ethnic minorities that can only be served by co-ethnic businesses (Aldrich and Cater, et al.,1985:997). In this respect, networks and cooperation with other co-ethnics are significant factors for acquiring required skills and social capital. This last level is also related with our research topic particularly for starting and improving business. Event hough, it can be assumed that beside general products and services, these self-employed businesses can meet ethnic demands as well. However it is difficult to say there is a *self-sufficient* group. In this respect it is hard to report that,

this level is entirely visible on the research sample. In general, these levels for molding *opportunity structures* are essential to analysis in this research project.

A great deal is being written and said about relationship between networks and market. For instance as Coleman (1988) says; social ties, particularly, family, community and religious affiliation, are important for transactions in the market (99). From this point of view networks are extremely important elements. Role of networks should be explored in depth in order to understand self employed immigrant entrepreneurship. “social networks affect three aspects of entrepreneurship: business foundings, business success, and business turnover, for Asian and White shopkeepers in England. Social ties are important for all three processes, and their importance applies to both Asians and Whites” (Zimmer and Aldrich, 1987:442). Social networks are strongly related with migration experience, launch a self employed shop, and get success. As Basu puts;

“the main reasons why they chose their particular line of (initial) business were previous experience of working in that type of business as employees, the fact that other family members or acquaintances were already in that line of business or because they felt-based on hearsay and the experience of their family and friends-that this was ‘an easy kind of business to enter’ in terms of the initial capital outlay and skill requirements or ‘an easy kind of business to run’” (Basu, 1998:320).

These findings tremendously related with research interest of this project, particularly role of networks for start-up and run business. These findings are corrected by Yoram Ben-Porath who has developed an approach which is called *F-connection*. According to this thesis; families, friends, and firms are organised in an exchange system (See Ben-Porath, 1980). As it seems in the literature, networks are strongly affect markets, therefore they should be explored deeply. Overtime, social capital perpetuated as an important element of network relations in the literature. In this respect, social capital should be taken into account in detail. In particular, economic achievements of self-employed Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs. Flap and his fellows stress claim that, people use their networks for using others’ resources in order to reach their goals (Flap, Kumcu and Bulder, 2000:147). In this sense, social capital

provides many of requirements for entry business. Along with skills and connections, social capital provides financial capital as well. As Basu implies that however many immigrants are willing to have loan from banks or institutions, they are not able to do it because of entry barriers. This leads entrepreneurs to seek out their acquaintances for required financial capital (Basu, 1998:324). According to this finding, financial institutions are inconvenient for immigrant entrepreneurship in the UK. In this respect the networks and social capital become more important among immigrant entrepreneurs in the British labor market. Portes and Sensenbrenner juxtaposed several sources of the social capital. These are value introjection, reciprocity transactions, bounded solidarity, and enforceable trust (See Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993, 1323-5). Bounded solidarity and enforceable trust are the most significant for our case, therefore these two require further definition and discussion.

Bounded solidarity refers to group oriented behaviors toward a common issue. As Portes and Sensenbrenner put it; “*bounded solidarity*, focuses on those situational circumstances that can lead to emergence of principled group-oriented behavior quite apart from any early *value introjection*” (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993:1324). In this respect, *bounded solidarity* can emerge toward difficulties that faced in the UK. This source is directly correlated with the molding of *opportunity structures* as well. Clearly, Turkish immigrants can set up business with trust of their co-ethnics. For handling difficult circumstances, entrepreneur receive further support from other co-ethnics. At this point *bounded solidarity* affects both start-up and turnover business.

Enforceable trust, as a source of social capital, refers to external and internal group relations of the immigrant ethnic community. Group relations are the strongest determinate for enforceable trust. Group benefits are in the foreground. Members of communities act for group benefits, thereby, their personal utilities (See Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993:1325). Portes also points out, “When immigrants can draw on a variety of valued resources - from social approval to business opportunities-from their association with outsiders, the power of their own community becomes weaker” (Portes, 2010:44). This source is crucial in order to keep alive community and its values. From this point of view, Turkish immigrants’ conservative characteristics in terms of Turkish culture, in particular for business, should be investigated. Their cultural life is extremely important for function of social capital.

2.5 General Review and Assumptions

As indicated at the beginning of chapter, this study focuses on three dimensions of the self-employed Turkish entrepreneurship in Colchester. Network relations are strongly important for understanding the emergence and continued turnover of self-employed Turkish businesses in Colchester. Besides networks, there are more factors such as the lack of backing from financial institutions. In this respect, mixed embeddedness is the most applicable theory for this project. The theory provides a wide information about how self-employed immigrant entrepreneurship emerges and functions by itself. It follows that it can be possible to discover the particularities of the Turkish experience in Colchester. Unfortunately, the concepts of mixed embeddedness does not cover sufficiently the first step of my analysis, the motive for migration. Therefore there are other more relevant approaches such as the chain immigration concept, Portes' network creating process (1995, MacDonald and MacDonald, 1964). In this study so far, the research has arisen from a microstructural origin. Role of networks as internal factors and role institutions as environmental factors will be investigated with three steps are motive for migration, start-up business and maintainability of business. Because of this, some assumptions must be made to pose the research question.

It can be assumed that networks are more dominant in terms of the motive of migration. It is well known fact that developed countries tend to discourage immigration, therefore there is a greater importance of networks to establish one's self abroad.

