

TURKISH ETHNIC ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN GERMANY: THE CASE OF
WOMEN IN BEAUTY SECTOR

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ABSTRACT

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The aim of this thesis is to examine the woman entrepreneurs with Turkish migration background in Cologne, Germany who own businesses in the beauty sector. Ethnic entrepreneurship is a phenomenon which is especially quite common among Turkish immigrants in Europe. However, studies on women ethnic entrepreneurs are relatively scarce in the literature. The main inquiry of this research is to understand how cultural and gender factors shape immigrant women's entrepreneurial activities and create an ethnic niche market for specific services. Qualitative research methods were used in this study including a six-week field research and in-depth interviews with 11 participants. Results show that, cultural demands from co-ethnics in the migration context determine the nature of work and services provided in salons. Also, women transfer some cultural practices to their work, especially the ones which are expected to be performed by women like hospitality and this leads to changes in job definitions. Domestic chores – especially childcare – are still assumed women's responsibility, so women in the sample try to find ways to balance work and home, and they even delay their careers as business owners. On the other hand, business ownership increases women's self-confidence, and their economic and social status in the society improve in terms of their relations with family, ethnic networks and the host society.

Keywords: migration, ethnic entrepreneurship, women entrepreneurs

ÖZ

ALMANYA’DA TÜRK ETNİK GİRİŞİMCİLİK: GÜZELLİK SEKTÖRÜNDEKİ KADINLAR ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tezin amacı Almanya’nın Köln şehrinde güzellik sektöründe iş yeri sahibi olan Türk göç kökenli kadın işletmecileri incelemektir. Etnik girişimcilik özellikle Avrupa’daki Türk göçmenler arasında epeyce yaygın bir olgudur. Fakat literatürde kadın etnik girişimcilerle ilgili çalışmalar görece azdır. Bu araştırmanın temel sorusu kültürel ve toplumsal cinsiyet faktörlerinin göçmen kadınların girişimcilik faaliyetlerini nasıl şekillendirdiği ve belirli taleplere yönelik etnik niş pazar oluşturduğudur. Bu çalışmada altı haftalık saha çalışmasını ve 11 katılımcıyla yapılan derinlikli mülakatları içeren niteliksel araştırma yöntemleri kullanılmıştır. Sonuçlar göstermektedir ki, göç bağlamında hemşehrilerinden gelen kültürel talepler işin doğasını ve salonlarda verilen hizmetleri belirlemektedir. Ayrıca, kadınlar özellikle kadınlar tarafından ifa edilmesi beklenen misafirperverlik gibi kültürel gelenekleri işlerine taşımışlar ve bu durum iş tanımında değişikliklere neden olmuştur. Çocuk bakımı başta olmak üzere ev işleri hala kadınların sorumluluğu olarak görülmektedir, bu nedenle örneklemdeki kadınlar iş ve ev arasındaki dengeyi sağlamak adına yollar aramakta, hatta iş yeri sahibi olma kariyerlerini ertelemektedirler. Diğer bir yandan, iş yeri sahipliği kadınların öz güvenini artırmış ve toplumda aileleriyle, etnik ağlarıyla ve ev sahibi toplumla olan ilişkileri bakımından ekonomik ve sosyal statülerini geliştirmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: göç, göçmen girişimciliği, kadın girişimciler

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this research is to bring an analysis on women entrepreneurs with Turkish migration background who own a business in the beauty sector in Cologne, Germany. The objective of the study is to understand the relation between migration, gender and the entrepreneurship patterns of women migrants in the host society.

Germany became an immigration country because of its guest worker policies and bilateral agreements with the countries like Italy, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Turkey and Yugoslavia, which started in the early 1960s (Leung, 2007). With the economic restructuring process after World War II, the demand for unskilled labour power in European countries rose (Abadan-Unat, 1976). In 1961, a bilateral labour recruitment agreement between Germany and Turkey was signed to meet this demand. Therefore, the labour migration in the 1960s from Turkey to Germany could be defined as single male migration based on the motivation of working a couple of years, earning money, and eventually coming back to the country of origin. However, it did not happen so.

During the 1970s, instead of returning, many migrants stayed in Germany and their labour contracts were extended. Therefore, the remaining family members including parents, spouses and children also migrated to Germany via family reunification and this movement dramatically increased the number of migrants in Germany. The dependent immigrant population rose both with the family reunification and high birth rates of immigrants from Turkey (Koç & Onan, 2004; Pütz, Schreiber & Welp, 2007). In 1973, Germany halted labour recruitment agreements. After that, migration from Turkey to Germany has continued in a different context including the aforementioned family reunification and irregular migration. Irregular migration refers to entering,

staying or working in the country without the necessary documents; extending tourist visa is an example of this (Aydın, 2016).

In the period of 1980s; although return migration was fostered by German government, migration from Turkey to Germany continued with family reunification and refugee flow. After the 1980 coup d'état in Turkey, many political opponents came to Germany as refugees or asylum seekers including ethnic minorities in Turkey for political reasons (Ehrkamp & Leitner, 2003; Pütz, Schreiber & Welp, 2007).

During the 1990s, refugee flows and asylum application from Turkey to Germany continued because of the political instability in Turkey and armed conflict in areas with high Kurdish population. Family forming migration is also another form of migration that is used as a strategy to migrate and gain a resident permit. In this form of migration, a marriage partner from the country of origin is selected (Lievens, 1999) and this form of migration still continues today.

The newest trend which should be mentioned in migration in recent years between Turkey and Germany has been circular migration which refers to either the back and forth movement of migrants over six monthly periods or the migration of highly skilled second-generation migrants back to Turkey to work in international corporate companies (Aydın, 2016). Moreover, the migration of highly skilled workers and graduate students from Turkey to Germany is prominent nowadays. In total, today it is estimated that 3.5 million people who have Turkish migration background are living in Germany. Here we can conclude that, the migration process from Turkey to Germany is not static and the migrants' backgrounds are not homogeneous.

The decline in the industrial sector and the requirement of highly skilled workers diminished opportunities in the labour market for immigrant minorities in European countries (Cormack & Niessen, 2002). Migrants who mainly worked as manual labourers in industry and agriculture were severely affected in terms of their employment situation by the structural economic changes occurring in Europe from the beginning of 1990s and unemployment levels among migrants became a problem and showed an increase when compared with the native population (El-Cherkeh &

Tolciu, 2009). Since then, entrepreneurship among migrants who have a Turkish migration background has been quite visible in many German cities and continues its presence today with its expanding scope. The trend of entrepreneurship among immigrants with Turkish background had first started in the middle of the 1970s when they faced unemployment in the labour market and the established Turkish community in Germany demanded particular goods and services. Later, this trend accelerated significantly in the 1980s and 1990s. The first shops opened at that time were generally grocery shops and “döner kebab” stations (Çağlar, 2011).

Being the fourth largest city in Germany, Cologne has a large Turkish immigrant population and ethnic entrepreneurship is a widespread economic activity among the migrant population. By just having twenty minutes walk around the city, one can notice this tendency. Turkish “kebab” restaurants, “döner” stations, kiosks, bakeries, driving schools are easy to catch with their signboards in Turkish language. Those are the businesses set up as a reaction to the limited job market especially for the immigrant population and high unemployment rates, since immigrants could not find any job as low or semi-skilled workers in the industrial sector. Therefore, the first businesses that have been set up could be characterised as having low entry barriers and requiring little capital. Also, the goods and services they offer are generally based on the ethnic knowledge that they can acquire without any additional education requirements.

While the Turkish background immigrant population’s diversity increases due to varying causes for migration, here emerges cultural specific needs for this diverse population. As it was mentioned before, women, children and parents joined the migration process thanks to family reunification. Families prolonged their stay, children started school in Germany and so many decided to become permanent residents of the country of migration. Ease of transportation and communication technologies also helped to foster this process. Immigrants could access products from Turkey through the enterprises such as groceries, markets, restaurants and so on run by their co-ethnics. Moreover, expanding population of Turkish migration background and the correspondingly increase in the chance to perform cultural practices paved the

way for permanent settlement (İçduygu, 2008; Şen, 2003). This heterogeneous immigrant population from Turkey has particular needs. Women are one part of this population who demand specific services such as those provided in beauty salons and hairdressers. These businesses are run by women who have Turkish migration background.

When examining the literature on ethnic entrepreneurship, it is seen that most of the studies focus on men. The experiences of immigrant women entrepreneurs are generally neglected in this literature. Women are seen as a part of family labour, rather than the owners themselves. However, women also take part in the self-employment actively and this subject has to be studied for broader understanding of the issue. This study on immigrant women entrepreneurs with Turkish migration background in Cologne, Germany who are operating their business in the beauty sector is an attempt to focus this understudied area. Hairdressers and beauty salons run by the migrant background Turkish women in a German city create job opportunities for themselves and other women in their community. Also, this economic activity represents a niche market which serves specific demand created by their own ethnic community and can only be fulfilled by co-ethnics with the necessary knowledge and skills. Taking the points above into account, it is worthwhile to study women ethnic entrepreneurs from Turkish migration background who run businesses in the beauty sector in Cologne, Germany.

In accordance with the arguments above, the main research question of this thesis is:

How do cultural and gender factors shape business activities of women with Turkish migration background in Germany and create an ethnic niche market for specific services?

This thesis is composed of six chapters which are the introduction, migration from Turkey to Germany, ethnic entrepreneurship literature, field, women in ownership, and conclusion. Now, each chapter will be reviewed in this section to present the structure of the thesis.

The first chapter, the introduction, generally overviews the subject and presents the main research question of the thesis. It is focused on the questions of ‘Why this topic is crucial and worth studying?’, ‘What is lacking in the existing literature?’ and ‘How does this study try to contribute it?’.

The second chapter will bring a historical perspective on migration from Turkey to Germany. How migration started and evolved through time; how it affects the economic, political and social factors and is affected by these; the phases of migration and the dynamics and the current situation are going to be addressed in this chapter. The chapter is going to explore the state of immigrants from Turkey in the countries of settlements today. The chapter will begin with the latest trends of international human migration and touch upon the migration theories to provide a general background.

The third chapter will present the existing literature on ethnic entrepreneurship. Since the literature review part contains theories and cases from all around the world, a sub-part that examines the examples of ethnic entrepreneurship from Europe will be added to the chapter. Moreover, theoretical discussion reveals that the issue of women’s ethnic entrepreneurship marginally takes place in the ethnic entrepreneurship debate. For this reason, chapter three is also going to cover studies that touch upon immigrant women entrepreneurs.

The fourth chapter will be about the field experience of the researcher and the research method of the thesis. This chapter will explain why qualitative research methods are suitable for the purpose of the study including field research, observations, semi-structured in-depth interviews, field notes, recordings and photographs. The pilot study in Ankara and the preparation stage including the Internet search before entering the field will be also described in this chapter. Lastly, the field experiences of the researcher in the city and specific neighbourhoods, where women ethnic entrepreneurs in the beauty sector, will be presented.

The fifth chapter will focus on the data analysis. First of all, this chapter will present basically the demographic information of the participants and their migration history.

Then, their motivations towards beauty sector and self-employment will be discussed. Moreover, the issues about the nature of work such as financing, employment trends, relations with customers, trading, transnational practices and women's life-work balance will be examined in this chapter. Finally, the effects of self-employment in the country of migration on women ethnic entrepreneurs' lives will be presented in terms of its economic and social effects.

In the last chapter, conclusion, the overall points and arguments of this research will be remarked. Moreover, the questions of 'How does this research try to contribute to literature in particular areas?' and 'What kind of research should be done for the further investigations?'

CHAPTER 2

MIGRATION FROM TURKEY TO GERMANY

“We are all the descendants of migrants and we virtually all migrate during the course of our own lives. From the origin of our Homo sapiens species about 200,000 BCE until today, we have expanded our range over the entire planet. We have emigrated to seek new opportunities, often driven out by deteriorating social or physical environments” (Fisher, 2014).

2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces migration flows From Turkey to Europe, especially to Germany in the context of global migration dynamics throughout the time. Migration is not a new phenomenon, it occurs through the human history. However, its volume and shape have changed in our contemporary era. Turkish migration to European countries and especially to Germany is also a part of this mentioned transforming contemporary international migration process.

According to International Organization for Migration, the term migration refers to person's or group of persons' movements across places. These movements across places can be within a country or between national borders. The reason, extent and the form of the movement show variety. It can be a movement of economic migrants, displaced persons and refugees, or resulting from other motivations (Perruchoud & Redpath-Cross, 2011).

There are numbers of theories which try to explain the migration phenomenon, rather than single theory that define all aspects of migration. Those theories have varying perspectives that examine the concept of migration with its all points from different point of views. As a field of study, migration has been the focus of a number of disciplines including economics, political sciences, sociology, demography, geography and psychology. Some of the theories from these different disciplines and perspectives carry out macro level analysis, and others focus on the micro level. Macro level analysis examine the migration phenomenon from an aggregate perspective such as economic and political structure. Micro level studies on the other hand focus on individual experiences and decisions in migration process (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016).

Before presenting the phases of migration from Turkey to Europe and Germany, I would like to introduce international migration theories briefly based on the work of Massey et al. (1993). In their work, Massey et al. (1993) evaluated and classified theories of international migration into two main branches, which are the “initiation” and the “perpetuation”. Both branches include micro and macro theories. The initiation explains the reasons and origins of international migration. The perpetuation, on the other hand, concern the additional movements of people in changing time and space conditions.

The theoretical models that explain initiation of migration include; neoclassical economics, the new economics of migration, dual labour market theory and world systems theory. Macro theory of neoclassical economics sees labour markets mechanisms and wage differentials between countries as a main cause of migration. They assume that migration ceases when the gap between wage differentials disappears. In the micro theories of neoclassical economic, human capital, individual decision and the cost-benefit calculation are significant on the origin of migration (Massey et al., 1993).

The new economics of migration theory suggest that, the decision maker is not an isolated individual, rather a family or household. Moreover, it considers not only labour market, but also other failures in markets like insurance and capital. Unlike the

neoclassical theory, the new economics of migration theory considers that wage differentials between countries are not the main issue, and that migration may still continue even the wage gap is closed because of the relative deprivation of the household compared with others in the community in the home country.

Dual labour market theory, which offers a macro analysis of migration, claims that the demand for unskilled and cheap labour in developed countries leads migration and this demand will never stop since native workers reject the secondary job market with insufficient wages and low social status (Massey et al., 1993).

World systems theory, which also provides a macro perspective, sees migration as an outcome of capitalist penetration in the periphery countries, and this penetration creates people likely to migrate (Massey et al., 1993).

The theories that explain the perpetuation of international migration are network theory, institutional theory, cumulative causation and migration systems theory. According to network theory, the persistence of migration is enabled by interpersonal ties between the migrants and their non-migrant family members, relatives and friends. After the initial movement from a community, for the others who are inclined to migrate, it means declining of costs and risks. This initial migration increases the likelihood of continual movements.

The institutional theory argues that international migration has become more institutionalized. On the one hand, the profit seeking private institutions promote international migration by providing necessary documents, visas and assistance for legal or illegal migration. On the other hand, non-profit volunteer organisations work for the rights of migrants in the destination countries.

Cumulative causation theory says that as Massey et al, (1993) explained in their article, after the first movement of people, migration continues itself because of social and economic decisions taken by individuals and households in the both sending and receiving communities. Those decisions have an influence on the following migratory movements. For instance, land use and the use of machinery in the agrarian production of migrant household negatively changes in the labour force participation in the

sending community and probably increases subsequent movement of people. Also, in the sending community, there emerge a conspicuous consumption pattern of the households, which have migrant family members, increasing the relative deprivation of the other families, promoting the tendency of additional migration decisions and creating a positive value for migration. Meanwhile, in the migrant receiving country, jobs that done by migrants are labelled as migrant jobs and are avoided by these natives. Thus, the demand for immigrant workers in receiving countries remains.

Migration systems theory proposes that the economic and political relations between countries create high number of migratory movements between core receiving region and sending countries, namely migration systems (Massey et al., 1993). Authors (1993, p. 455) argued that studying migration necessitates a broad perspective that should not exclude either the structural influences on decisions of individuals or activity of individuals and families in the migration process. Following a single narrow theory that exclude other levels is unfavourable in a study on international migration.

In addition to micro and macro level theories of international migration, Thomas Faist (2000) adds a meso level analysis in order to close the gap between the rigid micro and macro theories in the existing migration literature. Meso level refers to varying social and symbolic ties of migrants and non-migrants depending on their structure. Those ties may be established in the sending and receiving countries, or in both simultaneously. In addition, those ties provide some sort of resources that migrants can use. Sometimes, those ties include not only individuals, but also organizations such as associations or community groups. To sum up, meso level analysis focuses on dynamics of migration and intermediate networks between migrants and the other relevant actors, such as family, household, kin group, religious and ethnic communities.

Castles and Miller (2009) point out that migration continues in new patterns and these new patterns are evolving in accordance with the economic and political change all around the world. They identify six major trends in the contemporary international migration which is distinguished itself from the traditional old forms (p. 10).

The first newly emerged trend is the “globalization of migration”. It means that, today migratory flows cover many areas of the world concurrently. Both sending and receiving countries are varied all over the world, and immigrants have several and distinct backgrounds (Castles & Miller, 2009). Secondly, authors (2009) discuss the “acceleration of migration” and an increase in the number of people who move internationally. They also mention the “differentiation of migration”. In our age, there is not only a one type of migration. We can observe different kind of movements of people at the same time. Most of the time, migration starts in one form and gradually evolves into something new, but still continues in both ways. However sometimes, the initial form disappears because of government policies on migration, and alternatives emerge. The point is that the international migration flows evolve in different ways and it is impossible to talk about one kind of migration (Castles & Miller, 2009). The other important point that Castles and Miller (2009) touched upon about the contemporary international migrations, is the “feminization of migration”. Currently, women represent a huge proportion of migration flows in contrast with the past, which was male dominated. Today, more and more women move internationally as labour and also as refugees. The recognition of women and women’s role in the global migrations have risen today, and it has been discussed with the concept of feminization of migration. “Politicization of migration” is the other tendency of contemporary migrations according to Castles and Miller (2009). Domestic and international policies around the world influence and are influenced by contemporary international migration flows. Lastly, authors state “proliferation of migration transition” as one of the contemporary tendencies of international migration. This concept draws attention to the transit migration countries which were once countries of emigration including Turkey, Poland, Spain, Mexico and South Korea. It is argued that this situation will be followed by being a country of immigration.

These six major points made by Castles and Miller (2009), which represent the new trends in the international migration flows, are also applicable to the Turkish migration to Europe. It started as a single male labour migration internationally with bilateral labour agreements between countries. Its volume rose in following years after the agreements were signed. This situation was shaped by the governmental policies of

both sending and receiving countries and with the effect of global world economy. As time passed, the type of immigration changed. Family reunification, family forming migration, refugee and asylum applications, and entry by tourist visa are some of the alternative immigration methods that immigrants have practised. These changing immigration types mostly arise because of governments' policies on managing or halting migration. For instance, even though Germany halted labour recruitment from Turkey in 1973, the movement from Turkey to Germany did not stop, but continued in different forms. In the Turkish migration to Germany, women also played a significant role as a recruited labour, apart from family reunification and family-forming migration. During the 'guest worker' period, migrant women's labour was also demanded by low wage industries based on tiny fingers, such as manufacturing, textile, electronics, food and packaging sectors. In parallel with these developments, a large number of women mostly from rural Turkey started to migrate to European countries, and Germany in particular, and participated in industrial workforce under the influence of the encouragement and persistence of their male family members. Furthermore, movements of women from Turkey to Europe have been continuing since then in several ways, such as family reunification and family forming migration (Abadan-Unat, 2002). Also, Turkey has become one of the spreading transition countries of migration during the last decades.