In the review of literature, there has been no presence found of a palpable policy or support for self-employed immigrant entrepreneurship in the UK. It should be also pointed that, there is not such a policy that prevents or discourages immigrants to get into self-employment. In this respect, networks are more efficient for set up business as well. As mentioned before, the informal resources, information and capital, significantly assist immigrants to participate in the market. In short, it can be assumed that this presence of said networks is necessary for the success of establishing a start-up business for Turkish ethnic entrepreneurs.

Lastly, the maintainability and the growth potential of self-employed immigrant businesses should be investigated through examination of social networks as well. As Basu (1998) informs, governmental support is next to nothing, therefore entrepreneurs need to survive by themselves via their own resources. This is only possible with networks. In this sense, it can be assumed that maintainability and growth potential of the self-employed business is strongly bounded up with social networks.

Overall, the reliance of these networks is a considerably important factor for all of the three steps. In other words, the networks are the main source for the motives of migration, start-up business and turnover business.

3.METHODOLOGY

In order to frame my reasoning behind my research, I think it is important to understand how I came to be interested in this topic. When I first visited downtown Colchester, I noticed a few small businesses which were run by Turkish people. I would not have been able to predict this presence. Although I was sure that there were some immigrants, the amount of Turkish migrants were unexpected. First I thought these few small shops must exist for other temporary Turkish migrants, for example to support students in the university. It did not take long to see the reality of a living and thriving Turkish community in Colchester. From what I could I discern about Colchester this was remarkable. Due to the characteristics of Colchester town, being a small town that is neither a large tourist attraction nor an industrial mecca, how does it attract migrants? When I went to Turkish hairdresser as a customer, I found out that many families had been in the town for long time. At this point, a significant question has emerged. Why do these people choose Colchester as a migration destination? And furthermore how do they survive in this small place as immigrants? These questions are at the foundation of this research project.

The study is an inductive study. Moreover, as a consequence of group characteristics, qualitative research is chosen. Qualitative research method is more feasible for case studies and small number of people rather than survey methods. Using this research approach, I was able to investigate the research object not only with multiple levels but in a more detailed way.

3.1. Participant Selection and Access

As indicated before, self-employed Turkish community is the research subject of this study. Due to small numbers in the target group, research analysis had little variation. In other words, the number of participants in my sample population gave little opportunity to draw comparisons in terms of age, gender, or social class. All participants are Turkish nationals and are self-employed small business owner in Colchester. It should be pointed that big enterprises are out of this sample. There are around fifteen stores in central Colchester. These businesses are mainly divided into two main business lines that: in the food sector or hair salons. The migrant group began to migrate to the UK starting in the 1970s. The entire sample of migrants are Turkey-born, therefore Turkish nationals. Furthermore, they are not homogeneous ethnically. While some of them are Kurdish, others are Turks. The common ground is they all are from mainland Turkey. Members of the community have different origins in mainland Turkey, such as Gumushane, Adana, Erzurum, and Istanbul.

Access to self-employed Turkish migrants was easier than I expected. I had many advantages of being co-national with my target group. They were all welcome to my research interest. In this sense, it was not difficult to reach participants. Snowball sampling method is used for accessing the target group. It is a small population, therefore it is possible to reach members via using their circles. "In snowball sampling, the researcher collects data on the few members of the target population he or she can locate, then asks those individuals to provide the information needed to locate other members of that population whom they happen to know" (Babbie, 2007:185). This method is another way of understanding intra-group communication. Not surprisingly, they all know each other. Every participant interviewee was happy to participate to the research. It should be also pointed that, they all are participated without enforcement. They all have signed a consent form which provides an evidence of their approval for being a participant of this research. The interviews were quite enjoyable for both me and interviewees. During the interviews, my participants offered to me Turkish tea, which is a custom for social gatherings in Turkey. This gesture signified to me how much the cultural traditions were conserved in the community.

3.2. Research Method

I was quite unfamiliar to the topic, so a wide range of literature review was required before the interviews. After this stage, I was able to prepare a questionnaire for semi-structured interviews. During the interviews, questions kept the borders of conversation which meant that irrelevant data was minimized. The questionnaire consisted of forty-six open ended questions which are then divided into three main categories. The first section is called *General* because of its context. There are twenty-two questions in this section that are oriented to learn of the family stories and origins of migration of respondents. This section aimed to find out respondents' family background and their life stories. The following section is named as *Start-up business*. There are eighteen questions which are oriented to find out how did entrepreneurs accessed to market and started their self-employed businesses. The final section, which is named as *Running business*, consisted of sixteen questions. The questions were oriented to how these branches have been able to be sustained in the labor market? In other words, what elements do they use in order to maintain stability in the labor market? Overall, the questionnaire focused on three important elements: migration stories, launching business, and turnover business. The questionnaire refers to the instrument of the three steps investigation.

Under the spotlight of this questionnaire, I, as the researcher, expected to acquire following key-findings. Firstly, how did the migration process evolve, particularly the main motive of migration. Secondly, it will be explored how the migrants gained access to the market and how did they launch their business? Lastly, I was able to discover how did the migrants survive in the labor market? These findings were analysed with the theories and the assumptions that were previously discussed.

The fieldwork was conducted within seven semi-structured interviews in July of 2013. Usually interviews took between 30-45 minutes to conduct. The interview language was the native language of migrants which is Turkish. This provided a way for me to acquire more accurate and sincere answers. It should be pointed out that the all of the interviews were conducted in their own stores in order to have a naturalistic atmosphere during the interview. This gave me a chance to additionally observe relations between entrepreneurs and other co-nationals who happened to enter the store.

3.3. Problems in the Field

As indicated above, fieldwork was considerably, successful and enjoyable. Obviously, there were some issues during interviews. These problems are described below:

Conducting interviews in the business places caused two problems which were time management and customer interference. It was quite hard to decide on interview time. We picked the time periods which were not peak hours. If there were customers, it was not possible to conduct efficient interviews due to the numerous interruptions. Even by scheduling outside of the peak hours, there were interruptions by phone calls and customers. Despite this we were able to decide on suitable times for entrepreneurs. We had to postpone interview appointments for several business owners due to unexpected situations. In general, conducting interviews with business owners offered a different fieldwork experience and challenges that were able to be handled.

Secondly, a problem has emerged with a question which is about identity. The Kurdish respondents perceived the question with ethnic meaning which refers to Kurdish ethnic minority in Turkey. There have been chronicle problems between the Kurdish minority and the Turkish state for years, therefore they might be sensitive for their ethnicity. In this sense, I did an oral explanation that the word is not related to ethnicity. In this questionnaire *Turks* refers to Turkish nationals. The question twenty-two is oriented to find out do they help each other as a fellow migrant from same country.

Lastly, there was a question about income per a month in the list. Apart from two participants, they did not want to respond that. Therefore this question is excluded in the data analysis process.

4. DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Participants' Family Backgrounds and Life Stories

There are approximately fifteen self-employed Turkish small businesses in the town. The research sample represents half of the target group. All of the interviews are implemented in their shops. There is only one female participant in the sample and moreover she is the only one who has university bachelor's degree. Three participants are above 40 years old, rest of them range between 20-40 years old. In general, the education level of participants is primary or secondary school. It can be said that

self-employed Turkish immigrants are concentrated on specific sectors that are mostly kebab takeaway business, hair salons and restaurants. Therefore, four of the participants are running takeaways or restaurants and rest of them are running hair salons. All of the businesses have locations in the downtown area.

Hasan is a 48 year old Turkish man who is from North-East of Turkey. His father came to London in 1979, for work with a Turkish Cypriot who is owner of a kebab takeaway. After seven years, Hasan moved closer to his father. Hasan refers to his father as a main motivation for coming to the United Kingdom. After his arrival, Hasan started to work in the same business with his father for six years. His father owned a takeaway where Hasan worked and carried on the business with his wife's brother. Unlike himself, Hasan wants his kids to work in white-collar jobs. He carried on business with his partner for a while, and then they have decided to move Colchester where market conditions are comparatively more suitable. Currently, he is operating a kebab takeaway with his wife's brother in Colchester. He is not as welcomed to partnerships with other co-nationals. Moreover Hasan reports that, he has already some issues with his current partner.

Dilara is 24 years old woman who is running a family restaurant in Colchester. She came to Colchester due to a desire to reunite her family. Her father moved close to her mother's uncle who was doing kebab business in the town. He started to work in their kebab business. After a while he relocated his family closer to himself. Eventually, he owned his own restaurant one and a half years ago. Meanwhile, Dilara completed her education with an IT (Information Technologies) Bachelor's degree. In the present day, Dilara is responsible for business operations. Besides the restaurant, she has a second job that she did not want to disclose. She comes to the restaurant everyday without exception. She reports that she did not have many Turkish people in her social circle before the restaurant. Conversely, in the present day there is increasing number of Turkish in her social circles due to the restaurant.

Hamdi is a 33 year old ethnic entrepreneur in Colchester. He has been running a unisex hair salon for three years. Hamdi's first destination was Brighton where he has self-employed Turkish friends. When he arrived at Brighton, he did not know much about the hair salon business. He trained next to his friends

for this business about three months. After a period, he owned a branch of same business in Colchester. His wife and his seventeen year old son came with him. He emphasizes that he does not know how to be hairdresser but how to be a manager. He is quite satisfied with his income and business potential. Even so, he has future plans in Turkey where he already has some running businesses.

Murat is a 45 year old Turkey-born Kurdish man. He is from Southern Turkey. He came to the United Kingdom in 1991, to attend language school. His first destination was Peterborough where his brother was living there with some Turkish people. Meanwhile the brother was working in a Turkish owned fish & chips takeaway in Peterborough. After a while Murat learned the business from his brother, and later on they decided to run a fish & chips store in Colchester. Their partnership was not able to be sustained for long periods and eventually they had to separate the business.

Ali is the fifth participant of the research. His birth place is Istanbul, he moved closer to his father in 2003. After his arrival he worked with his father in a Kebab takeaway for a while. Later on he worked in a Turkish owned hair salon for about four years. His school career did not go very well. Therefore he decided to get farther in hairdresser sector with his training in Istanbul. Eventually he owned his own shop which is in the front of his sister's restaurant. He helps her occasionally, especially in business peak hours. They are from same family but their business is separated which is quite interesting. The proximity of shops show how they support each other.

The following participant Fikret, is a 49 year old Turkish man. His story starts in London in 1991. He reports he moved close to his relatives in London. His cousins have been living in the United Kingdom for years and they have been running a takeaway. Fikret started to work with them after his arrival because he was not able to find work in his own industry. Even though he was doing auto repair business in Turkey, he could not transfer it to the United Kingdom due to the market conditions and regulations such as certificates, language skills and such. He was not qualified enough for the British labor market so he learned the kebab business. As Kloosterman and his fellows say, the disadvantaged position of immigrants leads them to other businesses which are accessible easily (Kloosterman, Van Der Leun and Rath, 1998:259). When his cousins decided to move Colchester, he found a different job in London.

Unfortunately he could not subsist with that job and finally he returned to live closer to his relatives again. Currently, he is operating a takeaway on behalf of a Turkish entrepreneur. He says he found this job thanks to his relatives.