Accordingly, it can be said that the arguments of Castles and Miller (2003) on international migration also explain the features of migration from Turkey to European countries and Germany. In order to show these characteristics of migration in different periods and how it evolved in time, this chapter aims to present the phases of migration from Turkey to Germany in different time periods.

This chapter covers the changes in migration from Turkey to Germany in a chronological order. This chronological order offers the changing economic, political and social characteristics of both Turkish and German societies, as well as the world in general. It also shows that the migration patterns from Turkey to Germany are not homogeneous, in fact diversified in time. The sections are divided by ten years which started with 1960s when the bilateral labour recruitment agreement was signed

between Turkey and Germany in 1961. Then, the years are followed by 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, 2000s and today. In all of the phases, I try to demonstrate the influential events and dates in the world history that has effect on migration from Turkey to Germany. Even if the starting movement of migration has an economic ground, it followed by various motivations and it changed the course of migration flows in time and consequently the migrants' background.

2.2 1960s: When the Journey Began

After World War II, in 1950s and 1960s in order to increase economic activity and production; Western Europe, the United States (US) and Middle Eastern oil-rich countries started to import labour because of labour shortages. The US met its labour demand in economic boom mainly from the Mexico and Caribbean countries. The imported labour in oil rich Middle East countries like Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates came from the near regions in the Middle East. Western European countries import those labour from the southern European countries and Balkans such as Italy, Spain, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey. The European countries with colonial past turned to its ex-colonies. For instance, France mainly provide its labour source from Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria (Abadan-Unat, 2011). Many European countries during that time like Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland including Germany signed bilateral labour recruitment agreements with the countries in Southern Europe and in the Balkans (Bobeva & Garson, 2004). Germany first signed these agreements with Italy in 1955. Then followed with Spain and Greece in 1960, Turkey in 1961, Portugal in 1964, and finally with Yugoslavia, in 1968 (Leung, 2007).

This system was called as “guest-worker” system and the main aim was to hire foreign labour for a specific period of time. The system was based on rotation in which it was assumed that foreign workers would work and stay in the country for short periods and return home (Abadan-Unat, 2011; Toksöz, 2006). Foreign workers were imported to be employed mainly in the sectors like manufacturing, mining, construction and service. Those jobs had harsh working conditions and low wages, and were located literally at the bottom of the occupational and social structures. The terms were organized by the bilateral agreement between the countries. The recruitment process

was organized under the responsibility of governmental agencies of the receiving countries. Those agencies opened offices in the sending counties, and made the selection of the workers. (Toksöz, 2006).

When we look at the political, economic and social situation in Turkey, we see a rising population growth, unemployment as well as domestic migration from rural to urban areas. According to Pütz, Schreiber and Welpé (2007), two-third of the immigrants came to Germany from Turkey had rural background. They also mention the impact of Menderes government, its measures on agriculture such as mechanisation, eventually increasing rural unemployment. It is obvious that both sides were searching for solutions for their economic problems. The German government desired to increase its productivity with the capitalist restructuring after World War II by satisfied its extensive demand for cheap and unskilled labour by importing labour power. On the other hand, Turkish government was searching for a solution to its economic problems such as unemployment and foreign currency deficit. In the First Five Year Development Plan in 1963, the concerns were mentioned about the high rate of population growth and the high rate of labour supply and its eventual consequence high rate of unemployment. A suggested solution to the mentioned problems was labour export to the labour-scarce European countries (T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 1963, p. 454).

The Turkish government also hoped for worker training in the European countries for a couple of years and before returning to Turkey with high skills and knowledge on industrial work, contributing the Turkey's industrial production (Aydın, 2016). However, these measures that Turkish politicians took were only short-term solutions which created additional causes in Turkish society as well as in receiving societies. Bilateral labour agreement with Germany in 1961 was followed by the agreements with other European countries in the following years. Turkey signed similar agreements with Austria, Belgium and the Netherlands in 1964, with France in 1965 and with Sweden in 1967 (Abadan-Unat, 2011). Abadan-Unat (2011) argues in her book that all of these international labour imports share one common point that is the

needs of both sending and receiving countries created and shaped international migration flow and it affects both societies in different ways.

As Martin (1991) stated, there were three types of movements from Turkey to European countries, which were “anonymous” and “nominative” recruitment and “illegal” or “unofficial” migration. In 1960s, most of the migrants from Turkey were recruited anonymously, which means that employers in the European countries reported the amount of labour power that they need to the Employment Services in their countries. Those services sent the list of required workers to the offices in the sending countries such as German Recruitment Bureau in Istanbul, and those offices selected the workers according to the host countries’ labour market needs. Briefly, nominative recruitment refers to requesting a particular worker by name. This procedure mostly applied in the following years of migration, when Turkish workers in the host country recommend friends or family members to their employers. Illegal or unofficial migration on the other hand usually means unauthorised workers entering the country on a tourist visa. This type of migration flow was also notable for subsequent years.

Migration of workers started as single young male migration. The typical profile of the guest worker was a single male who left behind his family, (wife and children in the country of origin if married) came to the host country for several of years to save money, sent it to his family abroad and planned to invest the money in his country of origin when he returned. Policy makers were also sure that migrants would turn their home countries when the economy would not need any additional labour power (Chin, 2007). Although the majority of the guest workers were men as it was mentioned above, it should be added that women workers were also recruited in the first phase of bilateral agreements to work in manufacture, mostly in electronics. In fact, “women gradually became a larger share of the burgeoning Turkish migrant force, making up 13 per cent of the Turkish migrants recruited through the Turkish Employment Service (TES) in 1961” (Martin, 1991, p.25). In 1960s, first comers were not allowed to bring their families. Single workers stayed in a dormitory-like group housings, and their aim was to spend less and saving more. However, things not did go as it was planned. Both

sides; immigrant workers and European employers did not keep the principle of rotation. The former chose to stay longer, since they did not save as projected in one or two years. The employers, on the other hand, wished to keep the employees that they trained rather than training new ones. Lastly, I want to show the number of Turkish workers who entered Germany years between 1961 and 1970, to show the consistent rise and change in numbers in Table 1.

Table 1
*Number of workers sent to Germany
 through the Turkish Employment Service
 in years between 1961-1970*

Years	Numbers
1961	1,476
1962	11,025
1963	23,463
1964	54,902
1965	45,527
1966	32,580
1967	7,199
1968	41,409
1969	98,142
1970	96,936

(Source: Martin, 1991, p. 22)

Except a decline in 1966 because of the recession, it is seen that there was a continuous migration flow from Turkey to Germany as recruited labour force. Moreover, these numbers demonstrate only the Turkish workers sent abroad through the Turkish Employment Service. Therefore, the numbers may underestimate the real migration rates, since it does not include other means of migration.

2.3 1970s: Labour Migration Halted, Families Came

At the beginning of 1970s, migration from Turkey to Germany through the Turkey Employment Service reached its peak. In 1971 65,684; in 1972 65,875 and in 1973 103,793 Turkish workers were sent to Germany and recruited via this system (Martin, 1991). During these years, both German and Turkish governments realized that the projected guest worker system was not working as it was planned. It was understood that Turkish workers were inclined to overstay in Germany, even bringing their families. Also, the employers did not desire to lose their trained employees. It was obvious that temporary migration was not the issue at that point. For the 1970s, we need to point out several facts about the course of migration from Turkey to Germany: 1973 oil crisis, end of bilateral labour agreements, and liberalization of family reunification.

The oil crisis in 1973 completely changed the trajectory of world economy. Worldwide economic recession was happened when oil rich countries increased prices. In October 1973, OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) declared an embargo of oil sale, and afterwards they increased crude oil prices by 70%. Oil importing countries' economies mostly relied on oil imported from oil producing countries. They had great demand for the main source of energy. The embargo and the price hikes struck directly and seriously. The oil importing countries first concerned about the supply, and then it turned to concerns about the high prices (Moran, 2015; Vernon, 1976). This led to economic downturn in labour imported European countries and increased unemployment in those counties. Not surprisingly this situation struck immigrant workers harder. First of all, labour imported European countries stopped their bilateral labour recruitment agreements. Secondly, most of the migrants who already lived and worked in abroad lost their jobs, and faced limited opportunities in the labour market when the economy got worse (Abadan-Unat, 2011).

In her book, Toksöz points out that some scholars argue that oil crisis was not the major reason of the Western European countries' policies on migration, such as stopping foreign labour recruitment, and returning the existing ones; indeed, oil crisis was just an excuse. It is argued in the book that, the decision of those policies made

long before the 1973 oil crisis. After the second half of 1970s, the restructuring of the economy was projected to ease economy. The restructuring included international division of labour. This means that labour intensive manufacturing and the managerial jobs separated spatially. While labour intensive and environmentally hazardous production moved to the developing countries which had cheap labour, the finance, marketing and organizational businesses stayed in the Western European cities. This situation reduced the need of unskilled labour in Western European countries (2006).

Countries which halted foreign labour recruitment also took deterrent measures to prevent additional migration, and encouraged migrants to go back their country of origin. For instance, Germany stopped the bilateral labour recruitment agreement with Turkey in 1973. Since then, it closed its doors to legal labour migration and tried to decrease the foreign population in the country. This restriction in the legal labour migration led to increase in the numbers of unofficial and illegal entries of the country. Many Turks during these years developed alternative strategies to go and work in abroad. The most common strategy was the entry to the country as a tourist without a work permit. Those migrants either regularized their official status later on or worked as unauthorized workers illegally in the country of destination. Although the exact number of immigrants who worked without authorisation is not known, it is estimated that 20 percent of the total Turkish migrants entered Germany illegally (Martin, 1991).

As mentioned above, the European countries which negatively affected from downturn in the world economy tried to reduce of their foreign populations. They took some actions not only to encourage foreign workers to return but also to discourage foreign dependents. For instance, in early 1970s, Germany introduced a measure that retained newly coming family members to have a work permit (Martin, 1991). The other policy change during that time in Germany was about child subsidy payments. If the children live abroad, the parents get lower payment comparing with the parents whose children live in Germany. The aim was reduction in the social expenditures because of the economic recession. However, this reform affected to increase in the number of migrants who decided to stay and bring their families. All in all, despite the high unemployment among immigrants due to economic crisis and European governments'

measures to prevent additional migration movements, large number of Turkish migrants extended their stay in abroad to make more money, brought their family members and postponed their desire to go back to the homeland to retirement. Despite the number of migrant workers coming to Germany through the official recruitment systems fell dramatically, with the family reunifications Turkish immigrant population continued to increase. Family reunification implies a significant point that we need to consider. Family reunification brought dependents into the migration context which were parents, children and spouses especially women. Also, number of new born babies from the Turkish migration background rose as more spouses joined their families in Germany through family reunification, and this high birth rate among Turkish immigrant families raised the dependent population (İçduygu, 2012; Koç & Onan, 2004).

According to Pennix as cited in Martin's work (1991), "by 1974 there were 1 million Turks in that country (Germany): 60 per cent workers, 20 per cent children and 20 per cent non-working spouses and other dependants". Women who migrated to Europe to meet their husbands often did not or could not work (Martin, 1991). Pütz et al. (2007) explained this situation in their article as following:

Many migrants made up their minds to stay for the long term and brought back their families. The result was that the demographic structure changed: the proportion of children, parents and women increased, the average length of stay increased and the employment proportion clearly decreased. (p. 490)

After Germany halted labour recruitment agreement in 1973, the migration from Turkey to Germany continued in the form of family reunification. Many Turkish migrants delayed their returns via bringing their families to the host country. When Germany allowed family unification of guest workers, at first migrant workers saw this as an opportunity to earn much more money by bringing their family members as workers. In this way, they thought that they could save enough money and return to Turkey. So they brought their families mostly included wife and children into the migration context. Thus, the initial intended plan of the workers – working and saving money for couple of years and return to country of origin- was evaluated into the permanent settlement. But this transformation of workers' ideas about permanent

settlement was not formed immediately. Children started to school and families settled in the host society. Therefore, it can be argued that liberalization of family unification had an effect on the migrants' decision to stay permanently (İçduygu, 2008).

According to Şen (2003) there are several reasons behind why migrants decided to prolong their stay in the host country and bring their families. First of all, the economic conditions at that time in Turkey was insufficient to make investments and maintain a good standard of life. Returnees had also negative experiences, such as they failed to rebuild social relations and start a new fresh with their scant savings. This also affects the decision to stay. Secondly, the education of children was an important factor in making this decision. Moreover, with the new communication and transportation technologies, the distance between Germany and Turkey was shortened. For instance, in 1969 Akşam and Hürriyet newspapers, in 1970 Tercüman and in 1972 Milliyet and Son Havadis newspapers were started to be published in Germany (Tokgöz, 1988). Lastly, according to Faruk Şen (2003) the high number of Turkish residents in Germany leads to many others choose to stay. After most of the migrants bring their families with them the Turkish community had expanded in many German cities. This eased the perform cultural habits, they can easily find their special demands and needs such as food, spices, newspapers, cultural organisations and so on.

At this point we can no longer talk about temporary single male migration. The process of migration from Turkey to Germany change its form. With the new coming dependent family members and illegal workers in 1970s, the immigrant population came from Turkey enlarged and diversified. Their needs in the country of immigration also display change in time. Access to social rights was one of the basic need of immigrant workers and their families. With the intergovernmental dialogues of sending and receiving countries on the subject of social rights of foreign workers, series social security agreements were signed between the aforementioned countries. These included; state health care, social insurance, unemployment and pension rights and child subsidy payments (Abadan-Unat, 2011).

2.4 1980s: Time of Returnees and New Comers

There were some important topics that should be highlighted in 1980s which were; military coup 1980 in Turkey and increase number in asylum seekers, right wing government in Germany, legal incentives of German government for repatriation and return migration.

After European countries including Germany closed their doors to the immigrants, there emerged new types of migration flows. At the beginning of 1980s, there was a considerable increase in asylum applications. This was firstly as a response to restriction in migration movements, and secondly as a reflection the political instability in Eastern Europe. Many Turks as economic migrants tried to apply as asylum seeker in order to get residence permit with the consultancy of lawyers. They tried to take advantage of the German law which enabled entry to the country those from socialist countries. The others were the people from the countries of political instability like Bosnia-Herzegovina. (Abadan-Unat, 2011).

In Turkey, political conflicts and the 1980 military coup also led to high number of applications for asylum to European countries and Germany. In September 1980 generals took over the rule in Turkey. Chief of general staff, Kenan Evren, became a chief of state, and navy chief Bülend Ulusu was assigned as a prime minister. In this way, military were handed all political power. With martial law, many political activists especially leftists were executed (Harris, 2011). According to Heper, a great number of public officers were purged, many forced to retire. Between the 12 September 1980 and 12 September 1981 18.000 public officers were took into custody, arrested or sentenced. The military regime also took an action against universities. The council of higher education (YÖK) was founded, and the political party activities of faculty members were banned (2006). Thousands of people were arrested, trade unions, political parties and left-wing organizations were closed down, their leaders and members were judged in several trials, certain names were deprived of Turkish citizenship, lots of publications were closed down and their editors were sentenced harshly, a number of academics were fired (Dodd, 1983). After the 1980 military coup in Turkey, many political opponents came to Germany as refugees or asylum seekers,

including many Kurds. In this way, the demographic diversity of people in Germany came from Turkey became more diversified. Newcomers brought their identities and ideologies too into the migration context.

The other important occurrence in 1980s was the government change in Germany. In 1983 elections, Christian Democratic Union/Christian Socialist Party (CDU/CSU) won the majority. This change in government also reflected public opinion and policies on immigrants. The halt of labour recruitment from Turkey in 1973 was not enough to prevent the migration from Turkey, because migration continued in new ways other than labour migration such as family reunification and refugee movements. Moreover, with the high natural increase, the Turkish migrant population in the Germany continued to rise. In order to ease the recession and unemployment, Germany introduced a return migration programme to induce guest-workers to return migrate (Seccombe & Lawless, 1986). In 1983 and 1984 about 150,000 Turkish migrants in Germany have returned to Turkey, many encouraged by the repatriation policies of German government. Repatriation policies include return incentives that German government offered to migrants and earlier guest-workers in order to encourage return migrations, with these promotions return migration rose in 1983, and 1984 virtually doubled annually within these years. Turkish migrants who desire to return to Turkey at one day were positively affected from these promotions and used them (Martin, 1991). In 1984, the rate of return migration from Germany to Turkey reached its peak with the 210,000 returnees, which is more than double of the number of returnees in previous year 100,000 (Pusch & Splitt, 2013, p. 134). However, after 1985 when the German government ended the return promotion policy, the number of returnees declined again and the number of migrations from Turkey to Germany exceeded the return migration (Pusch & Splitt, 2013).

In conclusion, during the 1980s migration from Turkey to Germany continued in different forms rather than the labour migration like in the earlier periods. It continued in the forms of family reunification which has started in the mid-70s. Moreover, political instability and 1980 military coup in Turkey brought political oriented and many leftist political opponent people into migration context as refugees and asylum

seekers. This prove us that migration does not occur as a single process, it is rather fluid and derives from multiple causes and motives throughout the time and changing conditions. On the other hand, migration dynamics in 1980s demonstrated that although they have effects on migrants' decision, government policies could not stop migration flows. In every new policy aiming stop migration, people found new strategies, alternative ways of entering the country to overcome those barriers as it is seen in the period of 1980s. As a last remark about this period, participation of political oriented actors into the migration arena started with the refugee movement from Turkey after 1980 military coup and this gave rise to the fragmentation of Turkish community in Germany. This was also the time when DITIB (the Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs) was established by the Turkish state as a reaction and measure to this fragmentation which aims to spread and maintain a single Turkish culture and commitment to Turkish state among Turks in Germany (Aydın, 2016).

2.5 1990s: New Strategies

In 1990s two major movements draw the attention on the migration from Turkey to Germany. The first one is the second refugee wave which derived from the armed conflict between Turkish government and Kurdish rebel organization in the Southeast Turkey. Secondly, family forming migration during that time as a new type of movement occurred that many people have used it as a strategy to migrate.

Sirkeci, Cohen and Yazgan argue that national and transnational conflicts affect migration flows and human insecurity is one of the most influential motive to decide to move from one place to another (2012). Authors observed that out migration flows from Turkey and asylum applications in Europe have some degree of correlation with violence counts (2012, p. 38). Kurds in Turkey have faced deprivation in many terms such as socio-economic, political and cultural in addition to violent conflicts. This is believed to be the major cause of migration of this minority group to Europe. 1990s is the years when those discriminations and deprivations were intense. Parallely, "since 1983, the annual number of asylum seekers has been rising steadily, peaking at 28,327 in 1992" (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003, p. 39).

The other type of migration that gained importance in 1990s was marriage migration, which is a type of chain migration. Chain migration is a legitimate way to enter a country and gain a resident permit. It includes family reunification and family formation. Family formation refers to immigrants' children's (mostly second generation) partner selection from a country of origin which is also called as 'import bride' or 'import groom' and marriage migration (Lievens, 1999; Timmerman, Lodewyckx & Wets, 2009). As a form of chain migration, marriage migration leads to greater migration flows in many European countries (Çelikaksoy, Nielsen & Verner, 2006). This practice is also called as "transnational marriages" in Wolf's article (2016) which refers to Turkish immigrants who marry and migrate to join his/her spouse who is already live in Germany. In the case of Europe, according to Çelikaksoy et al. "marriage migrants constituted the half of the migration flows from non-Western countries in 90s" (2006). A research conducted by, Çelik, Beşpınar and Kalaycıoğlu (2013) reveals that "arranged marriages" are used as a strategy to migrate by single male immigrants from Turkey in order to gain work and residence permit in the host country. This example is a form of family forming migration, however in this case the import groom has a real but undocumented family in the country of origin, "arranged" family formation is used as a way to migrate European countries after 1990s.

Here it can be seen that migration from Turkey to European countries and especially to Germany continued with different ways and strategies. The first one in this period was that the refugee flow especially from the southeast of Turkey because of the conflict between Turkish army and Kurdish rebel organizations. The conflict and violence also brought economic and social deprivation in this region so that had also affected migration flows from this region. Secondly, migration flows were maintained by marriage migrations which is also known as family forming migration. This type of migration refers to partner selection from country of origin, and in this way the new member of the family bride or groom join move to Europe and join the family. Lastly, there were some cases that people develop new strategies to migrate such as arranged marriages. In either case, we should be aware of the role of ethnic communities in sending and receiving societies.

2.6 2000s and Today: What Happens Now?

Migration through family formation from Turkey to Germany still continues today. We can talk about the migration flow of spouses from Turkey to Germany as a part of migration dynamics since 1990s, despite the many political actions taking to restrict or limit family migration. For instance, in 2007, Germany introduced a language legislation for the ones who intended to migrate to the country by marrying someone who is already living in Germany. According to this legislation, most third country citizens have to proof basic knowledge of German before moving to Germany and join their spouses (Aybek, 2012; Aybek, 2015; Aybek, Straßburger & Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu, 2015). This legislation is a kind of challenge for migrating spouses who that they need to overcome. In order to pass ‘Start Deutsch 1’ exam, many candidates prefer to attend language course which are available big cities like Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. The course period and the examination sometime take months and causes delay in cohabitation of spouses (Bayraktar, 2011).

Today, the migration of highly skilled is also an issue including qualified employees and graduate student who are seeking career and educational opportunities in Germany. In her study, Bilecen (2012) investigates the PhD students in Germany those from Turkey, which she accounts them as a part of highly skilled migrants. Her study shows that after the US, Germany is the most preferred foreign country for students from Turkey and students from Turkey are constitutes one of the top five international student populations in German universities. Bilecen (2012) concludes as, opportunities and structures in terms of social, political and employment aspects in both sending and receiving countries are influential in decision of initial student mobility and return or not after graduation. Aydın (2016) states that about the student migration from Turkey to Germany, as it is the only form of migration that rises consistently. Numbers shows that in 2002 1,310 Turkish citizens obtained student visa, in 2014 this number increased to 2,997. He sees student migration as an initial step to the longer stay in the Germany for the students.

Social, political and economic instability in Turkey especially after the 15th July coup attempt in 2016, the presidential referendum in 2017, terror attacks and continuous

state of emergency created a disturbance and increases the migratory flows for many educated highly skilled including students mentioned above. Çalışkan (2017) also argues that recent political and social environment in Turkey directly affects students' decision to participate international exchange programs which are also considered as first step of future migrations.

Now, public opinion and policies on migration in Germany favour highly skilled workers, and ease the regulations accordingly for their and their families' entry, residence and employment. For instance, the minimum annual salary limit for high skilled workers in order to obtain work and residence permit was lowered in 2005, even in some occupational areas where the demand is high this salary requirement got lower. For the international students enrolled in German universities, the additional residence permit was given after graduation for looking for a job (Aydın, 2016).

The points discussed above shows that migration of highly skilled from Turkey to Germany is a trend and it gained importance in both societies recently. This current issue is also covered in many media platforms including newspapers. For instance; according to the news on Deutsche Welle Türkçe, the brain drain from Turkey is increasing, including many academics who were discharged from universities, and it is stated that Germany is one of the most preferred destinations (Sezer Bilen & Topçu, 2016).

The other form of movement between Turkey and Germany during 2000s is the migration of educated high-skilled second and third generations of Turkish origin from Germany to Turkey. Those are the people who were educated in German institutions and return to Turkey for occupational reasons. Qualifications acquired in Germany and language abilities of return migrants attract many companies in Turkey for jobs in well-paid high positions. This young migrant population often move to the big cities of Turkey such as Istanbul, İzmir and Ankara and work in professional jobs (De Bel-Air, 2016; Pusch & Splitt, 2013).

As a matter of fact, Turkey also became a migrant receiving country too, even though it has been seen only as a sending country because of its labour exporting migration

history. The civil war in Syria has been in progress since 2011, and since then the refugee flows from Syria has dramatically increased. At the end of 2011, the time when first refugees entered the country, there were around 14,000 Syrians in Turkey. With the declaration of open door policy by the Turkish government in October 2011, this number reached 224,655 in 2013, 1,519,286 in 2014, 2,503,549 in 2015, 2,834,441 in 2016 and 3,424,237 in 2017. Furthermore, this intense migration flow from Syria has pulled refugees and irregular migrants from other countries such as Afghanistan and Iraq etc. to Turkey, for them Turkey is regarded as both destination and transit country (Erdoğan, 2018; İçduygu, 2015; Kirişçi 2014). Turkey's geographical location is also important in this point. Many migrants came from the near countries due to security concerns, political conflicts, economic hardship and the cultural affinity to Turkey and Islam (İçduygu & Yüksek, 2012). Today, Turkey hosts the largest number of refugees in the world and it is estimated that there are approximately 3.1 million refugees in Turkey according to the United Nations International Migration Report 2017.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter aims to present an overall look to migration history between Turkey and Germany. Theories of international migration were discussed at the beginning of the chapter to provide a broader perspective on international migration phenomenon. Also, it would help us to develop a better understanding of the causes and dynamics of migration between Turkey and Germany throughout the years.

Migration is a complex phenomenon that requires a systematic analysis using different point of views. Therefore, a discussion of different theories from various disciplines that focusing on migration would be essential for the aim and structure of this thesis for a better understanding. The overview of international migration theories enables us to see that it is not likely to explain the phenomenon with its complexities without taking into consideration economic, political, social and cultural aspects altogether. For instance, as it is claimed in the theoretical discussion part, the presentation of migration from Turkey to Germany proves that although the migration started because of economic and political reasons (labour shortage, agreements between countries), it

continues after the labour demand have met and agreements for labour recruitments were stopped. Networks between immigrants and non-immigrants in the home country allowed to persist the migratory flows in other means such as migration marriages. This chapter shows that, migration affects and is affected by the economic, political circumstances as well as the social and cultural ones in the sending and receiving countries also in the all around the world. Therefore, it is crucial to pay attention to these complexities while studying migration. Theoretical discussion provided in this chapter enables us to see these complexities in migration and the contribution of each perspective in migration studies.

Moreover, Castles and Miller's (2009) arguments about the new trends of international migrations were mentioned in this chapter. According to them, new trends in contemporary migrations have emerged which are "globalization of migration", "acceleration of migration", "differentiation of migration", "feminization of migration", "politicization of migration", and "proliferation of migration". Examining the migration history between Turkey and Germany, it is seen that the points mentioned by Castles and Miller are also valid for the case of migration between Turkey and Germany.

Division of chronological time phases starting from early 1960s until the present-day when discussing migration, enabled us to see how occurrences and peculiarities in each time period in economic, political and social levels on both sending and receiving countries as well as throughout the world affect and have been affected by migratory flows including their volume and paths. This periodization shows that migration from Turkey to Germany did not happen at once and in one single way. Concordantly, the Turkish community in Germany is not expected to be a single homogenous group. Recently, Turkey also has become a migration receiving country, especially due to the ongoing civil war in Syria. It is obvious that as Castles and Miller argue (2009), we cannot talk about countries as solely sending or receiving countries anymore. Today, many countries in the world experience both immigration and emigration at the same time. Turkey is one of those countries which was once a sending country and now experiences immigration and emigration.

Currently, the number of people with Turkish migration background in Germany is approximately 3.5 million. It is possible to see that varied backgrounds and motives are present in this population: the first-generation guest workers, their families including spouses and children joined them through family reunification; the second and third generations who were born in Germany, the spouses of second and third generations moved from Turkey with family-forming migration; refugees and asylum seekers with political backgrounds; educated highly-skilled employees and university students. The above-mentioned dynamics also reflect the migrants' lives and social relations in the host country. The demands of the migrants with Turkish migration background in Germany also have been shaped accordingly. There emerged several institutions and businesses in order to meet these cultural specific demands of migrants. To give examples; prayer rooms for different sects and religious communities, associations including hometown associations, cultural and political organizations, other social spaces to perform cultural practices such as coffee houses, restaurants, bars, wedding halls and the shops that sell cultural specific goods. At this point, it would be possible to conclude that as the migrant population gets diverse so do their needs.

Hairdressers and beauty salons run by the women who have Turkish migration background are also important at this point, because they are businesses and at the same time they are also social spaces where women could purchase cultural specific sense of beauty performed by the co-ethnic migrant women. They represent one specific part of ethnic entrepreneurship. This chapter provided a description the process of migration from Turkey to Germany and the circumstances, which pave the way for ethnic entrepreneurship as a common economic activity among migrants. In the following chapter, the theoretical discussion of ethnic entrepreneurship literature will be introduced in order to understand the phenomenon in a broader perspective.

CHAPTER 3

ETHNIC ENTREPRENEURSHIP LITERATURE

3.1 Introduction

Migration is an ongoing process, and in our world, the number of international migrants grow rapidly. So today, there are many ethnic communities in many countries all around the world. Entrepreneurship among international immigrants is also a worldwide phenomenon. Understanding entrepreneurial behaviour of immigrant populations in the host countries is important for migration studies, because it is an undeniable part of migration process and can be used as a tool to analyse their economic, political and social conditions, motivations and level of integration in the host societies.

The aim of this thesis is to bring an analysis on women entrepreneurs with Turkish migration background working in beauty sector in Germany. Hence, the literature of ethnic entrepreneurship in social theory must be reviewed to understand and discuss existing theories. In order to achieve this goal, this chapter introduces the ethnic entrepreneurship literature. First of all, the concepts and the theoretical framework on ethnic entrepreneurship will be discussed. Secondly, the focus will be on European cases to understand the trends in Europe, where the case of this thesis also takes place. Lastly, it should be mentioned that, the literature on this issue mainly focuses on male experiences and there are few researches discussing women entrepreneurs. Thus, in this chapter it is also focused on the studies on women ethnic entrepreneurs in the literature.

3.2 Concepts and Theoretical Framework

3.2.1 Ethnic entrepreneurship

“Who is ethnic?” and “What is entrepreneurship?” are two main questions that we need to answer before the discussion of current situation. The word ethnic is an adjective which refers to a relation to a subgroup in the larger one, whose members share common culture and national background according to Oxford Dictionary. In the same dictionary, entrepreneurship is defined as a risk-taking activity of establishing a business or businesses in search for profit. In this thesis, the term ‘entrepreneur’ is used as owner and operator of a business enterprise (Greenfield et al. 1979, as cited in Waldinger, Aldrich & Ward, 1990). Thus, ethnic entrepreneurs refer to self-employed groups who have migration experience in the Western industrial societies in the period of post-World War II.

Ethnic entrepreneurship is a complex phenomenon that cannot be explained by just one factor as culturalist and structuralist approaches do. The culturalist approach emphasises the importance of cultural factors in the rise of ethnic entrepreneurship. They claim that cultural characteristics that immigrant groups have, lead to success in business. The structuralist approach on the other hand, assumes that immigrants are pushed into self-employment because of external factors they face in the host society (Volery, 2007). As Volery (2007) argues in his article, combining these two factors in the study of ethnic entrepreneurship is essential for a better understanding and for seeing the issue from different views. However, it should also be considered that not all ethnic groups or all the people of the same ethnicity in the host society have similar rates of involvement into the self-employment.

3.2.2 Middleman minority theory

Middleman minority theory has roots in Weber’s and Sombart’s works on capitalism. Weber used the term ‘pariah capitalism’ to explain the entrepreneur activities of ethnic minorities and especially Jews in the early twentieth century (as cited in Light, 2007a). Sombart argues in his work about the role of Judaism and the Jewish traders in the development of capitalism. According to him, Jewish traders have networks with each

other to ease the commerce between places in different parts of the world because they were forced to move from one land to another throughout the history. Moreover, Sombart claims that the characteristics of Jewish lifestyle carried and created the spirit of capitalism, like money lending and making money from money with interest (Sombart, 1911).

Middleman minority theory has been improved under the influence of those debates. They basically argue that middleman minorities are the ethnic minorities living in diasporas who continue to work in trade and commerce in the modern capitalist era. Those people are not just contained Jews, but people from other nations who trade, reside in other countries as merchants “in the context of old-fashioned ethnic capitalism” such as Armenians, Gypsies, Chinese in South East Asia, Hausa people in Nigeria and Persians in India (Light & Gold, 2000). Middleman minorities had a notable economic role in trade and commerce; they acted as ‘middleman’ between elites and masses such as producer and consumer, owner and renter and so on. They were excluded by host society and they faced with hostility, so they turned into these kinds of occupations to overcome their deprivation in labour market. They developed a high-level group solidarity both internally and internationally, because they saw themselves temporary in their residential places and connected to networks with their co-ethnics. Hostility in the country of residence also enhanced solidarity. Thrift also contributed their economic success. They worked hard and spent less, in order to save money for their return. This provided an advantage in competitive market conditions (Bonacich, 1973).

Although middleman minority theory gives insights about the topic, it fails to explain the phenomenon of contemporary ethnic economy well enough. As Light and Gold (2000) mentioned, middleman minority theory believes that in developed capitalism, small and medium scale businesses will be replaced by rationally organized big corporations. Thus, they think that middleman minorities, who perform as small or medium scale business owners with traditional regulations only belong to underdeveloped third world countries. However, this traditional form of capitalism is also clearly seen in developed industrial regions of the world. Secondly, ethnic

economies today do not only include historical trading and displaced people. There are many self-employed immigrants in developed capitalist societies today and they do not have ties or a shared background with middleman minorities in the past.

3.2.3 Ethnic enclaves

The other type of immigrant enterprise that have been described by researchers in this field is ethnic enclave economies. Enclaves refer to spatial clustering of immigrant-owned businesses from the same ethnic background. They are located close to the areas where the members of the same minority reside (Portes, 1995, p. 27). According to Portes (1995), there are some distinctive characteristics that ethnic enclaves share. One of them is that, in terms of physical appearance their presence can be easily noticeable. They eventually transform the particular urban areas with signboards in their own language and cultural images that they use or sell in their businesses, and that creates a foreign look. Secondly, enclave economies embrace various economic activities and sectors. Although they first emerge to serve cultural needs of their minority group, in time they expand their businesses and supply a larger market. They produce goods and services not only for ethnic market but also for external market. The other feature of ethnic enclaves is that they create opportunities for newcomers. Newly coming immigrants who do not have any chance in the external labour market can use their cultural specific skills in those enclaves and can learn more about the business in co-ethnic companies. Examples of them include Chinatown in San Francisco and New York, Little Havana in Miami, and Koreatown area in Los Angeles.

In their work, Wilson and Portes (1980) examined the Cuban enclaves in Miami. They argued that immigrant assimilation theory which assumes that the immigrants gradually succeed in the unified economy is not sufficient. The dual labour market theory for Wilson and Portes on the other hand, which divides economy into two segments as primary and secondary, is also inadequate to explain immigrant labour and immigrant economy. In this theory, primary labour market refers to jobs which have positive attributions such as being stable, secure and offering chance of promotion. Secondary labour market on the contrary, includes jobs with high instability, low wages and little chance to escape from it. There is little mobility

between these two segmented labour markets. Dual labour market theory sees immigrants as a part of secondary labour market. However, according to Wilson and Portes (1980), the economic activities of immigrant Cubans in Miami, US is an example of a third alternative condition: enclave economy. According to them, for an ethnic enclave, there must be first a source of finance and abilities to run an enterprise, second, an immigrant labour force. Immigrants having linguistic and cultural limits, and ethnic ties to other co-ethnics are used by immigrant entrepreneurs as a source of labour and market. Because enclave businesses use cheap labour of immigrants, they survive and grow in terms of number and size. Hence, it leads new opportunities for the ethnic community.

To sum up, ethnic enclave refers to a concentration of co-ethnic employers and their co-ethnic employees in businesses located in the specific area. This system creates economic opportunities for the immigrants within the limits of enclave even without knowing the language of the host country (Fong & Shen, 2011).

3.2.4 Ethnic niche market, the demand side

In his study, Wilson used the term niche to identify “labour specialization involving the tendency of members of a specific ethnic group to be over-represented in an activity or job associated with the production of a good or service” (2003, p.431). This is usually about the high number of immigrants in the specific destination from the same origin. Ethnic niching generally derives from the needs of the ethnic groups to assure economic well-being of its members and maintain the usage of resources. It occurs when members of an ethnic group concentrate and specialize in a labour market activity. In this way, a ‘protected environment’ is created for the members of ethnic community where they can find employment opportunities, chances to acquire skills and to accumulate experience and capital by using their ties (Fong & Shen, 2011; Wilson, 2003). In ethnic niche market, immigrant owned businesses to a great extent serve to their co-ethnics in the host society. In the case of ethnic niche market, most of the customers as well as employees are from the same national or ethnic background, and they speak in the same language.

According to Waldinger et al. (1990), demand is important in the rise of a business. In many cases the ethnic community in the host country is the main side of demand of some specific goods and services, and it is the ethnic entrepreneurs who fulfil this need. The immigrant community has its own specific needs and preferences in the host society depends on their culture and lifestyle. This demand heightens when the immigrants prolong their stay and decide to bring their families. Those needs can only be served by their co-ethnics, because only co-ethnics carry those knowledge and skills to produce or sell specifically preferred goods by the immigrant community in the host society. Therefore, examples of first ethnic entrepreneurs concentrated in the sectors in which cultural products, consumptions goods, clothing and jewellery were traded. As time goes, immigrants' problems and demands have got diverse. This situation led the creation of new sectors for ethnic entrepreneurs which includes traveling agencies, driving license courses, legal counselling and so on.

Occupational niches are also an important type of entrepreneurship among immigrants, which indicates the case where a certain ethnic group or immigrant population is over-represented in a specific sector or industry which serves not necessarily co-ethnic population (Brettel & Alstatt, 2007). In their study, Brettel and Alstatt (2007) give an example of occupational niche from motel owning in the US. It is stated in the article that "60% of mid-sized motel and hotel properties in the US are owned by individuals of Indian descent" (p. 392). According to a biography in their work, a motel that is run by an Indian immigrant was previously owned by another Indian immigrant. This is a good example to demonstrate occupational niche. Vietnamese domination in the manicure industry in the US is also another example of occupational niche market. Eckstein and Nguyen (2011) examine the involvement of Vietnamese women in nail care sector as an example of ethnic niche. They also address the questions of how they develop and transform such a niche in the US and how they expanse it even in transnational context crossing borders.