The last participant is Yavuz who is a 34 years old Turkish hairdresser. His migration story began with marriage. He got married to a Turkish Cypriot woman from London. Later on, he relocated to live in London during his marriage. Meanwhile he worked in a Turkish hairdresser in Turkish district. Unlike Fikret, he was able to transfer his skills to host economy easily. It can be said that, existing barriers are not same for all work sectors, therefore Yavuz used his career advantage. Furthermore, he relies on vacancy of hairdresser business in Europe. After 4 years he divorced and decided to move Colchester with a friend who is launching a hairdresser. Even though he planned to work with his friend on purpose, it did not work. During the course of one year, he changed his work places several times. For instance he worked occasionally, in a Turkish friend's hairdresser which is located in Southend-on-sea. Their friendship began in London. Eventually, he became business partners with his childhood friend from Turkey in Colchester. They have been took over and have been running what was initially Yavuz's first work place in Colchester for two years. He informs that, there is not any problem with his partner and furthermore they may have second branch in Colchester.

Before conducting analysis of the research data, these participants' backgrounds require an overall assessment. There are many common aspects of the participants. First of all, all of the participants are Turkey-born. Moreover their migration adventure is strongly related with their acquaintances. All of them have ties both with the United Kingdom or Colchester before their settlement. Even though London is the first destination place for some of them, they still needed their acquaintances in order to access to Colchester. Secondly, their business life is considerably connected with their kith and kin. They all started to work with their relatives and they separated their business after certain maturity stages. Thirdly, due to their success of business, many of them intended to have other branches. In this sense, there exists a great growth potential for these entrepreneurs. After this initial evaluation, the following sections explain and evaluate the data in more detail.

4.2.MOTIVE FOR MIGRATION

4.2.1.Bring Acquaintances from Turkey

One of the major purposes of this study is exploring the role of networks for migration process. Basically it is assumed that people who have acquaintances in another country are predisposed to migrate rather than others. In this sense, having relatives or friends is an important motive to immigrate to the United Kingdom, in particular Colchester. If having connections with host country is considered as a major motive, there could be minor motives that are strongly related with acquaintances. Family reunification is one of them. Hasan reports that *“Turkish immigrants were bringing their families, therefore my dad brought us...”* Similar to Hasan, Dilara states: *“We came here, because my father was living here. Before him my uncle was here...”* Better life conditions and welfare are another minor motive for migration. Dilara shared, *“I came here because of family and better living conditions...”* Murat agrees with her, *“I came here for better living conditions. My first destination was Peterborough where my brother was living and working part-time...”* It should be said that the desire for better living conditions and well-being are alone not enough for migration. They need connections to make these desires happen, and therefore they have to use their acquaintances as resources. This function of the network is the key point of immigration phenomenon in the contemporary theory (Portes, 1995, Portes and Bach, 1985, Basu, 1998, MacDonald and Macdonald, 1964). Immigrants can confront institutional disadvantages via their networks. There is no law that allows people to any country due to their life goals but there are those that work towards their families, friends and such. One of participant migrated to the United Kingdom because of marriage. Yavuz informs; *“After marriage, I came to London where my Turkish Cypriot wife was born and grow up. After I worked with a Turkish barber for 2 years, I came to Colchester with a friend of mine who was opening a hairdresser in Colchester...”* He moved to London because of marriage, which enlarged his social circle in the United Kingdom. Eventually thanks to his circles he is an entrepreneur in Colchester.

Economic reasons are also motive for migration. As Hamdi reports *“I came next to my friends in Brighton for marketing...”* Like Hamdi, Fikret also says; *“Firstly, I came to London where my relatives live, and I worked with them...”* Moving closer to acquaintances and using them as a resource for

surviving is a common pattern for the entire participant sample. Let us take a look at motive for migration in general, considering Portes' definition for immigration; it can be said that, there is a network creating process for Turkish immigrants in the United Kingdom (Portes, 1995:22).

4.3.START-UP BUSINESS

As discussed in the research agenda ethnic entrepreneurship is considerably attractive for immigrant minorities in the United Kingdom. There are various factors behind this reality. In a somewhat simplistic division, these factors are classified as push and pull factors by scholars. In this section, networks are considered as pull factors, while institutional and environmental factors are considered as push. Institutions refer to push factors due to discriminatory regulations or laws against immigrant entrepreneurs. For instance, the required language, business qualifications, and low wage-paid works push immigrants to be self-employed with a profession that requires qualifications on minimum level (Kloosterman, Leun, and Rath, 1999:258). On the other side, pull factors are strongly interwoven with relatives who provide these minimum level requirements to migrants. In terms of push and pull factors, there is a remarkable difference in the case of the United Kingdom. Basu (1998) has found that, pull factors are more efficient on ethnic business in Britain (Basu:319). Based on Basu's findings for the United Kingdom case, in addition to review of the push factors, the pull factors will be investigated with more detail.

4.3.1.Cooperation for Start-up Business

As Portes (1995) puts; "Social networks are among the most important types of structures in which economic transactions embedded. These sets recurrent associations between groups of people linked by occupational, familial, cultural, or affective ties"(8). In this sense, when ethnic entrepreneurship is investigated as an economic activity, networks should be taken into account detailed. Immigrants' engagement with the labor market is based on their acquaintances. After their arrival, they start to work with their relatives or friends. This makes newcomers familiar with host-country's labor market and regulations. As Dilara claims; "*When my father first arrived Colchester, he worked with my uncle for a while...*" They need their relatives in order to have engagement with the host country and ultimately the labor market. Acquaintances provide employment opportunities as well as educate them for properties

of United Kingdom labor market. For instance Fikret says; *“I have many relatives in Colchester, I have found this job thanks to them...”* Newcomers also acquire required market qualifications such as language skills, professions and such. Even though they are skillful for some sort of profession, they still need to be modified for host country’s labor market (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001 and Basu, 1998). Hamdi justifies this case very well; *“After training of the business with my friends in Brighton, I came to Colchester by following their advice...”* His friends provide him not only business skills but also feasible location for his business. In this sense, entrepreneurs take risks on minimum level compared to those without such networks. Similar to Hamdi, Ali also says; *“We came next to my father and worked in my uncle’s takeaway. Later on, I worked in a Turkish barber for years, and finally owned my hairdresser shop...”* As indicated above, Ali trained for hairdresser business in Istanbul. Even so, he was not able to move his profession directly. In this sense, *opportunity structure* did come out. He knew how to be hairdresser but he does not know how to be in Colchester. In other words, he had no idea how market works in Colchester, therefore his first step was in his uncle’s takeaway which was followed by a Turkish hairdresser about four years. During this period, Ali modified himself according to market conditions in Colchester. Meanwhile he gained required social and financial capital for launching business.

The data shows that, cooperation and networks are considerably important in term of molding skills toward *opportunity structures*.

4.3.2. Low Entry Barriers for Specific Professions

It has been shown that the entire number of participants did not have any difficulties for launching business, due to their training period with acquaintances and accessible characteristics of some business lines. Ali did not face obstacles during start-up business process. He puts; *“I did not have any difficulties, when I was starting the business. I prefer this job, because it is less tiring than any other ones...”* Hasan also reports, *“When I was starting the business, I did not face any difficulty at all...”* Murat is another self-employed Turkish immigrant who learned business skills from his brother and furthermore he did not face any obstacle for entry business, thanks to his proficiency. He comments, *“I have started this business thanks to my brother, I have not faced any difficulty for launching business...”* Similar to

Hamdi, he is trained by his brother and he is advised for development of this business type as well. Probably Murat turned into takeaway due to this access. Fikret is not as lucky due to his profession. He was not able to transfer his job directly to the United Kingdom labor market. Moreover, he needed to turn to another sector which required less to enter and be established in Colchester. He says: “*I was doing auto repair business in Turkey. I could not do the same job here, because I did not have a certificate. Therefore, I have learned kebab business from my relatives...*” In this sense, environmental factors come out as entry barriers explicitly. Fikret’s profession is not accessible easily, so that he changed his profession according to United Kingdom’s market. Moreover, he had only one option and that was learning kebab business from his relatives. At that point, he has only other co-nationals and his relatives for learning a job which is easy accessible. This case directly refers to Kloosterman and Rath’s (2001) national level for molding opportunity structures (195). Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993), from the US tradition, also put;

“With skills learned in the home country devalued in the receiving labor market and with a generally poor command of the receiving country’s language, immigrants’ economic destinies depend on the structures in which they become incorporated and, in particular, on the character of their own communities”(1322).

Dilara can be considered another entrepreneur who faced high entry barriers for her profession. She describes, “*My father decided for what business we are going to do. We did not have any difficulties while launching the restaurant...*” The interesting point is here, Dilara’s father, instead of her, decides the business type. Their choice is restaurant business rather than Dilara’s profession which is IT sector. If it was waged-employed, Dilara would have more opportunities but for self-employment she, as an immigrant, has to be funneled into certain professions. Therefore, Dilara’s father decided on business type due to the fact that he has more labor market experience and knowledge about the Turkish migrant self-employment in Colchester. In other words, they avoided business type that has higher entry barriers and more risks for immigrants.

As it appears on both Fikret and Dilara, Turkish immigrants do not have a chance to have wide range of options in the labor market. They have to be funneled into certain sectors which are eligible for Turkish immigrants. This point confirms an approach, which is concentrated migrants on specific sectors (Dustmann and Fabbri, 2005:461, Kloosterman and Rath, 2001:191). In general, it can be pointed that there are very few barriers for certain types of businesses, such as hair salons, takeaways, and restaurants. On the other hand, there are high barriers for some other types of businesses such as an auto repair business or a self-owned IT business. Therefore, certain professions of self-employment is considerably attractive for Turkish immigrants due to easy and cheap access. They acquire many resources for free. As Kloosterman and his colleagues (1998) say;

“The entrepreneur may, moreover, tap resources such as social capital. Through their networks of relatives, co-nationals or co-ethnics they have privileged and flexible access to information and capital, with relatively low monetary costs. The use of social capital within the current opportunity structure gives these businessmen a competitive advantage, both within the formal and informal economies”(261).

Overall, entrepreneurs turn to certain types of businesses, due to institutional or formal obligations. They access these certain types via their acquaintances who in turn provide training, social and financial capital, informal networks and so forth. The next section illustrates exactly how do these launched businesses continue to survive in the market.