3.2.5 Disadvantage in the labour market

As it is discussed in the previous chapter, after the World War II many Western countries imported unskilled or semi-skilled labour in order to meet the labour shortage

in the booming industrial production. However, when the economic conditions changed, technological innovations improved and the new international division of labour came into being, jobs for immigrants in the labour market became scarce. Their incompetent skills and lack of language proficiency pushed them into economic hardship. In this sense, ethnic entrepreneurship can be interpreted as a response of ethnic minorities and immigrants to economic restructuring in the host societies and their vulnerable position in the labour market (Waldinger et al., 1990).

Ivan Light also argues that immigrants or ethnic minorities have an alternative of self-employment when they face difficulties to find a job in the general labour market or reject to work in jobs they found. It is argued that, because of disadvantages, they turn to self-employment. Disadvantaged position mainly results from discrimination, language deficiency and uncertified human capital. Under these conditions, self-employment for immigrants is a way to have a job to earn money, or it is used as a method to increase one's economic and social situation in the society to an upward mobility when the other options are blocked (2005).

Sahin, Nijkamp and Baycan-Levent (2007) explain immigrants' inferior position in the labour market as,

Generally speaking, migrant minorities are found to have lower labour force participation rates and lower employment rates, to be less qualified, to accept relatively lower skilled jobs, and are particularly specialized in production. The majority of migrant minorities tend to earn relatively less than the population as a whole (p. 100).

Considering all of these given, immigrants who face disadvantages in the labour market and who are pushed to secondary jobs with unsatisfying earnings and working conditions can only find satisfactory jobs in the ethnic economies or they turn to self-employment.

3.2.6 Social capital and social networks

Although a large number of studies show how immigrants have turned to self-employment because they faced difficulties in the general labour market as mentioned above, there are also some favourable conditions to prompt self-employment among

immigrants like social capital and networks that form trust relations between the members of ethnic groups. Many scholars agree that social capital between co-ethnics has a positive impact on development and success of immigrant businesses in the host societies (Galbraith, Rodriguez & Stiles, 2007; Kloosterman, Leun & Rath, 1998; Light, 2007a; Volery, 2007).

Bourdieu was the one who developed the first contemporary examination of the social capital. He distinguished the forms of capital as economic, cultural and social. He explained them as:

Capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of mobility (Bourdieu, 1986/2011).

According to him, social capital is the sum of resources that can be acquired by the membership in a group such as family, class, school, part or tribe. Bourdieu approached the concept of social capital in an instrumental way. For him, this membership, networks of connection are not naturally given. One need to make an effort to produce these networks of relationships strategically. With this effort to sociability, group relations became institutionalized and reproduced through the exchanges. In Bourdieu's work, social capital is not independent from other types of capitals. For example, through the social capital one can have access to economic and cultural resources (Bourdieu, 1986/2011).

Loury and Coleman are the other scholars to contribute to the literature of social capital. They mainly focus on the role of social capital in the creation of human capital. The common point in the literature of social capital is that, social capital performs to acquire and secure the resources that are obtained through membership in social networks and in other social structures (as cited in Portes, 1998).

In his article, Portes (1998) discusses main theories on social capital and explains its sources and effects. Social capital is found in one's relations with others. The source

of social capital is other people that one has relations. Although the motivations of others to make resources available for some people varies; there are two main sources of motivations, which are 'consummator' and 'instrumental' motivations. Consummator motivations are internalized norms that are practised by the members of the community such as doing charity work, obeying traffic rules, paying debts on time etc. People feel obligation to act like this and other people use those behaviours as resources. For example, people can walk in safe and freely in the streets. The instrumental motivations on the other hand, refer to the obligation of others to refund in the norm of reciprocity. In reciprocal exchange, one knows that there will be a refund, but the means and the time is undefined. The repayment can even be in the form of honour and status. As the sources of social capital, their effects are important and manifold. Generally, social capital has three main functions: social control, family support and benefits through networks beyond the immediate family (Portes, 1998).

In the case of ethnic entrepreneurship, the role of social capital is extremely high in terms of both sources and consequences. Financial practices such as making discount and lending money without interest or other immaterial things like information and tips about the employment and business conditions are exchanged between immigrant group members in reciprocal ways, both in the phase of opening and running the business (Portes, 1995). It also provides labour force; members find jobs for others or hire them and teach necessary skills about occupation and business (Portes, 1998). In her study, Şahin Kütük (2012) shows that how Turkish immigrants who moved to Germany via marriage migration easily find jobs in ethnic economies through social networks and ties. Social control as an effect of social capital is also applicable to the ethnic entrepreneurship. Ivan Light (2005) mentions that in many cases immigrant men allow their wives work only in ethnic economy jobs, because they think it is safe, which means socially controlled.

In conclusion, social capital and strong ties between co-ethnics effectively promote the ethnic business in many ways as in the decision of migration. There is a connection and continuous relation between older migrants, new comers and their non-migrant family and friends in the country of origin. In the context of country of immigration,

the role of social networks still continues its importance in issues like finding a job and accommodation. Creating a business and its success also depend on the social capital in terms of market advice, lending money, contributing as labour or consumer.

3.2.7 Mixed embeddedness model

In their work, Kloosterman and Rath (2001) criticise the traditional neo-classical model that assumes markets are open and clear for everyone. They argue that previous studies on ethnic entrepreneurship mostly focus on the supply side, the role of ethnicity in creating business and immigrants' embeddedness in social networks. However, they argue that the issue of opportunity structure should be analysed in a more systematic way that covers both immigrants' embeddedness in their social networks and their embeddedness in a larger context as considering socio-economic, political and structural factors in the host country. Taking into consideration supply and demand side, cultural features and structural opportunities together in the study of ethnic entrepreneurship is called as mixed embeddedness approach. Economic and structural developments in a broader sense brought a demand for service sector and more specialised products for consumers. This situation opens up new ways and opportunities for entrepreneurs and small businesses. The authors also stated that opportunity structures and markets are not identical as it is thought by some economists, instead, different people face with different opportunity structures in accordance with time and place. In short, mixed embeddedness perspective claims "immigrant entrepreneurs and their social embeddedness should be understood within the concrete context of markets and, hence, opportunity structures" (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001, p. 198).

3.2.8 Nature of work

Although today we can talk about ethnic entrepreneurs with high skills and qualifications in more diversified sectors such as technology, generally speaking, immigrant entrepreneurs concentrate in specific economic activities with low entry barriers such as businesses in catering, retail or care because of the limited access to finance and human capital (absence of formal education or non-equivalence degrees,

certificates). Low entry barriers lead to high number of start-ups and consequently an intense competition in the market. In order to survive this competition, firms develop some alternative strategies. The most common strategy is reducing costs, especially labour costs and the quality of products, so that they can keep the prices in minimum. However, this results very low profits and even sometimes non-existence of profit. Thus, the lifespan of those enterprises is quite short and the numbers of turn-overs and failures are relatively high. In addition to the information given above, the overall characteristics of ethnic enterprises are presented as long hours of working, poor working conditions, labour intense and small-scale production and low pay (Volery, 2007).

Kloosterman, Leun and Rath (1999) address the informal economic activities of immigrant entrepreneurs in their study, which include employing workers without permission or record, employing only at peak times, using family labour, paying not always in financial terms but in different kinds like in terms of knowledge and experience of with a small proportion of product that is sold in the store. The authors also argue that ethnic entrepreneurs have the advantage of their ethnic social networks when practicing formal and informal strategies, so in this way they can reduce the costs and survive in the fierce competitive environment (Kloosterman et al, 1998, 1999).

Boissevain et al. (1990) analyse the distinctive strategies and socio-cultural resources that ethnic entrepreneurs use in order to find a solution to problems or ease difficulties they face in the business market. They argue that those strategies come from the “interaction of group characteristics and opportunity structure” (Boissevain et al., 1990, p. 131). Their study covers seven groups of minority entrepreneurs in five developed countries, which are Great Britain, France, the US, Germany and the Netherlands. Findings show that, although different groups have been studied in number of countries, there are similarities among all groups observed by the scholars regarding strategies practised by ethnic entrepreneurs to overcome business problems. Strategies they develop are mainly regarding the problems like information, capital, skills, labour, customers, competition and protection. In order to gather information and necessary skills, ethnic entrepreneurs usually use social networks, ties and ethnic

channels. Apprenticeship at another co-ethnic's shop and learning the hints of the occupation and market is another strategy widely preferred. One's own savings to set up a business is the most common strategy used by ethnic entrepreneurs. Family and ethnic labour is vital for ethnic entrepreneurs because only they can offer low wages (sometimes no wages) and long working hours especially in peak seasons, which are deemed to be necessary in harsh competition. They also use strategies to gain and maintain customer loyalty. Those strategies include friendly relations with customers and showing expected attitudes according to the customers' ethnic identity.

3.2.9 Transnational entrepreneurs

According to their work based on citation and co-citation analysis, Ma, Zhao, Wang and Lee (2013) found out that transnational entrepreneurs was one of the prominent research themes in recent years on ethnic entrepreneurship studies. Moreover, they determined that the number of scholars who focus on transnational aspect of ethnic entrepreneurship will most likely rise in the future. The theme transnational entrepreneurs refer to immigrant entrepreneurs and their border-crossing ties with their countries of origin. That is, those ties provide a social network and connection between two places, which result in higher rates of transnational entrepreneurial activities. The knowledge of culture and language of the country of origin is used as an advantage in the competitive global market.

Baltar and Icart (2013) describe transnational linkages as having knowledge of culture, language and the market conditions in both host and home countries. In their study, Wang and Liu (2015) concluded that immigrant owned firms more likely engage in transnational activities than non-immigrant businesses in the US owing to their human capital and social capital that they easily orientate across national borders. They defined three types of transnational activities which are exporting, having overseas establishments and job outsourcing. Linkages with the home country play a crucial role in fostering those transnational economic activities of immigrant businesses. Moreover, on transnational entrepreneurs, it is argued that they do not only spread business networks abroad, but also perform a central role in turning those businesses into an economic opportunity (Yeung, 2007). Wang and Liu (2015) have a parallel

argument on transnational activities and business success. Their results indicated that immigrant firms with transnational activities are in better position than immigrant-owned and non-immigrant-owned firms without transnational activities.

3.3 Ethnic Entrepreneurship in Europe

One can easily notice businesses run by ethnic minorities in the streets of many European cities such as restaurants, cafes, kiosks, travel agencies, and so on. Although those places have already existed, in the past few decades their visibility, volume and variety rose. Three major changes in historical circumstances can be counted as reasons behind this growth in ethnic businesses (Blaschke et al., 1990). Firstly, ethnic communities started to develop and grow after the mass migration from former colonies of European countries. The second important factor was industrial restructuring which refers to the transfer of heavy industry from Europe to developing countries in order to reduce the cost of production. This led unemployment in the European countries, especially among the unskilled and semi-skilled immigrant workers who had worked in those plants. Lastly, as a consequence, this change opens a channel for small and medium scale businesses and creates an alternative for immigrant population who faces difficulties in the labour market which demands high-skilled work force.

During the economic boom in the 1950s and 1960s, many developed industrial European countries imported labour for filling jobs in the lowest segments of labour market including unskilled manufacturing, construction and service work. Countries with colonial past met this need from those areas. Countries who does not have colonial experiences developed other strategies to meet the labour demand, such as with bilateral labour agreements and guest worker policies. Migration from former colonies and southern and eastern countries continue with other different ways in the following years like family reunification and refugee flows. This mass migration also shapes today's ethnic entrepreneurship in Europe. With the new economic system in which large factories moved to other parts of the world, immigrant populations who generally constitute the unskilled and semi-skilled workers face difficulties in finding jobs and show higher rates of unemployment. Moreover, consumer attitudes show a

change from mass products to specialised ones in that period. Hence, ethnic entrepreneurship spreads as a response to these two aforementioned needs. On the one hand it creates jobs for immigrant population, on the other hand it answers the newly emerged needs, especially in the service sector. Although initially they started to serve their own ethnic communities because of the expanding immigrant population and their diversified demands, later on many immigrant businesses started to offer goods and services for wider markets in the host countries (Blaschke et al., 1990).

Even though this general background gives a notion about ethnic entrepreneurship in Europe, there are specific conditions for each country derived from their various historical and political backgrounds. For instance, in some countries colonisation generated an immigrant population, on the other hand, in others without a colonial past, labour migration policies played a role, or some countries have diverse ethnic populations apart from that of colonisation or labour migration. Moreover, over the years dynamics of migration change in terms of size and type. In addition to that, the industrial restructuring which is described above did not follow exactly the same pattern in all European countries. As the home and host countries of the migrant populations get diverse, so does their patterns in entrepreneurship. Taking those differences in several European countries into consideration, Blaschke et al. (1990) describe ethnic entrepreneurship patterns in Great Britain, the Netherlands, Germany and France to show unique characteristics although there are similarities.

Baycan-Levent and Nijkamp also highlighted the key characteristics of European ethnic entrepreneurship in their article by analysing and comparing various forms of ethnic enterprises in several European countries (2009). The research includes eight European countries which are Denmark, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden and the UK. They also mentioned about the fact that different ethnic entrepreneurship experiences among several European countries are results of various migration patterns and specific conditions in those areas. Largest immigrant groups, their economic characteristics including rates of self-employment and unemployment, sectors they take part as main features of ethnic entrepreneurship show a clear difference in selected countries in this research, although they have several points they

share. They compare ethnic entrepreneurship features in a number of European countries and the results demonstrate that basic differences are observed between Southern and Northern European countries. This distinction arose from different migration experiences, geographic positions, labour market conditions and economic structures of Northern and Southern European countries. For instance, in Northern European countries, major migration flows started with the economic reconstruction after the World War II as labour migration. On the other hand, Southern countries first experienced mass migration in the following decades largely in illegal ways due to structural reasons. Geographically, southern countries are much more open to illegal human flows since they are largely tourist-friendly countries and have less strict policies about the entries. The economic structure of these two are also different; entrepreneurship and informal labour market is more prevalent in Southern European countries in contrast to Northern European countries. These discrepancies also led to differences in the key features of ethnic entrepreneurship in Europe. Moreover, the authors argue that the differences of characteristics of ethnic entrepreneurship do not only exist between South and North, but also among the Northern European countries despite their numerous similarities. All in all, those differences arise from different migration history and policies, existence of ethnic community and social networks, economic structures and access to the labour market in the host society. Authors concluded that, it is very unlikely to observe one single ethnic entrepreneurship pattern in entire Europe due to the abovementioned factors (Baycan-Levent and Nijkamp, 2009).

3.4 Studies on Women Ethnic Entrepreneurs

The existing literature of ethnic entrepreneurship that I briefly discussed in the previous part is generally based on men's experiences and exclude immigrant women entrepreneurs or include women only at employee level and as family labour. The gendered feature of the ethnic entrepreneurship is neglected in large proportion of the studies and it creates a one-sided understanding about the subject. However, for an extensive perception, gender should be taken into account as a factor along with ethnicity, class and generation in ethnic entrepreneurship research. The number of

female immigrant entrepreneurs is growing worldwide and there is a need for adequate investigation to understand this issue in many terms such as social and business aspects, their effect on host country and their own community and family, the sectors they involve (Halkias & Caracatsaniz, 2011). The other problem according to the authors regarding the studies of female immigrant entrepreneurs is that their exclusive focus is on American context, despite many other countries all around the world facing similar experiences about international movement of people and issues on their social and economic integration.

As migration patterns change over time and women's role in migration becomes more prominent, the literature on migration has also started to focus on its gendered aspect. However, research on immigrant women's participation in business is scarce. In her work, Brettell (2007) briefly summarizes these handful of scholars and their studies on immigrant women entrepreneurs. Early works examined women's role in family-owned enterprises. Those are the businesses that mainly rely on family labour and women represent a large part of it. They work as helpers with long hours in their family-owned enterprises. It is argued that family businesses are places where women start their career and their role in those businesses is significant. Other discussions about the issue propose that women's work in the family businesses are extensions of domestic responsibilities such as cooking and cleaning. However, as family labourers in self-employment, women face exploitation and become more dependent on their family and more isolated economically and socially.

On ethnic entrepreneurship studies focused on women, both Halkias and Caracatsanis (2011) and Brettell (2007) suggested that biographical information and data on personal history are necessary to understand this phenomenon in a broader way. This approach also helps to understand women's motivations for engaging self-employment and its social and economic impacts on their lives in the host society.

Studies focused on immigrant women entrepreneurs mainly deal with women's motivations and experiences in the ethnic markets. Arlene Dallalfar (1994), a scholar who focuses on immigrant women as actual business owners apart from family labour, states that immigrant women find a channel for empowerment in the realm of ethnic

economy. She argues that in the literature of ethnic entrepreneurship, women's central role has been ignored and their work has been seen as family labour which involves duties that are extensions of domestic tasks. Contrary to general arguments in the literature, Dallalgar's work points out how gender relations and gender resources are utilised as determining factors in ethnic economies. Women in immigrant entrepreneurial activity use gender resources as well as ethnic resources to open and run small businesses. Ethnic resources that immigrant women utilise include maintaining social relations with potential customers based on their common cultural practices, norms and beliefs with other co-ethnics. In this way, they also establish a network with their suppliers and labour. In addition to ethnic resources, women use gender resources in ethnic economy such as creating jobs for other co-ethnic women in small businesses as well as in their houses as domestic servants while they are busy with their jobs. In short, Dallalgar (1994) argues that like their male counterparts, women use family labour in their labour intense small businesses. They combine ethnic and gender resources, create business environments where social and work activities go together, especially in home-operated businesses to make and maintain social ties that eventually turn into economic advancement.

Baycan-Levent, Masurel and Nijkamp (2003), studied ethnic female entrepreneurship and focused on Turkish female entrepreneurs in Amsterdam. Their sample is composed of employers and they all operate businesses in the service sector. There are some specific areas they mostly operate their businesses to address possible ethnic female customers and their needs. They all had prior experiences as employees or employers. Desire to be independent and to become their own boss are the most important reasons to start their own businesses. Entrepreneurship in the family is another important source of motivation according to their results. They rely on their own experiences and education as a source of information. All things considered, the authors stated that in order to achieve success, Turkish female entrepreneurs in Amsterdam use their ethnic opportunities and other opportunities derived from personal features together (Baycan-Levent et al., 2003).

Similarly, Piperopoulos (2012) addresses the question whether ethnic female entrepreneurs show more ethnic or female characteristics. His study was the first of its kind as a research focused on ethnic female entrepreneurs in Greece by using empiric data taken from face to face interviews with 15 migrant women from Albania, Armenia, Bulgaria, Russia, and Georgia. The findings of the research show that immigrant women entrepreneurship differentiates itself from their ethnic male counterparts in terms of having a better education and unique motivations such as being free, rather than economic motivations, despite the fact that to some extent they share similar characteristics such as start-up resources and family support. Therefore, this study indicates that female ethnic entrepreneurs should be examined as female entrepreneurs due to their specific characteristics. However, the article also points out that “ethnic female entrepreneurs should not be treated as homogeneous category nor should we rely exclusively on scholarly research focused on ethnic male entrepreneurs in order to answer questions about their entrepreneurial behaviour and activities” (Piperopoulos, 2012, p. 203).