4.4.INTRA-GROUP TRUST AND ITS IMPACTS ON TURNOVER BUSINESS

As discussed in the literature chapter, Kloosterman and Rath suggest two important points of *opportunity structure, accessibility and maintainability* (2001:194). The previous section pictured how entrepreneurs have access to labor market via their networks, furthermore how they mold opportunity structures, explicitly on national level. This section explores a second key point of opportunity structures, which is maintainability of ethnic small business (2001). It has been made clear that immigrants’ acquaintances provide free informal resources to ethnic entrepreneurs during their economic engagement to labor market. Undoubtedly, this informal support continues after set-up

business as well. Besides acquaintances, other co-nationals involve to this support process. In this sense, a group solidarity emerges among Turkish entrepreneurs. Inherently, the intra-group relations originated from Turkish culture, due to it is a common ground for all of them. In this sense, social capital comes out explicitly, in particular with two sources which are *bounded solidarity* and *enforceable trust* (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993:1324). The participants' need to keep cultural practices should be taken into account due to reproduction of values and thereby affecting social capital. In addition to that, as Van Tubergen (2005) explains less competition in small size markets. In this respect, there is a group solidarity which is strongly related with business survival. In short, the community culture nourishes business success via social capital. It should be also indicated that, there is no unlimited or endless intra-group solidarity, due to dynamic structure of market conditions. This corroborates Portes' account in the sense of individuals' utility based actions (See Portes, 1995:3). If Van Tubergen (2005) is remembered once again, small size markets have more growth potential. In this sense, there is a rapid growth in the market of Colchester. The rapid growth, which refers to likelihood of competition in the future, can be a reason of limited trust among entrepreneurs. Unfortunately, there is not empirical evidence for supporting this comment. As well as it is known that the group solidarity exists, the reason of limited trust unknown. Overall, the collected data offered three main research themes, which are indicated below.

4.4.1. Limited Cooperation with Other Co-nationals

Many entrepreneurs agreed on absence of competition in the market. As Hasan says; “There is no competition with other Turkish branches. I do not prefer to have partnership with others...” Similar to Hasan, Dilara states, “There is no competition with other Turkish branches, we help each other, but I do not want partnership with them...” In contrast to competition, they help and support each other. Ali puts; “I present Turkey in my business. We help other self-employed Turkish people...” Fikret also says; “In my opinion, Turkish branches should help each other when it is required. Therefore we help each other...” In this sense, help refers to business instruments or labor support rather than financial aid. Their cooperation is limited by instrumental aid. In addition to that they are not intended to have partnership with other co-nationals. In this case the borders of the group solidarity comes to light. As

Yavuz informs; “Turkish branches help each other, for instance, I go for help, I give stuff, but I do not want partnership...” Certainly, none of them have positive look on partnership. Their cooperation is limited by moral support and nothing further. Even their primary networks' support can be limited. Murat says; “I had partnership with my brother and we have divided our businesses. I do not want Turkish partner. I prefer my own business...” Similarly Hasan says; “Here, we have problems with my partner who is my wife’s brother. Turkish people never match, therefore you should do your own business...” Conversely, Yavuz has good relations with his partner; “There is no problem with my partner, we are considering to open a second branch...” They are quite new in their partnership and this can be a reason for their satisfaction. However, it is not certain what the future brings to their partnership. Furthermore they plan to have another branch, even though their hairdresser is new in the market. This case corrects Van Tubergen’s (2005) point in terms of growth potential once again.

In general, there is an intra-group solidarity and generalized trust among self-employed Turkish entrepreneurs. However, borders of the solidarity are explicit. This is also related with bounded solidarity and enforceable trust (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993:1324). They support each other as countrymen abroad for special circumstances. They also support each other for benefits of the community. Furthermore, this case also overlaps Flap and his fellows, in terms of using their acquaintances as a resource for reaching their goals (Flap, Kumcu and Bulder, 2000:147). In short, they need their countrymen’ support for survival in the labor market also.

4.4.2. Intra-group Relations of Turkish Community

Intra-group communication is one of the most important way of protecting culture and feeding networks, thereby social capital. As mentioned above, there are certain borders of group solidarity and trust. All of the interviewees confirm that there are borders of the intra-group solidarity by saying that they are not as sincere as much as they appear to be. For instance Hasan says; “*I do not gather with other Turks, I prefer religious meetings...*” similarly Murat puts; “*I do not socialize much with other Turks, because we do not match enough...*” Some of them point out weak ties of the community. For instance Dilara says; “*There is a disconnection and competition between Turks. Everyone is interested with their business. There is a strong sense of solidarity in-family affairs...*” Yavuz agrees; “*There is a competition*

between Turks in Colchester...” This shows that some of group members are not satisfied with intensity of interaction. On the other hand, participants report that there is intra-group communication at some point. Dilara says; *“Turks gather sometimes...”* They also believe that, the interaction will be increased over time, thanks to the creation of an association. As Dilara says once; *“I support Turkish association which has founded lately...”* Hamdi supports Dilara; *“Interactions will be increased by the association...”* The data shows that, there is an intra-group communication which is only at an adequate level. In other words, they need to have intra-group communication at some point in order to survive in the host country. They can do this with by gathering and sharing the common values.

As Kloosterman explains, “Coffee houses, local shops and other services run by immigrants may provide the taste and smell of their country of origin, where immigrants can exchange news and gossip in their own language” (Kloosterman and Leun, 1999:665). This statement exactly explains the function of *Anatolian Community Center* in Colchester.-It is a community center which is established by self-employed Turkish migrants recently. The community center discussed detailed in further section.-The participants also pointed that, there is a Turkish owned coffee house where Turkish immigrants gather and chat. These sort of places are instrumental to the reproducing and preservation of shared culture.

4.4.3. Turkish Culture as Resource of Social capital

There is another common pattern for the sample population of entrepreneurs. They are not completely willing to be supportive but they have to be at some point. In other words, they have to be supportive for each other for their short or long-term benefits. Their businesses’ success is strongly related with networks, and thereby social capital (See Zimmer and Aldrich 1987:442). There is a group solidarity, which is based on their country of origin, among the entrepreneurs. In this sense, Portes and Sensenbrenner’s (1993) juxtaposition emerges explicitly (1323-5). One outcome of reproduction of culture is social capital.

“Social capital arising out of situational confrontations is strongest when the resulting bounded solidarity is not limited to the actual events but brings about the construction of an alternative

definition of the situation based on reenactment of past practices and a common cultural memory”(1331-2).

All of the participants are sensitive for their culture of origin. Hasan implies; *“I would like to keep alive Turkish Culture...”* and Dilara justifies; *“I would like to keep alive Turkish culture and transpose it to my kids...”* They want their offspring to have same *introjected values* for their survival. They believe that, this is the way to survive in another country, due to their resources for economic life since their arrival. Although it is not directly related to the research project, it should be mentioned that it is not only economic resources, but also cultural resources which refers to cultural dimension of immigrant ethnic minorities.

There is a recent development which supports their cultural sensitivity or conservatism. Last June, a Turkish association which is called *Anatolian Community Centre* was founded by Turkish entrepreneurs. In this sense, they reproduce their home culture in the sense of country level, unlike Düvell’s account for community centers which are based on religious or political organization (Düvell, 2010:5). In other words, the association is not concentrated on a specific community such as Kurds, Turks, Muslims and so forth. It directly refers to people who are from mainland of Turkey where Anatolia is. Eventually their statements justify this case. As Hamdi informs; *“I would like to sustain Turkish culture. We will educate our children in our association which has opened lately...”* Similar to Hamdi, Ali puts; *“Absolutely, I want next generations to know Turkish culture...”* Marriage is another aspect of reproduction of culture. Specifically there is a marriage preference in that the community members want to marry a person who is from the same cultural background. Murat says; *“I prefer to get married with someone who is close to eastern culture...”* similarly Fikret says; *“I principally prefer my kids to learn Turkish culture and get married with a Turkish...”* Yavuz is only exception among participants. Even though his wife is a foreigner, he is extremely sensitive in terms of conserve the culture. He says for the culture; *“We should keep alive. I have been teaching my religion to Romanian wife, moreover I will teach to my kids in same way...”*

The research data showed that, culture has vital importance among the immigrants. Especially, being as resources for social capital which is tremendously important for survival of migrant small business.

4.5.A GENERAL OVERVIEW

It is indicated that the study focuses on three aspects of self-employed Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship in Colchester. It is also mentioned that these aspects will be taken into account in terms of network relations with institutional level. After seven semi-structured interviews with Turkish entrepreneurs some outcomes are founded.

First of all, our data showed that migrant acquaintances are considerably important for the decision making of migration. In other words, having connections with the United Kingdom makes people more disposed to migrate. This is a common pattern for the entire participant sample. Undoubtedly, there are different reasons for coming to the United Kingdom besides the common ground. The participants listed reasons such as family reunification, better life conditions, and economic reasons as their motives of migration. They are not able to just migrate because of these reasons due to legal barriers. They make the desires happen via their connections in the United Kingdom. In addition to that, there were two major reasons found for choosing Colchester as a settlement. First of all, as Tubergen pointed, there is less competition in small size markets (Van Tubergen, 2005). This is a decent reason for building up business in Colchester. Moreover, this reason is alone not enough for establishment. Therefore, second co-factor comes to light. The factor is migrants' acquaintances who provide them required sources for set up business (Flap, Kumcu and Bulder, 2000:145).

Secondly, they need connections not only for migration but also for further reasons. Their acquaintances provide them support for free, which makes it easier to adapt to United Kingdom. They learn or modify required skills for British labor market, thanks to their friends or relatives. Language and business skills are some of them. Furthermore, they acquire social and financial capital for launching their own small business. Due to institutional differences they are not able to transfer their skills directly to host-country. In this sense they are disadvantaged. Even though they desire to be self-employed they cannot, because

of the opportunity structure. The market conditions only allow entrepreneurs to concentrate on specific work sector gaps in the labor market.

As mentioned in the literature review, there are two major factors for emergence of ethnic small business. These factors are known by scholars as *push* and *pull*. In the sense of mixed embeddedness, these motives are cooperating for emergence of self-employed immigrant businesses. Based on Basu's (1998) point of view, our research concern summarized pull factors dominantly with including push factors. The data showed that, newcomers need their acquaintances for start-up business. Capital is the key point for this requirement. As Basu showed, United Kingdom banks are not helpful enough for starting capital of immigrant businesses (Basu, 1998:324). The findings show that not one entrepreneur in the sample received financial support from banks. This is why immigrants head to their social networks for the capital. They also can be more secure in their situation for any contingencies in the market. If they are unsuccessful in the business, unlike banks, they can postpone their payback. Besides the financial capital, immigrants acquire all skills required for competing in the market, from their acquaintances for free. "Money comes from friends and relatives; skills have been acquired through the help of fellow ethnic businessman" (Pécoud, 2001:162). They learn what is applicable and what is not for the Colchester. The work sector gaps are discovered by entrepreneurs, thanks to their kith and kin. They mold their skills, if required, according to fill these work sector gaps. As indicated, some of participants have learned their business skills from their co-nationals. The modification of skills refer to molding structures on national level with the sense of Kloosterman and Rath (2001), Furthermore, other levels are not visible in this community analysis. They are neither concentrated for any special economic activity nor for a self-sufficient group. Overall, the data featured the importance of networks for launching small ethnic business in Colchester.