Chiang, Low and Collins (2013) examine the racism and sexism experiences of Asian immigrant women in Canada and Australia. These scholars see the phenomenon of immigrant women entrepreneurship as three related trends that intersect, which are growth in entrepreneurship, female entrepreneurship and immigrant entrepreneurship. They also argue that women and immigrant entrepreneurs have not been included in the mainstream discussions of entrepreneurship, although they exist. By adopting intersectional approach, Chiang et al. show how discrimination deriving from racism and sexism continues after immigrant women enter self-employment and what kind of strategies women can develop to manage racism and sexism in the business environment.

In her work, which takes women as active agents in immigrant entrepreneurship, Munkejord (2017) identified four major modes of entry to entrepreneurship based on qualitative research with 18 immigrant women entrepreneurs in Finland. According to the results of the study, unemployed or underemployed immigrant women are pushed into self-employment; others prefer it in order to be able to reside there; and, lastly the

ones who have satisfactory jobs but wish to have a higher status and be their own boss prefer self-employment. Moreover, the author adds that family plays a significant role in the decision-making process and while operating the business for women entrepreneurs.

3.5 Conclusion

Ethnic entrepreneurship is an important part of migration. Studies on immigrant businesses and economies have long been existent in the literature. However, changing volume and patterns in international migration make it inevitable to suggest new models for ethnic entrepreneurship regarding this changing context and different cases. Because of that, this chapter is devoted to the discussion of existing literature on ethnic entrepreneurship studies. Theoretical discussion shows the progress, contributions and also the gaps and missing points in the existing literature. In this way, we can see what is necessary and what lacks in the ethnic entrepreneurship literature to explain the current situation. As the present study focuses on women ethnic entrepreneurs in Germany, after the part that explain concepts and theoretical framework of ethnic entrepreneurship, the chapter continues with European cases and studies on women ethnic entrepreneurs.

In this thesis, the concept of ethnic entrepreneurship indicates the economic activity of self-employment among people who have migration background. Although culturalist and structuralist approaches try to explain the phenomenon from a single perspective, as Volery (2007) argues, this phenomenon is far more complex and cannot be explained by just one factor. According to culturalist approach, high rates of self-employment among immigrants, so ethnic entrepreneurship, is derived from the cultural features of the community. Structuralist approach considers only the external factors in study of ethnic entrepreneurship such as unemployment and discrimination in the receiving country. However, what I want to emphasise in this chapter by providing numerous theories on ethnic entrepreneurship is the importance and necessity of studies on that issue which covers all aspects without excluding any of them.

The cases and experiences of ethnic entrepreneurship from Europe are also provided in this chapter. Studies emphasise the unique characteristics and special historical circumstances of Europe with regards to migration and ethnic entrepreneurship that distinguish it from other parts of the world. In general terms, migration from former colonies and labour migration to meet labour demand in the economic boom of 1950s and 1960s was the basis of today's ethnic communities in Europe (Blaschke et al., 1990). Also, it should be kept in mind that, not all European countries and not all ethnic communities have exactly the same experiences.

The last part of this chapter includes the studies on women ethnic entrepreneurs. It is observed and voiced in this work that although the number of immigrant women increased over time as touched upon in Castles and Miller's (2009) work as 'feminization of migration', ethnic entrepreneurship studies are generally based on men's experiences, and studies on women ethnic entrepreneurs are relatively scarce in the field. Understanding women ethnic entrepreneurs would also contribute to the migration and ethnic entrepreneurship studies in general as it represents an understudied and a growing area. Moreover, since this thesis based on a case study of women business owners with migration background, a review of existing studies on women ethnic entrepreneurs was necessary.

To conclude, for this thesis, women ethnic entrepreneurs are defined as migrant background women who operate and run their own business in the host country. Ethnic entrepreneurship literature in general, including different theoretical perspectives, helps us to understand this phenomenon with its all aspects including both its contributions and gaps. The studies addressed in the literature review drove me to conduct a research on the understudied issues in the literature, and paved the way to use the methodology addressed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4

FIELD

4.1 Introduction

This chapter mainly covers the research method of the study, why this method is the most convenient one for the research question of the thesis, preparation phase of the field including pilot study and finally the researcher's field experiences. The field research was held in the city of Cologne in Germany. The time spent in the field was total of six weeks between January 23th and March 3rd 2017. Six weeks in the field provided me to explore the city and its districts with the eye of the observer. During this period, I interviewed with 11 women who have Turkish migration background and own a business in the beauty sector in the districts of Kalk, Mülheim, Vingst and Ehrenfeld.

4.2 Research Method

Qualitative research methods were used in this study which covers observations, field notes, interviews, recordings, and photographs in the field study as the elements that Denzin and Lincoln touched upon in their definition of qualitative research (as cited in Snape & Spencer, 2003, p. 3). Snape and Spencer (2003) highlighted the main components of qualitative research in their work. For them, understanding of research participants' social life is the primary goal of qualitative research. They also mentioned that in qualitative research usually small samples are used which are determined according to the specific subject of the study. Close contact with the participants in data collection is common which also leads to discovery of new issues. Collected data are rich and comprehensive. Considering these characteristics, qualitative research methods are convenient for this study because of several reasons. First of all, my

research question aims to understand a social phenomenon (ethnic entrepreneurship) and its context (migration). Therefore, the social world of participants, their experiences, perspectives, histories and narratives about both migration and self-employment – all of which are worthwhile for my research- can be acquired by qualitative research methods. Secondly, getting close to the environment and people that I aim to study is necessary for the objective of this study, which is also a key component of qualitative research. Finally, its methods on gathering and analysing data, also the sample size are the most applicable methods for the aim of my research question.

Ethnographic field study was necessary for this work, because being there for a period of time was the only option for me to get into contact with the Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs. Also, living in the same environment with Turkish immigrant community abroad helps to understand their daily life and experiences in a more comprehensive way. The details of my field research will be discussed in the “in the field” subsection. To develop a better understanding, the main features of field research and its use in social sciences is going to be reviewed. Field research is an approach in social sciences mostly used by sociologists and social anthropologists to understand how people experience their daily life (Burgess, 1984). As Burgess (1984) argues, field research once held in distances with native people and other cultures now has come to our own settings to understand our own society and differences among it by studying specific themes and areas in detail.

As it is mentioned before, this study focuses on Turkish immigrant community in Germany and entrepreneurship as a phenomenon among them. Turkish migration to European countries started as labour migration and still continues today in different forms. As a consequence, an established Turkish community is visible in different parts of social life in Germany especially in many urban areas with specific neighbourhoods, hometown associations, religious institutions and stores. In parallel with these, my field research is about a specific scope of an urban area in the Western society. Instead of dividing there and here, rural and urban in a dichotomous way, my aim is to analyse an urban setting with considering its differences in itself. In this sense,

working on an immigrant community and immigrant women is an effort to understand a difference. However, it should be mentioned that Turkish immigrant community is also not a sole entity. Of course, there are differences deriving from various migratory patterns as it was discussed in the second chapter and they should be considered.

My position in the field was not as an insider, I flew 2000 km to go there and I had only a basic knowledge on the language of the country. However, as a person coming from their home country, speaking the same language I was not a total stranger for the participants. I was welcomed like a guest who stays with her migrant cousin and her family, a typical story for many of the Turkish immigrants in there. As a field site I chose Cologne, Germany which is located in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia. My first visit to this region was in 2013 as an Erasmus exchange student in the city of Duisburg. That was the time when I first faced with the Turkish immigrants. The businesses they run and the social space in those places triggered me to study on this subject. Moreover, the course “Transnational Communities, Ethnic Enclaves and Labour Migration” given by the department of sociology in University of Duisburg-Essen laid the foundations of my basic theoretical knowledge and interest. Duisburg was not the only city where I observed ethnic entrepreneurship among Turkish immigrants. Cities in that area are very close to each other and as a student who took classes in two more different cities in the area I travelled a lot between those places, also I travelled to other cities with touristic purposes. Same as Duisburg, ethnic entrepreneurship among Turkish immigrants is also apparent in other cities around. In the economic recovery of the post-World War II period, this area was an important centre of steel and coal industry so place of destination for many immigrant workers.

As the cities in this region have a history of heavy industry and labour migration, the ethnic composition there is still diverse today. Cologne, the largest city in this area, has 17,7% foreigners in total population of 1.044.900. According to data drawn from the website of Turkish Consulate General in Cologne (Köln Hakkında Bilgi Notu, 2016), 60.310 Turkish citizens reside in the city. Turkish enterprises in Cologne and the places where they concentrate such as Keup Street, Venloer Street and Weidengasse Street are also mentioned in this website. Cologne was a convenient site

for my field research because of these reasons; a larger city in that area which is known by its heavy industry and migration background, its diverse population including many Turks, and its well-known Turkish enterprises, i.e. Keup Street, also called “Little İstanbul”, is a place for Turkish enterprises only. In Appendix A, you can see photos from the field research that shows examples of Turkish enterprises in Cologne from various occupational areas and sectors. Moreover, in Cologne, I had a good accommodation opportunity in one of the neighbourhoods that preferred by many Turks and other immigrant groups. I stayed with my cousin and her family, so I had the chance to live as a member of the community, practise daily activities in the neighbourhood such as shopping and picking up the little daughter of the house from the school. This enabled me to build a closer relationship with the field.

Data used in this research drawn from semi-structured in-depth interviews. In-depth, semi-structured interviewing enabled me to create a dialogue with the participants and one to one interaction in an informal way. The meaning of informal here refers to its resemblance to a conversation rather than a rigid, structured survey (Burgess, 1984; Mason, 2002). Semi-structured interview format is differentiated from the structured one in which questions are prepared beforehand and asked one by one to the interviewee. On the other hand, in the semi-structured questionnaire format, just themes and topics are determined before the interview but the structure is rather flexible which can be changed according to flow of conversation. Interviewer can elaborate questions, may add new ones accordingly and can reorder the selected topics. In this way, the main aim is to create a closer relationship between the researcher and the respondent, and to bring a deeper understanding about respondents’ lives and experiences.

Interview questions for this research which I prepared consist of several subtopics and open-ended questions under each subtopic. The first part covers the demographic data. The second part is about the respondent’s migration story. In the first two parts of the questionnaire, biographical and narrative approaches were used in order to start a discussion and warm-up the interviewer as Mason stated in her work (2002, p.62). After these two parts, questions are divided according to selected themes that I wish

to include in the interview. Those are the questions about their career, self-employment, occupation, and the overall impact of these on their lives. Although there are some related questions under each subtopic, during the interviews sometimes I did not ask some of them (in most of the cases interviewee had already mentioned about the related issues) and added new spontaneous questions according to the flow of ongoing dialogue to explore some other related issues that interviewee would like to tell. Interview questions are available in the appendix both in Turkish and English (see Appendix B and Appendix C). Interviews were conducted with 11 women who have Turkish migration background and currently run business(es) in the city of Cologne on hair and/or beauty. Interviews were sometimes held privately, most of the times in the kitchen of the salon, but sometimes in the main part of the salon with the customers and employees around. The selection of the interview place was up to the interviewee, because I thought that this would make them feel more free and comfortable. Moreover, the comments of the others (also immigrants) about the topics enriched my data. Interviews were voice recorded with the permission of interviewees and transcribed right after I came back from the field.

As a non-probability sampling form, purposive sampling was used in this research. In this type of sampling, the aim is to sample the participants strategically in accordance with the research question and this kind of sampling is commonly preferred in qualitative research (Bryman, 2016). Therefore, the unit of analysis of this study is women business owners with Turkish migration background in beauty sector in Cologne, Germany with reference to the research question of this thesis. For reaching the participants, before entering the field I searched the Internet to find out the places of hairdressers and beauty salons. This process is going to be explained in detail in one of the following sub-headings. In addition to Internet and social media research, regular trips and walks in the field site were helpful for me to find out possible respondents. Snowball sampling technique is also applied during the research. Once I gained access and accepted for interviewing, I asked them whether there were other Turkish hairdressers that they knew who would also be happy to participate in my research. With their recommendations and references, I could reach new participants.

Using my cousin's personal and professional networks was also an option; however, it did not work since she was not a long-time resident in the city.

In addition to in-depth interviews, observation was used as data gathering method in this research. Observations were held mostly in the immigrant neighbourhoods and in some particular streets, which are popular with their high concentration of Turkish migration background self-employed businesses. Also, cafes, restaurants and parks are the other main sites of the observation which I spared my time most during the field. Walking on the streets and using public transportation were among my daily activities, which also fed me with the information that I needed for the deep knowledge about the field. During these moments, I had the chance to observe both places and people and the interaction between them. This enabled me to have a first-hand experience on the field site, which offers me broader information that I may not acquire through interviews only. With the help of observation as a qualitative data gathering method, I had the chance to see the different aspects of social life in the field such as social relations, interactions, daily routines, and places themselves.

In addition to the observations held in the above-mentioned places such as streets, cafes and busses; beauty salons where the interviews were conducted held the utmost importance since the setting itself was also my research interest with its being a place of social interaction for Turkish immigrant women entrepreneurs and with the both ethnic community and the members of the host society. Their physical attributions were also worthwhile to observe and collect information by taking notes about them, because they could give me a clue about my research questions. For instance, the language of the words written on the signboards, their meanings and also the paintings, decorations, separation of the rooms include sources of information. The composition of people such as their sex, age and ethnic identity in those places has also significance for me as a field researcher who studies on an ethnic community and their economic and social activities. It should be noted that collecting data through the observation does not only include watching but also listening. Neuman (2006) says, "A great deal of what researcher do in the field is to pay close attention, watch and listen carefully" (p.396). So, listening is another important component of observation in the field

research that a researcher should perform carefully. For me, the usage of language and the music playing in the background were the major components of the listening part of the observation. As a last point, I would like to mention that during the observations field notes were taken for keeping memories fresh. Moreover, I took many photographs in the field to visualize my experiences and observations of material objects and physical scenes (See Appendix D for photos from hairdressers and beauty salons).

4.3 Pilot Study

Hermanowicz (2002) explains 25 strategies to reach a great interview, and not surprisingly piloting is one of them, because testing the questions with some samples before the original interview can reveal whether it draws out the accurate information, whether it has a good warm of questions for the beginning part, and whether the topics are organized and lined up well. Pilot study is a miniature type of the original extensive research to test the research instrument like a questionnaire or an interview design. Pilot studies are used to assess the availability of the study and they increase the likelihood of the success of the main study (Teijlingen van & Hundley, 2001). Completing a pilot study provides the researcher with confidence about his/her ability to conduct such a research. With the initial observations and interviews, researcher has the chance to see and measure his/her capacity to manage a research beforehand and can make necessary adjustments accordingly (Marshall & Rossman, 1989).

Considering all of these reasons, I decided to organize a pilot study. Hence, before entering the field, I conducted a pilot research to test the interview questions that I set and to see my ability. Since the sample of the study includes hairdressers and cosmeticians, I interviewed with one woman in beauty sector who runs her own business in Yüzüncüyıl, Ankara. Although the original sampling were Turkish women living in Germany and there are some questions related to migration experience of these women, this pilot study helped me to test questions about this specific occupation, having one's own business and its impacts in her life. The questions regarding the participants' experience in Germany were modified and adapted to the case in Ankara. The access for the pilot study was easy in the Ankara case, because I

visited the place in my neighbourhood as a client where I am a regular customer and asked if she would volunteer for an interview. She happily agreed to participate and answer my questions. During the interview, I took the voice recording with the permission of the interviewee. After that, I wrote them down to see the results and information that I took from the interviewee. The results were significant. Although the lack of international aspect, the migration story came out from her life course. Moreover, she mentioned the continuous social ties with the community from her hometown. The other questions regarding self-employment also guided me how I can advance the questionnaire in order to get the most efficient and accurate information. This pilot study also helped me in terms of ensuring which skills I need to work on and improve before going to the field. It was a kind of practice for me. Pilot research had a positive effect for my actual study in Germany, I saw what can happen during the interview and different reactions towards my interview questions.

4.4 Before Going There

Before I went to the field, I did some research on the city of Cologne, its districts and the location of the possible interviewees. I used Google Maps for this and some yellow pages like web addresses. In Google Maps, I wrote “*Köln Kuaförler*” (hairdressers in Turkish) to the search tab. From the results, I eliminated those having men’s names to specify the ones that have high potential to be run by women. So, the rest of the results that I selected includes the salons with either women’s name or some unisex names which I could not identify the sex of the owner like *Gölge Kuaför* or *Hairstyle*. However, I could assume they all have Turkish migration background, as the results were shown to my search in “kuaförler”, Turkish correspond of hairdressers. The results are shown in the Figure 1. Stars in the map show the rest of the result, remainders from elimination of men’s names. As you can see, stars are concentrated in a specific area, but still they exist in other parts of the city. This map guided me for the places I would most probably visit. Moreover, it also helped me to show the areas in which Turkish hairdressers clustered. Finally, the visual image of the city with the pins that point hairdressers in Cologne made me familiar with the city and its districts.

Yerleriniz

ETIKETLENEN...

KAYDEDİLENLER

ZİYARET EDİLENLER

HARİTALAR

★	Necia Emir	Nikolausstraße 50, 51149 Köln, Almanya	×
★	Aylin Hairstyling	Böckingstraße 54 - 56, 51063 Köln, Almanya	×
★	Selda Yılmaz	Eigelstein 68, 50668 Köln, Almanya	×
★	Friseur Filiz	Venloer Str. 350a, 50825 Köln, Almanya	×
★	Rana Cosmetics	Berliner Str. 65, 51063 Köln, Almanya	×
★	Sevgi Enmez	Ostheimer Str. 90, 51103 Köln, Almanya	×
★	Aysun Ucur Friseur Ida Styl & Go	Eythstraße 65, 51103 Köln, Almanya	×
★	Hairstyle	Keupstraße 41, 51063 Köln, Almanya	×
★	SALON ARTIST	Heidelberger Str. 20, 51065 Köln, Almanya	×

Figure 1 Google Maps search: Köln Kuaförler. Retrieved from:
<https://www.google.com/maps/@50.9400817,6.9417649,12z/data=!4m2!1m1!3e4>

The second tool that I used to determine the Turkish hairdressers in Cologne beforehand was a website used as yellow pages named; www.nrwrehberim.de. NRW is an abbreviation of North Rhine-Westphalia a state of Germany where Cologne is also located. “Rehber” means guidance in Turkish language, and the website serves to find out Turkish entrepreneurs and businesses located in this area. Obviously, this website targets Turkish community in Europe and specifically in this area. The website contains both Turkish and German and it introduces and advertises Turkish companies from many different domains from food, housing, furniture to legal counselling and entertainment. It brings employers, potential employees and also the customers together in the same platform. Sectors and occupations are divided in the website for an easy search. There is also a page for information about the Federal Office of Migration and its scope and the fees of Turkish Consulate for giving advice about the legal issues such as the economic and the social ones to the migrants who came from Turkey and live in Germany.