Lastly the research data confirmed Tubergen's case in the sense of less competition among ethnic entrepreneurs in small markets (Van Tubergen, 2005:727). The participant sample meet on common ground in that there is an absence of competition between businesses. Furthermore the data showed social capital arose from the values of country of origin (Coleman, 1988). The permanence of the businesses are bounded up with these introjected values. In the sense of Portes and Sensenbrenner,

bounded solidarity and *enforceable trust* are detected explicitly in our research sample (1993). Entrepreneurs are considerably supportive for their co-nationals. But somehow their support is mostly intangible except in instrumental aid. Their relationship is based on interests. They trust other co-nationals for unexpected circumstances, such as economical problems. This is strongly related with *bounded solidarity* (See Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993 pp.1324). Most of them intended to ask their co-nationals for help. Participants also agreed on the non-preference of having partnership with their co-nationals. They are aware of their growth potential, therefore they do not want to share their capital. Explicitly, two of the participants informed that they are planning to have second branch.

Under the light of information indicated above, it can be said that the entrepreneurs' social and economic embeddedness is considerable important for emergence of self-employed Turkish entrepreneurship. In this sense *mixed embeddedness* is corroborated by the research sample. In particular, role of networks toward *the opportunity structure*.

5. CONCLUSION

Emergence of self-employed Turkish entrepreneurship is investigated in this research. This study set out to show how networks function in the sense of migration, and migrant entrepreneurship. The Turkish community experience is investigated and these core findings appointed. These findings suggest that in general, connections are considerably important in terms of migration motives. Furthermore, the importance of the role of networks continue after arrival of newcomers. Unexceptionally, the entire participant sample used their ties for both migration and their entrepreneurship. What is more, they needed to use other co-nationals for business success. Besides the in-group relations intensity at some points, their relationship is based on interests. The evidence from this study suggests that self-employed Turkish migrant groups need to their co-nationals in order to survive in the United Kingdom. Their economic engagement is strongly related with their relatives, friends, or other members of Turkish community. These findings can likely apply to other small Turkish communities that are settled in small towns, like Colchester, in the United Kingdom. Unfortunately, these findings are not able to applicable to other European countries, due to United Kingdom's special position among other destination countries. This work contributes to existing knowledge of Turkish migrant entrepreneurship by provided

by the small Turkish community experience in Colchester. There are several research studies on the Turkish community in London, but not on small communities like in Colchester. In this sense, this project offers a micro scale perspective to small size Turkish communities in the United Kingdom.

As indicated above, three steps investigation applied in this research. It can be said that, motive for migration mostly agrees with micro structural level approaches in the literature. In the context of other steps, *mixed embeddedness* is visible but not entirely. Turkish entrepreneurs explicitly use their acquaintances in order to have access to the market. Furthermore, they are funnelled to several specific business lines which are restaurants, takeaways, and hair salons. This refers to opportunity structures in the sense of Kloosterman and Rath (2001). As scholars say, migrants need to mold their skills according to the host economy. At this point, the importance of migrants' acquaintances comes up. Their relatives or friends are important resource for entry of small business. It should be also indicated that British banks or institutions are not supportive enough in terms of encouraging establishment of migrants business. The entire participant sample headed into informal resources. Once again, this shows the significance of networks and social capital. They all need other co-nationals for their business's continued success. In this sense, there is cooperation inside community but only within certain limitations. In other words, their cooperation and solidarity is limited by their utilities. On the one hand they support each other and they keep alive spirit of community; on the other hand, they inherently do not have unlimited trust. They use their national resources on required level for their business survival.

At the conclusion of this project, there lies an opportunity for more research. This study creates opportunities for further research questions. Firstly, it has been found that the community is not divided into political, religious, ethnic groups, probably due to the size of the Turkish community. If they become a bigger group, is there a likelihood, based on the social networks, for fractions to occur within the community? Secondly, how are gender roles affected by this network system?

ÖZET

İngiltere’de yaşayan Türk göçmenlerin serbest meslek sahibi olma ve işlerine sürdürülebilirlik kazandırma noktasında network ilişkilerinin işlevsel durumunun çalışıldığı bu çalışmada önemli bulgular elde edilmiştir. Bu bulguları kısaca belirtmeden önce genel bir değerlendirme yapılacak olursa, akrabalık ve kültürel ilişkilerin gerek göçün gerçekleşmesinde ve varış noktasının kararında, gerekse iş hayatına başlangıç ve iş hayatında kalıcılık sağlanmasında belirleyici role sahip olduğu saptanmıştır. Akrabalık ve aile ilişkilerinin yanı sıra aynı ülkeden gelen insanlar olarak da Türk göçmenlerin kendi arasında bir dayanışma mekanizması söz konusudur. Bu bulgu literatürde belirtilmiş olan sosyal destek ilkesine doğrulayıcı biçimde atıfta bulunmaktadır.

Özellikle belirli iş kollarında faaliyet gösteren Türk girişimcilerin bu kollarda yoğunlaşmasında çeşitli faktörler saptanmıştır. Bu kollara yoğunlaşılmasında kurumsal, toplumsal desteklerin durumu oldukça etkindir. Bu desteklerin yanında girişimcilerin yeteneklerinin göçten önce öğrenmiş olmaları da başka bir önemli noktadır. Ancak sahip oldukları bu yeteneklerin göç edilen ülkede uygulanması noktasında yine yakınlarının desteğine ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Bu durum network hususunun önemini bir kez daha vurgulamakta ve çalışmanın önemini ifade etmektedir. Kurumsal desteklerin çok fazla söz sahibi olmadığı bu oluşumda grup içi (Türk göçmenler) dayanışmanın veya sosyal sermayenin büyük önem kazandığı belirtilmelidir.

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