I used this website before entering the field to find out Turkish hairdressers in Cologne. In this way, I had the chance to have an opinion about their total numbers, the specific areas they are located and their addresses in advance. In order to reach this information, I selected “kuaförler” in the search button. After that, all hairdressers in that area (in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia) were listed. I wrote the enterprises in the city of Cologne down, since I had narrowed the field research with the city of Cologne. The list of the hairdressers and beauty salons was again mixed and complicated regarding the sex of the owner. Nevertheless, it was beneficial for me as it gave me a notion about the Turkish immigrant owned hairdressers and Turkish immigrant business in that specific area in general. Their addresses and the locations they concentrate are significant for the research in order to understand the field better beforehand. From that list, I selected the obvious women’s names, and I removed the obvious men’s names. The unisex names remained in the list. The final list that I have was a good guide for me to visit each of them in the field.

The other important thing that I needed to consider before my field research was the comparison of those results I got from Google Maps and www.nrwrehberim.de. In that

comparison, some resemblance in the addresses appeared. In other words, some businesses (hairdressers or beauty salons) in both lists share the same address but they have different names. This situation gives us a clue about the high rates of circulation and take over. This means that, the previous owner sold his/her saloon with the equipment and the furniture that are needed for this occupation. In most of the cases, the new owner is one of the previous employees of the salon and co-ethnic. I also see this pattern in my research that I will discuss detailed later on. The preparation phase, analysis and comparison of two different sources did not only provide me the chance to see the overall information but it also addressed the common patterns in ethnic business.

In addition to these two sources, I used social media platforms like Facebook and Instagram and the Internet in general to reach more hairdressers and beauty salons in Cologne whose owners are immigrant women of Turkish origin. Today, social media and the Internet are widely used by businesses for advertisement. They are powerful to convince consumer buy or try a company's products or services virtually (Sumathy & Vipin, 2016). Enginkaya and Yılmaz (2014) also argue that; in addition to digital advertising, social media is also used for other purposes like generating new ideas, easing customer services and establishing brand communities. "*Köln Türk Kuaförler Sayfası*" (Cologne Turkish Hairdressers Page) on Facebook is a good example of using social media as a tool that brings co-ethnic companies in the same service sector together (see appendix E). On that page, beauty salons in Cologne meet in the same platform. It also works as a place for sharing knowledge and latest fashion between hairdressers. This page is also open for customers. Turkish hairdressers in Cologne are introduced on the page and in this way target audience get to know them. Baltar and Icart (2013) also stated the importance of using new information technology instruments in the search of sampling. In their research on immigrant entrepreneurs, they used online social networks especially virtual groups in Facebook to reach Argentineans in Spain. They mixed this method with snowball sampling to avoid sampling bias. Like the method they used in their work, I have used Facebook groups to seek and locate Turkish immigrant women hairdressers.

The usage of new media platforms for advertisement is not only common among well-known popular brands and large companies but also often practised by small scale businesses. They use social media to both keep their clients and reach new ones without paying any cost. In my case, I observed that many Turkish origin hairdressers use social media to show their masterpieces on hair. These social media platforms also play the role of a space for socialization as I observed. Under the shared pictures, there are many comments that include compliments with warm and sincere attributives such as “canım” (sweetheart), “Hülyacım” (my dear Hülya) and “Ayşe Abla” (Sister Ayşe). These kind of word choices show us that there is a close relation, even family-like, among these people. It is obvious that these people know each other and, most probably, the accounts that make these types of comments are customers of the salon. In this way, I also had the chance to see the social relations of a part of Turkish immigrant community –includes mostly the women- in the host country Germany, in a specific context as employers and customers while I was browsing Facebook pages.

My other intention in searching social media accounts of Turkish women hairdressers in Cologne was to find a way for communication with the owners. I sent a message to the popular (with many followers) Facebook account of a hairdresser with a woman’s name to get an appointment before I entered the field. I thought that having an appointment would save me extra time and help to overcome the problems about entry and adaptation to the field. I sent the message one week before I went to Germany. I supposed that one week was an ideal duration to prevent them from forgetting the message and to give them enough time to read it. I sent a message introducing myself and my research and asked whether they are available or not and would be interested in contributing to my research. As there was no response to the message, I decided that this would decrease my chance of having access and ceased to contact the business owners via Facebook. A message asking a time-consuming favour from an unknown person can be easily ignored; therefore, I planned to visit the beauty salons to introduce myself, to get their permission to contribute to my research face to face. In short, I used social media for finding more Turkish origin women entrepreneurs who run business in beauty sector. Moreover, I analysed the usage of social media platforms both by owners and consumers as a space for socialization and advertisement.

All in all, I used the Internet and its different applications including Google Maps, a yellow pages website called www.nrwrehberim.de and social media especially Facebook before I went to field to a) find out the number of Turkish hairdressers in Cologne and try to figure out which ones are run by women entrepreneurs, b) learn their addresses and becoming familiar with the city and its districts, c) try to contact them and make an appointment and d) see the social interaction between them and with their customers in the virtual platforms like social media. Their presence in the social media platforms and in the Internet in general has also a meaning. They purposely make their salons and themselves public to become visible and can easily be found on social media. Although this provides advantages to me in the field, it also has its own limitations. The salons that has not any social media account were invisible and they remained to be out of the sample of the research, if I had only used the Internet for sampling. The other limitations of using the Internet includes outdated information and not able to get contact. Considering the limits of it, using the Internet as an additional tool was preferred in this research.

4.5 In the Field

In this section, the field experiences of the researcher are presented. The strategies used and specific neighbourhoods visited were also listed one by one. As it is mentioned in the section above, I tried to list the possible Turkish hairdressers and especially the ones owned by women before I entered the field. However, when I entered into the field I realized that the lists were not up to date. Some did not exist; some continued to run under different brand names. This proves the high level of circulation, closure and turnover rates in ethnic enterprises. In one of the cases, I found out a hairdresser with women's name on the list had been closed and its name had been changed into one of Turkish men's names; therefore, I inferred that it had been taken over by a man. This situation was disappointing for me at first sight because it seemed like my efforts and preparations were for nothing. However, after that, I realized in the field also this has a meaning, this shows me something valuable about ethnic entrepreneurship. Not only the hairdressers, but also immigrant businesses from

various sectors were in the same situation. I saw lots of closed, inactive shops and restaurants in the field site.

From the lists and maps accessed before entering the field, in which areas the concentration of Turkish entrepreneurs is relatively high can be seen. This also provided an opinion about the neighbourhoods that Turkish immigrant population in Cologne reside. When we look at the maps, we see that the density of Turkish hairdressers and other businesses is considerably high on the east side of the river Rhein, especially in neighbourhoods called Mülheim and Kalk. On the west side of the river, where the city centre and the old town are located, there are also Turkish hairdressers, but they are more dispersed in the area, they are few in number and their concentration is lower compared to the east side of the Rhein. Under these circumstances, the chance of finding women entrepreneur was quite poor on the west side of Rhein. In the Figure 2, the map of the city of Cologne, districts where interviews were marked for an easier identification.

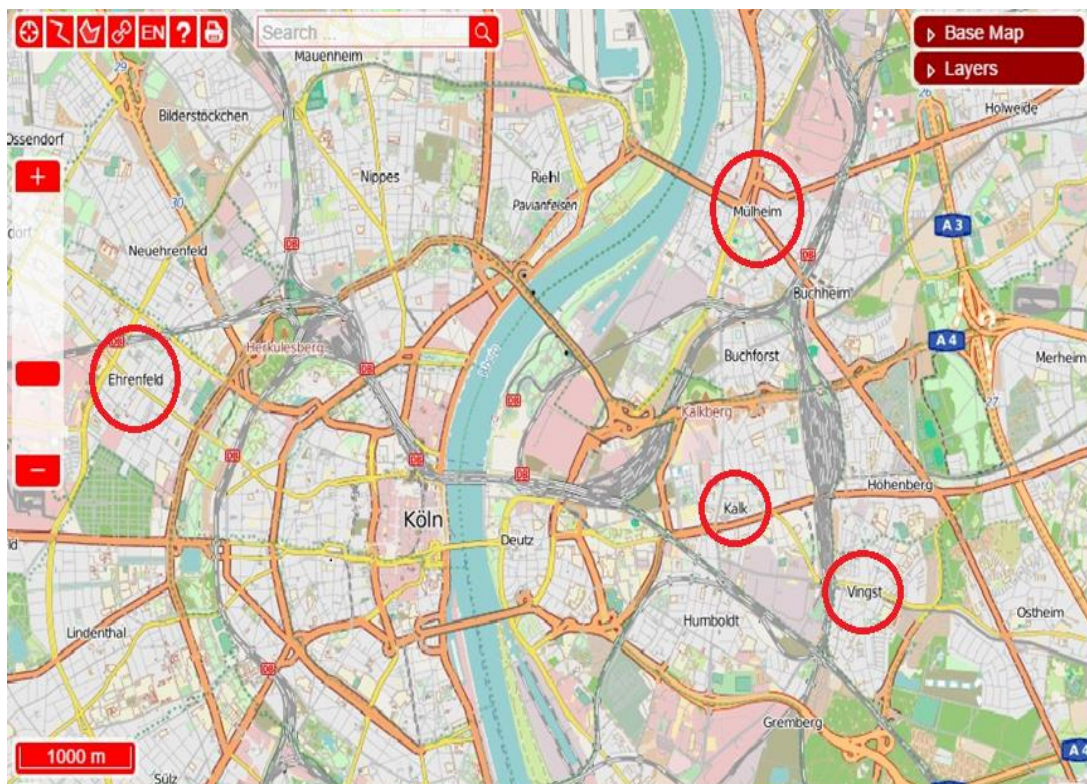


Figure 2 Map of Cologne. Retrieved from:
<http://stadtplan.koeln.de/?lon=7.00224&lat=50.94707&zoom=13&lang=de>

Most of the stores in Cologne have a signboard on their door that noted the name of the owner of the business and the working hours (see Appendix F). Those signboards helped me a lot in recognizing Turkish women entrepreneurs because sometimes the name of the salons include German or English words which did not give any clue about the ethnicity and the sex of the owner. As a result, I used them frequently in my field trips to find out new possible interviewees. However, in some cases only the last name of the owner was written down on the sign so understanding the sex of the owner in these cases would not be that much easy and necessitated an effort to find out. Another point that needs to be mentioned about the signboards is that they made me realize that some of the beauty salon owners that were assumed to be women because of the name of the salon in the list were indeed men. For instance; before entering the field, I had supposed that the owners of “Kuafür Filiz” and “Aylin Hairstyle” -which were reached via the Internet- were women because the name of the salons are Turkish women names, but, in the signboards, it appeared that they were men. Most salons close on Sundays and Mondays, and Saturdays are half-day off. This information was gained through the stickers on the doors of the salons. On Mondays, I walked around the city, detected hairdressers and beauty salons, checked their names and determined whether they were suitable to attend my research or not. However, in some of the salons there were no names written or they only wrote initials or only the surname. In those cases, finding out the suitable interviewees would be more demanding. It requires other skills in the field including observation and network. Those are the things that could be acquired only with the field experience and those instances prove that the planned process can change during the course of field research. In there, as a field researcher I learned how to handle the surprises and reschedule my programme accordingly within the limited time.

4.5.1 Kalk



Figure 3 Kalk

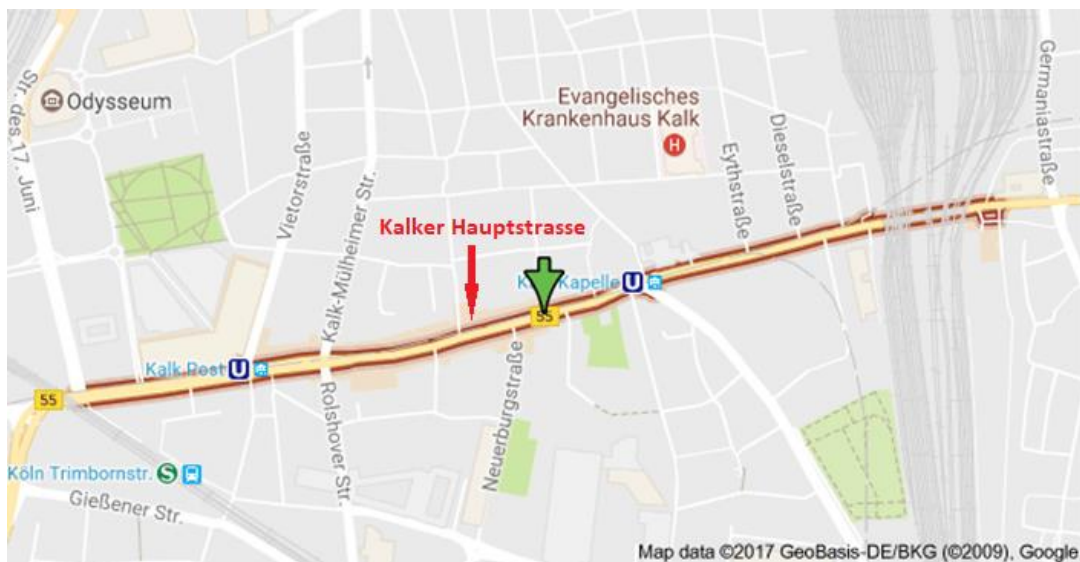


Figure 4 Kalker Hauptstrasse

During the field research I stayed with my cousin who is also a migrant who recently moved to Germany as her husband was appointed to a position in a Germany city as a highly skilled employee. After they settled, they got divorced and she started working

in a kindergarten as a teacher. Since she has been in Germany just for two years and in the Cologne for a couple of months, she did not have a close relation with the Turkish community in the city. However, staying with her was beneficial in terms of residential location as I stayed one of the neighbourhoods that has a large immigrant population including Turks. Hence, I began the field trips from that neighbourhood which is called Kalk.

Kalk is located on the east side of the river Rhine. In the Figure 3 and Figure 4 the location of the street and its main streets is shown. Kalker Hauptstrasse, the main street located in that area, and the roads crossing the street constitute the setting of the field in the Kalk. This street is a crowded place with a popular shopping mall which is followed by small-scale businesses, chain stores, cafes and bakeries and also immigrant businesses including many Turkish ones such as jewellery stores, cafes that sell “simit” which is a Turkish style bagel, restaurants that sell “*döner kebab*” or “*çiğ köfte*”, retail and dowry shops. Majority of the hairdressers in that main street and around them serve men only. The writings on the signboards of these hairdressers are usually in Arabic and Turkish and there were only men inside the salons. Looking at the signboards of the other salons which included “*damen und herren*” a German phrase meaning “ladies and gentlemen”, it could be understood that, unlike the ones mentioned above, they were mixed in gender. The owners of the salons that serve both ladies and gentlemen can be women or men. Later, I learned that to acquire a vocational certificate in Germany hairdressers are examined both on men’s and women’s haircut techniques. Nevertheless, with the opening of hairdressers that serve men only, the rate of men customers decreased as respondents declare. Although many salons were full of women, on the signboards it was still written “women & men”.

In one of the streets that cross the main road Kalker Hauptstrasse, I saw a hairdresser with Turkish women’s name. It was a Monday morning and from sticker indicating the working hours, I learned that it is closed on Mondays. The next day, I visited that salon, introduced myself and my research, asked for her permission to participate. This was my first attempt and the owner responded positively. I was offered Turkish black tea in a traditional tea glass. The interview was conducted in front of the employees

and customers, while the owner of the salon was working. The customers were also Turkish and sometimes they interfered to the interview. These interferences include compliments about the owner and suggestions for me, new places and neighbourhoods to work on. Before leaving there, I asked whether there are any other hairdressers or beauty salons run by women with Turkish migration background. They gave me the name of a hairdresser which did not involve Turkish women's name. Identifying this place would not be possible without their guidance. This second place was located on the main street of Kalk. In this case, the atmosphere of the salon was not that much Turkish. Employees and customers were mostly German or from other immigrant groups and all were women. The owner was busy and she was not willing to talk to me, but thanks to my reference –the previous hair salon- she accepted to take part in the interview. She served me a cup of coffee instead of tea, and the interview took place in the kitchen privately. In the area of Kalk, 3 interviews were conducted in total. The last interview was conducted in a relatively small salon; the owner was working alone. I decided to follow a different strategy and visited this salon as a customer to ease my access. When I arrived there, the owner was cutting a young German man's hair and a German radio was playing on the background. While waiting for her to finish, I mentioned my research which she accepted to participate in. After she served me as a customer, we started the interview process.

To conclude, in the neighbourhood Kalk, I interviewed three entrepreneurs and I used three different strategies to get access. The first strategy was directly going in the salon and asking for their consent to participate in the interview. The second one was to use snowball-sampling method. Lastly, I visited the salon as a customer and then expressed my intention as a researcher. Also, I had the chance to observe different entrepreneurial patterns. Despite the fact that the district of Kalk is seen to be a typical immigrant neighbourhood, especially for people coming from Turkey, immigrant women's entrepreneurship patterns in a specific sector were multiple. For instance, one hairdresser showed more ethnic characteristic than other two, with co-ethnic women customers and employees. In addition, the name of the salon and offered black tea resembled a typical ethnic business. The other hairdresser on the other hand, did not prefer to bring its ethnic characteristics forward forefront and serve native

customers more. Although there are many employees in the salon, co-ethnic employment was not observed. The other and last hair salon that I conduct an interview with the owner in Kalk did not carry and Turkish signboard and she had no employees with her in a relatively smaller salon. She had customers with mix background and gender as she declared and I observed.

4.5.2 Mülheim



Figure 5 Mülheim

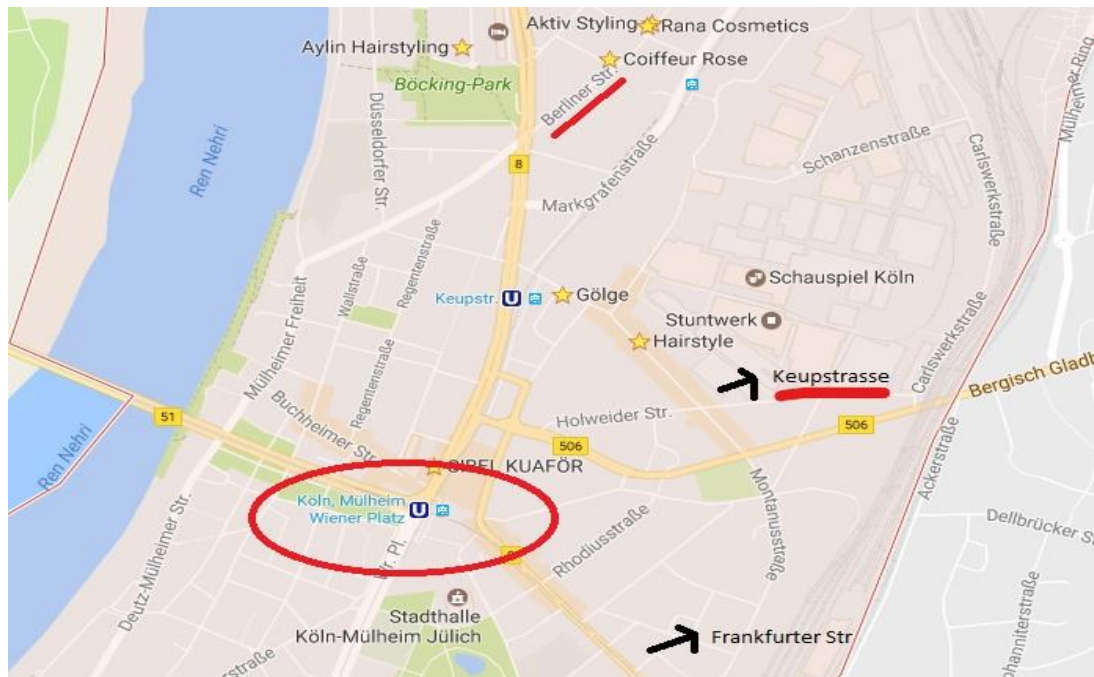


Figure 6 Main streets of Mülheim

As Kalk, Mülheim is located in the east side of the river Rhine as it can be seen in the Figure 5. Mülheim was an important place for my research because of two main reasons. First of all, Mülheim district was distinguished with its high concentration of Turkish entrepreneur rate in the maps prepared as a result of the Internet search. Secondly, it was a place recommended to me by the people in the one of the hairdressers in the Kalk, the place I conducted my first interview. Moreover, the famous Keupstrasse - also known as “Little İstanbul” in Cologne – is situated in the district of Mülheim (see Figure 6 for Keupstrasse and other main streets of Mülheim). This street is a well-known Turkish district in the city of Cologne with shops lining along the street whose owners have Turkish migration background. Those shops offer wide range of goods and services including restaurants that serve Turkish kebab, bakeries that bake special desserts like “baklava”, cafes that screen Turkish football league, brunch salons, music stores that provide albums of Turkish singers, shops that sell goods for weddings including boutiques, home decoration stores, dowry stores, shops that sell imported small home appliances from Turkey such as Turkish coffee makers or electric Turkish tea makers, travel agencies, translation agencies, jewellery stores and, of course, hairdressers for both men and women. This place attracts many visitors from Cologne and also from the surrounding cities. The street reminds a scene from Turkey with many aspects. Shops are located all along the street and all of them are Turkish ethnic enterprises. Men chat and smoke in front of their shops, even all the announcements displaced on the windows are written in Turkish language (*i.e.* “Deneyimli garson aranıyor” as “Looking for an experienced waiter”). Keupstrasse alone with these characteristics described above such as numerical concentration of ethnic businesses from many different sectors and branches in a limited geographic area draws a picture of the “ethnic enclave” debate by Wilson and Portes (1980).

In Mülheim, Keupstrasse is not the only destination that attracted my attention as a researcher in the field. Berliner Strasse and Frankfurter Strasse are other two main streets of Mülheim district. These two main streets are more heterogeneous compared to Keupstrasse, which means that they host not only Turkish enterprises but also wide range of businesses including German chain markets, stores and bakeries and businesses run by other immigrant groups.

To explore the neighbourhood, I carried out a number of visits and long walks there. Unfortunately, I could not arrange any interviews with the hairdressers in Keupstrasse. The one salon that I found on the Internet was owned by a man and I was rejected by the owner of the other salon that I intended to conduct an interview. “I am busy, I do not have time” is the most used expressions as an excuse. Therefore, I decided to visit them at the times when customer traffic is relatively low such as early in the morning, lunch breaks or at the end of the day -the time right before the close of the salon-. Alternatively, I tried to have an appointment in their spare time.

In Mülheim, three interviews were conducted in total. One of the interviews there was held with a beauty salon owner which is called “Kosmetik” in German. I involved beauty salons and their owners to my research because they also represent the same sector –beauty sector- which dominated by women entrepreneurs. In order to arrange a suitable time for the interview, I made appointments with two of the women entrepreneurs in Mülheim, and I visited the other one in her lunch break and at the time there were not any customers in the salon. The interviews held in Mülheim neighbourhood provided me new experiences in the field. To give an example, I had the chance to observe a preparation phase of a wedding in one of the hairdressers that I got an appointment. When I arrived there at the appointment time, there was a rush and all the people working there including the owner focused on preparing women’s look including the bride, her mother, her mother in law and her sister in law. The atmosphere was covered with excitement and happiness and it seemed to me like the celebration already started in the hairdresser.

Another striking experience I had during the field study in the Mülheim was that in one of the hairdressers there was an information note saying “There is an available room for headscarfed ladies” both in Turkish and German. This sign indicates that there is a special area for women in which men are not allowed. For the headscarves women haircut and other applications requires removing their scarves. This separate room provides a gender segregated (secure) area for women who wear headscarf and do not want to be seen by men while they get their hair done. This is one of the bare examples that I saw in the field that how cultural and religious practices creates a

special demand for the immigrants in the host county and how this demand from a specific ethnic community shapes the business activities of immigrants accordingly.

4.5.3 Vingst



Figure 7 Vingst

Compared to Kalk and Mülheim, Vingst is much more quite neighbourhood. Its main road is Ostheimer Strasse (see Figure 7). Turkish entrepreneurs were spread around the main street and around it. However, there are number of businesses on the street and generally in the neighbourhood, it would be wrong to call there a centre of attraction as Kalk and Mülheim neighbourhoods. I decided to visit this area on recommendations. First, the customers in the hair salon in Kalk mentioned about the neighbourhood, when I told them I study Turkish entrepreneurs, especially women hairdressers in Cologne. Secondly, a co-worker of my cousin suggested a hairdresser in Vingst to her when she asked whether she knows a good hairdresser around. Vingst is really close to Kalk in terms of distance. In Vingst, two interviews were conducted; one with the owner of a beauty salon and one with the owner of hairdresser salon. The owner of the beauty salon was available when I visited there. She was waiting for her coming customer, she was free at the time and she was glad to take part in my research. However, the hairdresser looked too busy to spare her time for my research. Therefore, I developed an alternative strategy to have an entry. My cousin became a customer and

only by this way I could arrange an interview. The interview was conducted while she was working, the salon was very crowded that customers varied by age, gender and ethnic origin. In that busy salon, four Turkish origin women were employed –in contrast with customers’ heterogeneity- and at the time they were all working together with their boss. Vingst was an important field site in the research because it is a prominent residential option for Turkish community in Cologne and also a place for ethnic businesses.

4.5.4 Ehrenfeld



Figure 8 Ehrenfeld

In this research, Ehrenfeld was the only neighbourhood located on the west side of the river Rhine where the city centre is (see Figure 8). As it was noted before, on the west side the concentration and number of ethnic entrepreneurs were relatively low when we compare it to the east side of the city. Under these circumstances, finding a Turkish women entrepreneur working in beauty sector was also a challenge. However, I thought it was meaningful to study in this area after I learned the Cologne Central Mosque built by DITIB (The Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs) is located in the Ehrenfeld district. This gave me a clue about presence of Turkish community in this area. Venloer Strasse is the main road of the district and the mosque is located at one end of it. Throughout the Venloer Strasse, one can easily notice the presence of

Turkish entrepreneurship in very diverse sectors. In that street in addition to restaurants, cafes, hairdressers, telecommunication agencies, I also saw a care centre for patients and a bookstore that sells Turkish books, latest novels, bestsellers, and also books for religious teaching. This shows how entrepreneurship among an ethnic minority expands into various sectors to meet diversified needs.

In Ehrenfeld, I conducted three interviews by appointment. I identified them via their names (Turkish women's names) written on the doors of the salons. Two women I interviewed were partners running a beauty salon together. The other woman was the owner of a hairdresser salon. Both salons were on Venloer Strasse, the principal road in the area.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter aims to narrate the researcher's experiences in the field. This research is based on qualitative methods including semi-structured in-depth interviews, observations, field notes, recordings and photographs in the field study. Field research was conducted in Cologne, Germany for six weeks. Eleven interviews were carried out with women who have Turkish migration background and running business in the beauty sector.

A pilot study was conducted in Ankara with a woman beauty salon owner to test the interview questions and my own ability as a researcher. In addition to the pilot study, a large-scale search on the Internet including Google Maps, nrwrehberim.de, Facebook and Instagram was done before going to the field. The aim was to get to know the city, its districts, and the location of possible interviewees. Also, I could find a chance to observe how they are publicized on the Internet and how they build social relations on the Internet, especially on social network websites. In the field, four districts were visited where the Turkish enterprises concentrated most, which are Kalk, Mülheim, Vingst and Ehrenfeld.

Before ending up this chapter, I would like to mention the difficulties I faced in the field, aspects limiting my field research and strategies I used to overcome these problems. First of all, I had scarce networks in the field to find out interviewees. In

order to overcome this situation and reach potential interviewees, I used the Internet before and during the research. The Internet had its own pros and cons as a tool. As an advantage, I used the Internet to explore the city and its districts beforehand. Also, I used it to locate Turkish entrepreneurs in the city especially the women ones in the beauty sector. I also aimed to get into contact and ask their consent to participate in my research through the messages I sent on social media. However, it did not work and the messages were not replied. In addition to the ignored messages, misinformation was the other disadvantage of using the Internet. When I entered the field, I realized that many of the businesses that I detected through the Internet were closed or were run under different names. Moreover, the Internet could not provide exact information whether a business is owned and is run by women with Turkish migration background or not. Therefore, another strategy was necessary to reach new participants. Snowball sampling is one of those strategies to cope with the absence of prior networks. Once I get access to one participant, through the snowball sampling, I tried to enlarge my network there by knowing and reaching other participants with the referral of the first participant.

The second difficulty that I experienced in the field was the possible participants' being reluctant to take part in the interview. Trying to convince them without any prior communication or reference, I was rejected by the entrepreneurs. The reason that may lay behind this can be interpreted as 1) not being familiar with the researcher, 2) not having much time, 3) choosing working and earning money over sparing their time for "nothing". On the other hand, some of the participants declared that they would volunteer to participate in the research only if they can do it while they are working. Rejections and the possible reasons behind those rejections prove the competitiveness of the market and the fact that they do not want lose any time and prefer keep working. Also, the time spent in the field and the sampling techniques could be questioned and may be revised for the further studies as a researcher. For instance, a longer time in the field could ensure familiarity to the setting and would help to increase the number of networks that provide access to the participants.

During the field study, I developed four strategies to overcome these handicaps. As explained above, snowball-sampling method was used to avoid rejections. Getting an appointment for their spare time was another and the most common strategy used in this research. In this way, I did not prevent them from doing their job and could conduct the interview in their free time comfortably. The third strategy I developed during the field research was trying to visit them in the times they are less likely to have a customer in the salon (e.g. early in the morning, late evening or in the lunch breaks), since I observed that when they are really busy they are more likely to reject to participate. Lastly, I observed that they value their customers and their happiness and satisfaction the most. Therefore, the last strategy I used to overcome the above-mentioned problem was being a customer. I thought that, as a customer my request would be considered positively. Moreover, this gave me the chance to observe their job, the salon and the social relations they have more and in detail. In one of the cases, I entered a hair salon as a customer and after played my role, I explained my intention. Since she was available at the time, she accepted to take part in the research. In the second case, we took an appointment for my cousin and mentioned about the research. She accepted to participate only during the application. Those cases and problems discussed reveal something about the nature of the job being really hard, intense and demanding.

In the following chapter, the data gathered through the field research will be analysed. The results of the in-depth interviews and observations in the field will be presented by focusing on the entrepreneur behaviours of the immigrant women, accompanied by their biographical data and migration history.

CHAPTER 5

IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN BUSINESS OWNERSHIP

5.1 Introduction

This chapter mainly covers the results and discussion based on in-depth interviews with 11 women running business in beauty sector who have Turkish migration background. Firstly, the demographic information of participants will be presented including their age, marital status and their form of migration – how and when they moved to Germany—. The next section of this chapter examines the women's motivations towards both beauty sector and self-employment. Thirdly, some crucial subjects are discussed including financing, hiring, relations with customers, trading, transnational activities they engage and domestic responsibilities that affect women's careers to understand general characteristics of their work. Lastly, I would like to address the effects of entrepreneurship on immigrant women's economic and social lives.

5.2 Who are They?

In this section I will present the demographic information of the participants and their migration stories. Their biographical history and personal data are important for the aim of the study as Halkias and Caracatsanis (2011) and Brettel (2007) urge. In this way, we can understand the phenomenon of women ethnic entrepreneurship in a comprehensive way.

The participants of the research are immigrant women who run their own business in the beauty sector either as hairdressers or as cosmeticians in Cologne. Table 2 lists the number of interviewees, their demographic, migration and employment information.

All of the participants in this research are second-generation immigrants, which means they are children or children-in-law of labour migrants who came to Germany as guest workers in the 1960s and 1970s to work in production, construction and service sectors as unskilled or semi-skilled workers. Participants' age range was between 33 and 53 when the research was conducted. Nine participants are married, two of them are divorced and all of them have children. Their form of migration shows variety as it was discussed in the previous chapters. Some of them was born in Germany or in another European country – in Austria as in one case –. Five of the participants migrated to Germany in the form of family reunification when they were children. Among these five, in two cases, women were sent next to their relatives (uncle or aunt) in Germany by their parents in the home country for better opportunities such as for education and health care. The other group represents women who moved to Germany with marriage migration. They married with men who already have been living in Germany and joined them. However, it does not mean that each case follows a single migration pattern. In some of the cases, we see more complicated situations and multiple migration patterns. For instance, one participant was born in Austria, but her family returned to Turkey. In the following years, she moved to Germany through marriage. In another case, after being born in Frankfurt she was sent to the hometown to be raised by her grandparents. However, after the family decided to settle down in Germany, she came back at the age of 11. Another one joined her uncle's family in Germany as a child. After that she came back to Turkey and lived there for a while, moved to Germany again with marriage migration. The ages of participants when they come, the date of migration and the years they have been in Germany do not show a single pattern. This picture proves the multiplicity of migration from Turkey to Germany and its continuity.

Table 2
Information about interviewees

Interview number	Age	Form of migration	Location	Type of salon	Time as an owner
1	50	Family reunification	Kalk	Hairdresser	20 years
2	50	Marriage migration	Kalk	Hairdresser	16 years
3	38	Born in Germany	Mülheim	Hairdresser	7 years
4	41	Family reunification	Mülheim	Beauty salon	3 years
5	33	Marriage migration	Vingst	Beauty salon	5 months
6	44	Family reunification	Mülheim	Hairdresser – Beauty salon	4 years
7	50	Family reunification	Kalk	Hairdresser	20 years
8	37	Marriage migration	Vingst	Hairdresser	5 years
9	40	Born in Germany	Ehrenfeld	Beauty salon	6 months
10	37	Born in Germany	Ehrenfeld	Beauty salon	6 months
11	53	Family reunification - Marriage migration	Ehrenfeld	Hairdresser	17 years

In Germany, in order to open a hairdresser salon or beauty salon one has to complete a process of vocational education and acquire certificates. Because of that reason, all of the participants in the present study hold necessary documents and certificates. In hairdressing, one needs to hold a “master certificate” which is acquired through 3 years of education including in-class training, and apprenticeship in another salon. After the final exam, trainees can have a “master certificate” and become eligible to open a salon. For opening beauty salons, shorter trainings such as seminars or workshops are

sufficient for obtaining certificates regarding the area of specialization like skin care, foot care or permanent make-up. All of the participants in this research have the necessary certificates and documents, and they started their businesses in legal ways.

In this thesis, these women are defined as ethnic entrepreneurs because they are the business owners and operators of enterprises who have migration experience and shared national background as Waldinger et al. (1990) suggested. They are the second-generation immigrants and they utilize their ethnic resources including social connection with their co-ethnics and networks, and interaction among these networks in their businesses. For instance, their customers and employees are generally their co-ethnics, which is to be examined in the following sections.

In this section, we see that personal stories and migration histories of participants do not follow a single line. Thus, it is expected that their motivations towards employment in beauty sector and self-employment will be different. Accordingly, the main features of their businesses and the way they run those places are also supposed to be various, which will be discussed in the following sections.

5.3 Motivations Behind Beauty Sector and Self-employment

5.3.1 Beauty sector

When the questions about the preference of working in beauty sector was asked, answers could be grouped under three major topics. The first and most common reason to pursue a career in beauty sector in Germany is already having the necessary skills and interests, in other words they return to their ‘past human capital’ (Wilson & Portes, 1980). Especially, women who migrated through marriage migration have already learnt the occupation and worked as hairdressers in Turkey before they migrated to Germany. They carry on their occupation in which they acquire those skills before coming to Germany.

I had my own hair salon and I was working there as a hairdresser in Turkey before I married and came here. (Interview 2)

I got the training in Austria and then acquired the mastership certificate. Then I moved to Turkey and worked in a hair salon. (Interview 8)

Others were familiar with the occupation because of their family members who practised in this sector both in home and host countries. Apprenticeship or working as a family labour in one of the family members' salon provides necessary skills and business tips for the beauty sector. Therefore, they become acquainted with the occupation from a young age. Some others started this job as a hobby by practising it at home and doing beauty treatments to their friends, family and neighbours like they are customers in an informal way; they sometimes got paid in cash or by different means or sometimes they did not receive anything in return.

In Turkey when I was a child, I started hairdressing as an apprentice in our shop, my father's barbershop. As a family, we always work as hairdressers and barbers. We are all in cosmetic business... This was my hobby that I applied to my friends and acquaintances at home. This was kind of a charity (laughs). Those practices include makeup, eyebrow design and hair dye at home. (Interview 6)

Actually, I was already doing these (make-up, knob hairstyle) before I entered the vocational school. It was kind of a hobby for me. I practised my skills on the people around me. They want it, because they see and like when I do it to myself. My adventure in beauty sector started this way. Then I said to myself "Why don't you turn this into a job?" Because I enjoyed this, I turned my hobby into a job. (Interview 5)

The second reason of entering into the beauty sector as an occupation stems from the disadvantaged position in educational training because of language limitations. Acquiring a profession and obtaining "meisterbrief" (mastership certificate) is a way to guarantee one's future within the limited opportunities. "Berufsschule" (vocational school) was the only career option while considering difficulties in language and education, because those restrictions hindered the higher educational achievement. This situation is rather valid for the ones who migrated to Germany through family reunification in their school age. One of the participants declared her situation that shows how she chose hairdressing as an occupation:

I came to Germany at the age of eleven. When I arrived at 11, I did not know German, so I did not know what direction to go. Because I did not know the German language, I could not enter higher education. Before I came here, I was going to middle school in Turkey. Therefore, I attended to vocational school here in Germany. I learnt this profession and worked on it. (Interview 1)

Thirdly, being a hairdresser is also advantageous for some of the participants because it is also a job that is open to self-employment which may be linked to the upward social mobility. They turned to beauty sector, sometimes they changed their careers in

their middle ages to become entrepreneurs and open their own businesses. In those cases, the motivations and positive attributions toward self-employment determined the occupational preferences on beauty sector.

The first thing I think of in choosing this occupation is, of course, whether it is convenient for self-employment so that I can start my own business in the future. (Interview 5)

In Germany I worked in a market as a cashier before that. However, that wasn't enough for me and I decided to apply vocational school to have a master certificate. (Interview 11)

5.3.2 Self-employment

“Being one's own boss”, “Working independently”, “Not working under someone” and “That was my dream” were the first and most voiced statements by participants when I sought the motivations behind the self-employment. However, there are many other reasons and motivation sources revealed during the in-depth interviews. I tried to understand where those dreams come from and why self-employment is seen as a dream-like success. The opportunity of economic and social gainings through the self-employment are two of the important reasons according to the results of the research. I also investigate the role of culture on self-employment tendencies via researching self-employment experiences in family and extended family.

Self-employment is used as a way of increasing their income for many of the participants. Women in the sample of this research who pursued a career in beauty sector in their mid-ages had worked in other branches of service sector, such as jobs in retailing, clerical work, cleaning and catering as employees. Those are the ones who aim economic empowerment through self-employment, because stable wages in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs are inadequate to do so. From the interviewees, two partners of a newly opened beauty salon clearly declared that they started their own business to earn a side income. They have full-time jobs in public sector as officers in post office and customs bureau and they continue to work in those places. In their beauty salon, they serve their customers by appointment in the off hours of their main jobs. They are single mothers and self-employment is seen as a source of extra income

for them. They used to serve their customers in their homes. After they expanded their customer network and collected necessary certificates to open up a beauty salon, they decided to start to run this place as business partners.

First of all, as I said we are single mothers. My friend also raises her child alone. We both needed to do something. We made our decision and started this business. We started this job like this, for an extra income. (Interview 9)

We are alone, we live with our children. Nowadays, it is hard to earn a living with a single salary in Germany. Instead of working in another side job, we considered to open up here for an additional income. It is both an occupation we enjoy and a place we can bring our children. (Interview 10)

However, it should be noted that earning a higher income in business ownership can be a real challenge and it is not realised in all of the cases. As it was observed in the field with changing salon and shop names and discussed in the literature that the rate of turn-overs and failures are high and the length of time in service is relatively short in ethnic enterprises (Volery, 2007). Although those salons were initially opened up with an optimistic expectation for a higher income, the in-depth interviews reveal that income and economic well-being does not increase right after they start their businesses. Rather, many of them have faced financial difficulties due to harsh payments and unstable income. Mainly, those complaints came to light after the questions about disadvantages of having one's own salon were asked to the participants. Majority of the participants complained about the heavy taxes and monthly payments including expenses such as rent, bills, and wages for employees.

That is so hard. It is not like in Turkey, it is really hard. Being an entrepreneur is a tough job. You feel pressured by "Finanzamt" (tax office in Germany). It is not only "Finanzamt", other insurances and payments are also heavy. (Interview 2)

It is hard to meet the expenses and pay high taxes to "Finanzamt". (Interview 3)

The unstable income and struggling for profit every month was another problem according to the participants considering economic difficulties. Self-employment is differentiated from waged work especially in terms of job guarantee and income stability. As self-employed entrepreneurs, in order to survive in the market and operate

their business successfully, they have to make profit every month, which can be very challenging and stressful for them.

You are the only one who is responsible for all your expenses. That is a rule in trade; one month you earn good money but another month you may not. (Interview 4)

In a regular job you know how much money you get at the end of the month. It doesn't require a great struggle. Self-employment, having a business on the other hand is really hard, in Europe it is even harder because you pay most of your earning as tax to the government. Bureaucratic paperwork makes you tired and you get very little for your own. (Interview 6)

20 years ago, nobody told me about the difficulties, harsh payments and unstable income. Nobody told me about that. If someone comes and asks me about this job right now, I will tell both the good sides and the bad sides. When you work as an employee, you know how much you will get, but you cannot know in this case. (Interview 7)

It is not an easy job. You need customers to spend money every month, so that you can pay the rent, electricity and bank loans. Even if you get sick, you need to come and work. This is how it works. (Interview 9)

Self-employment is also considered as an option to escape from harsh work conditions participants faced in their previous workplaces while being employed as hairdressers. Self-employment may seem attractive and be preferred because of the common understanding that gives the notion that it provides more free and relaxed time and business owners can run their salon the times they wish. Undesirable working conditions vary by the type of salon they worked. Working in a franchise German company has its own drawbacks. A participant explains her experiences in her previous job in her own words as:

I always had the idea of setting up a salon. Before that, I worked in a German company which run 700 salons. In that job there were some rules that you have to obey which I didn't want to. Let me give you an example, you must sell a number of shampoos. You need to push the customer to buy them. I didn't like it. I thought that setting up my own business with my own methods would be the best. (Interview 11)

On the other hand, working in a hair salon run by a co-ethnic woman is also disadvantageous. The relation between employer and employee eventually transforms something different from professionalism. The family-like relationship they have, which results from shared background and culture is more open to exploitation in the workplace. By using their close relationship, employers may demand extra work and

the employees cannot respond negatively because of the value that they attribute to their relationship. The example shows that how close relations between employer and co-ethnic employee can be manipulated and create a new site of exploitation for the workers.

Eating, resting, these were the things that didn't come first. We were doing hair non-stop. Unfortunately, it's not like Germans having a break during the work or having rights. But it's not because the boss has bad intentions, it's because you become like a sisters and daughters and that's why she has an influence on you. Typical Turkish boss. Because of this close relationship, you can barely say 'no'. They have some harsh demands, maybe because of this 'gurbetlik'. (Interview 8)

However, in many times participants declared that in their own business they work long hours, overtime and have little breaks in order to survive in the competitive market. These characteristics of high labour-intensity including long working hours and poor conditions also support the theoretical discussion on nature of work (Volery, 2007). Having their own business increases the responsibility they have; their work becomes the major part of their life and it diffuses every aspect of their life. Many of them declared that they have little time for other activities and socialising out of the salon and even when they go home, they still think about the work.

For sure it has difficult aspects. For example, if you work under someone, your working hours will be set, but in our case you may have to come early and leave late here. Right now, as I am the only one here, I have to do all the work. Of course it is hard to take care of everything including shopping, paperwork and bookkeeping by myself, but I like it anyway. (Interview 5)

Socially, it was a breakdown for me. You don't have a social life when you are in self-employment, because you are always busy with the business. You need to limit your social life. (Interview 8)

It requires responsibility a lot. As you know we (she and her partner) have children and we raise them alone, so I think we neglect them. We don't have any time left. We cannot spare any time to ourselves. I mean, even if we are ill, we have to work anyway. (Interview 10)

Its downsides are you have few days off, you work 10-12 hours, you always have to work. You also take work to home, you make calculations, it never ends. You need to do shopping for the salon on weekends or at the beginning of the week. It is never ending. The job became the main focus of your life. (Interview 11)

Annual permits are the other disadvantage of the self-employment according to participants. Their initial expectations about self-employment like "I can open my shop

whenever I want” do not actualise in real life, especially regarding annual permits. Every worker has right to take annual permit in Germany by law, however in the self-employment, they do not prefer to stay away from their shops for that long. This leads to loss of regular customers and a consequent decline in profits. Many of them explain this situation in their words when I asked the questions about the negative sides of being self-employed.

You cannot close the salon when you get ill. You cannot get annual leave properly. (Interview 1)

The disadvantage of this job is that you need to work even if you are ill. Also, if you are on vacation you are out of pocket, you cannot receive monthly salary. When you are not an employer, I mean when you work as an employee, your employer pays you when you are on vacation. We don't have such thing. (Interview 4)

If I work somewhere else, I will have 24 or 25 days of per year, that's the difficult part. 25 days make 5 weeks off. I cannot close my salon for 5 weeks. I can only close my salon for 1 week. If do this for 2 weeks, I think that I will lose my customers. (Interview 7)

The harsh working conditions they create for themselves while running away from them in someone else's salon as an employee also points out the other important subject in immigrant self-employment which is self-exploitation. They extend working hours and do all the work in order to cut the expenses and earn more to survive in the market. Pütz et al. (2007) put this situation as “they exchanged their marginalized position on the job market for a marginalized position as entrepreneur”.

Apart from economic interest, a number of participants stated that social reputation which they acquire through self-employment pushed them to do it. Actually, the most popular answers that are mentioned before “Being one's own boss” and “Not work under someone” as sources of motivation can also be interpreted as social. Similar findings emerged in the study of Baycan-Levent, Masurel and Nijkamp (2003) and Piperopoulos (2012) on women ethnic entrepreneurs. The results of the former study (2003) which is conducted with Turkish female entrepreneurs in Amsterdam reveals that the most important reasons behind becoming entrepreneurs was to be independent and to be their own boss. Similarly, findings of the latter study (2012) shows that majority of participant women reported that desire to be creative and independent and having their own control affect their business entry decision positively. Self-

employment and being one's own boss may also be preferred for a better social status. Here we see that economic interest and social interest cannot be separated. As it is seen from participants' experiences and narratives on harsh working conditions, heavy taxes and unstable income; it is inadequate to explain economic action only as rational and calculable. They insist on doing that job in spite of its difficulties and stressful tempo. For instance, one of the participants explain how others' ways of seeing her and quality of her job changed in a positive way with business ownership. Likewise, their perception of themselves changed positively with the business ownership. It becomes a status symbol. Two examples below from the two different interviews show how being an entrepreneur makes women more socially accepted and honoured, than working as an employee and how this presumption creates a source of motivation for business ownership:

If you have your own salon, it is the proof of you do your work in better quality.
(Interview 5)

The reason is not about greediness for money. One needs to see herself strong...I don't want you to misunderstand me but when you are in a good wealth it is hard to tolerate other people's' orders. While I have been working in an ordinary job everybody asks me the same question: "Your husband already earns well. Why are you working?". I am not an arrogant person. I mean even if I quit to run this hair salon, I can do cleaning work, but people around you decrease your motivation and you think twice on working in casual jobs like cleaning. (Interview 6)

The other aspect that is needed to be mentioned is the culture of self-employment among Turkish immigrants in Germany. In other words, I presume that self-employment in family may have an effect in the decision of opening a business. Having a family member working as self-employed makes one familiar with the business, market conditions and the rules and provides a resource for advice and suggestions for running a business in the host country as participants responded. Also, the question on self-employment in family or extended family seeks to understand whether self-employment is prevalent as an alternative to paid work among Turkish immigrant community in Cologne.

Among the participants, five of them have a close family member (i.e. husband, siblings or parents) who work as self-employed and in four of them more than one family member engages in it. The sectors self-employed family members of

participants include construction, catering, textile, entertainment and beauty sector. Working in their family member's business was common among participants before they opened their own business. They worked in those places as paid or unpaid family workers which were declared during the interviews as helping. Whether it is a business in beauty sector or not, it provides experience in trade and entrepreneurship. The experience they gain in the family business prepare them to be entrepreneurs and open their own business; they learn how to operate small business and survive in the market. In addition to the advice they take from family members who own their own business, experienced family members in self-employment also encourage others to open a business. In these cases, we see how social capital provides them information about business, self-employment and market conditions through exchange between group members (Portes, 1995). Examples below show how experiences, pieces of advice and encouragements are utilised in entrepreneurship behaviour of participants.

My husband is "selbstständig" (self-employed in German); he started his own business. He works in entertainment sector and real estate industry. He has improved a lot. I worked with him in his office, I mean like an accountant. However, that job is not suitable for me, as I do not like staying indoors. Besides, we were sharing the same office; I did not want to be the same office with him all the time... I was always asking my husband questions like "What should I do?", "How should I act?", "How should I talk to my employees?". I was always consulting to my husband to benefit from his knowledge and to be at the same level with him. Every night, I had a conversation like this with my husband. He had to give me some ideas, as I was very inexperienced. (Interview 6)

We have a brother who is also self-employed. He runs a restaurant right across the salon. He used to work with my mother. They were selling filo pastry. We helped them a lot during those days. After that, they opened a restaurant. We also helped him in the restaurant. My mom had started selling filo pastry when we were little kids... They started their own business in 2002. We also helped them there. We rolled dough, packaged them; I mean, we helped them. It was also close to here; two blocks away. I mean, she makes very good filo pastry. She is well known. My mother does not work anymore but my sister in law does. They still sell filo pastry... My mom rolls dough very well. My brother encouraged her. She used to work in a Turkish business. She was going to work in the middle of the night and earning little money. After starting their own business, they started to earn money. My brother encouraged her to start this business and they opened the place. (Interview 9)

In some other cases, their family members were working or had been working in participants' salons. This is also an example of the role of social capital in human capital creation through apprenticeship. This is a way to learn the occupation while

they are working in the salon of one of the family members. An example from a participant's response points this issue:

They also own hair salons... My brothers, all of them... Like me, they own hair salons and beauty salons... My two brothers, yes... First I opened here, after they worked and practised in my salon they opened their own salons. (Interview 3)

In short, it seems that personal preferences including cultural affinity and interest to the subject and self-employment; and structural barriers such as limitations in language and education, disadvantaged position in the primary job market are two main sources of motivation for women in entry decision to business ownership in beauty sector. Other motivation sources are being independent, generating better income and having a higher social status.

5.3.3 Effects of migration experience & Turning points

Now, I would like to examine three typologies derived from migration histories of the participants and try to understand whether different migration patterns result in different entrepreneurial experiences. I divided the data into three categories, which are the ones who were born in Germany, the ones who moved to Germany as children via family reunification and the ones who migrated to Germany with migration marriage. The ones who were born in Germany were all educated in German institutions and learnt the occupation in there. However, in order to keep up with the fashion and the hairdressing trends in Turkey they use informal ways such as observing their counterparts in Turkey during the annual visits. The second group is the ones who joined their family in Germany when they were children aged between 11 and 15. This group experienced language difficulties and this blocked their educational achievement in school. Therefore, attending vocational school and obtaining an occupation became more attractive for this group under limited opportunities. The third group who moved to Germany more recently with migration marriage acquired necessary skills before they moved to Germany.

For the participant women the turning point for self-employment was in most of the cases running from undesirable working conditions. Their age can be considered as a determinant of decision for self-employment. None of the women in our data stated up

their own business in their twenties. Their age range was between 30 and 40 when they opened their salons. They waited some time to gain experience, build up networks for possible future customers and employees, and to save money. In some cases, they bought the salon they had previously worked or their customers helped them to find a place to rent. Another factor that participant women considered before opening their salon was their children and children's care. They declared that they had waited their children to come into certain age, and after they eased their responsibilities at home, they started to think being a business owner.

5.4 Common Characteristics

A number of issues related with immigrant women businesses in beauty sector are discussed in this section based on results of the field research. Topics that are discussed in this section composed the general characteristics of immigrant women business owners in beauty sector, including financing, hiring, relations with customers, trade, transnational activities and work-house balance.

5.4.1 How to finance?

The initial step for setting up a business is ensuring a finance. Financing strategies of immigrant businesses are examined in several works (Deakins, Majmudar & Paddison, 1997; Boissevain et al., 1990). From our sample including eleven women business owners in beauty sector in Cologne, three of them open up their salon with their own savings from their previous jobs. Three of them used bank loan, two out of these three are working in governmental institutions, which may have a positive effect to get credit from the bank. Two of the women got credit from the state as a part of the projects supporting women entrepreneurs. One said that she opened her salon with financial support from her family. The rest of two used mixed methods, the combination of two resources. For instance, one interviewee declared she could open her salon with her parents' assistance and a credit from bank. The other one stated that she got grant from the state to open her salon, and she had her husband's financial support. Family support, which was observed to be used in three cases in our sample, is an example of material form of social capital (Portes, 1995) as it was reviewed in the Chapter 3.

Table 3
Initial capital resources

How to finance?		Number of participants
Own savings		3
Bank loan		3
Government grant/credit		2
Family support		1
Mixed methods	Family support (parents) + bank loan	1
	Family support (husband) + government grant/credit	1

As it is clearly seen in the table above; the main sources of initial capital of the participants are their own savings, bank loan, government grant/credit, and family support. There is no significant difference with regards to the capital resources. None of the capital resources stands among the others in financing ethnic businesses in our case. Moreover, in addition to the one single resource, mixed methods are used among participants as a financing strategy.

5.4.2 Co-ethnic employment

Co-ethnic employment is a widely used strategy in ethnic enterprises, which refers to high concentration of employees who belong to same ethnic minority group with the owner of business. There are several reasons for this common practice. According to Den Butter, Masurel and Mosch (2007) there are two possible reasons for this situation. The first reason of high tendency of co-ethnic employment is social capital, networks and trust relations between employers and employees from similar background. Second reason is its utility for both employers and employees. In other words, employers need the stuff who have a command of the production or serving of the specific ethnic goods and services. When we look the situation from the employee side, ethnic business is place where immigrant workers can make use of their knowledge and abilities. In my sample, women entrepreneurs employ some different strategies in decision of hiring. Although some use “Arbeitsamt” (public employment

office) to find their employees, majority of participants use their own social networks and the ones who use their networks usually hire Turkish workers. Recommendations, and the trust arising from these have an important role in employment practices of ethnic businesses. When I asked them the reason of this preference, they generally answer that in this way they could trust their employees' personality, behaviour and the quality of their job in hairdressing.

I need someone I can trust especially for the times when I leave the salon. It is all about trust. (Interview 4).

One of them is a lady who is working next to my salon, I know her from there. The other lady with vocational certificate is going to work here, I also know her from the salon next door as a friend... I have already known the two of them, the other one is a friend of them. In these kind of jobs it is advantageous to work with people that you know their work, or the people you think you can work with them. (Interview 5)

I hired my employees on recommendation... I asked my hairdresser friends, I asked people around me who they can recommend (Interview 6).

Rest of them were either my customers or the people that my customers recommended me... It is hard to find a good hairdresser, so I can only rely on my friends' words. I hire hairdressers here if only my friends I know and I trust recommended them. I hired them, because I trusted the word of my friend. It is better to hire a person with reference rather than hiring a person you don't know and then face a bad situation... My employees are all Turkish. (Interview 8)

We work together with my sister... I have also a friend here, she is our partner... It is an advantage if you know each other. You support each other. She can understand you and you can understand her. I am a single mother, I am all alone, so my sister helps me here... She is from my blood, I trust her. There are many siblings that do not trust each other or there is a discrimination between them. Thankfully, we don't have such things. We work together because we trust each other. (Interview 9)

Quotations from the interviews about the job searching and finding among the women immigrants refer similar with Sassen's arguments. Sassen shows how job searches and outcomes are dependent to networks especially for immigrants. Co-ethnic ties, kinship and familial relations play a major role in the flow of information about the jobs. It should also be noted that job attainment through networks are also gendered. Women's networks generally include more family members and relatives, their networks are more limited to their residential areas and the jobs they found are usually in the sectors or areas where women workers cluster (1995, 103). As ethnic entrepreneurs prefer hire

their co-ethnics due to their easy access and availability, women entrepreneurs create jobs for other women through female social networks (Light, 2007b).

From the interviews, it is also revealed that not only business owners, but also the employees have similar preferences about co-ethnic employment. Although, I did not carry out interviews with employees, when I asked the owners how to find their employees, I got many answers that saying “They came themselves and applied for a job.”, “She found me from the internet and then she applied.”. This pattern is also visible in the quotations:

Part of the employees here found me through friends. They came here and asked for a job. Others, yes I already know them. We weren’t friends but we know each other. In this way they asked for a job and I accepted. For example, Yeliz was recruited like this. (Interview 8)

Actually they (employees) found me in most of the cases. Sometime in the previous years I applied public employment office, but I had a bad experience there. Except that, they came through an acquaintance or they came themselves to ask for a job. For example, first a woman came and brought her niece, all like this... That is better, it is like a family environment... From our surroundings, it become warm and friendly. (Interview 11)

In addition to creating workplace and employer-employee homophily, hiring that ensure customer-employee homophily is also preferred to lessen communication costs (Fertala, 2007). Therefore, it is obvious that employers prefer to hire their co-ethnics since they can communicate with co-ethnic customers easily and understand their requests and preferences on hair and beauty. Co-ethnic employees are the ones who command the cultural specific ways of hairdressing which is demanded by the co-ethnic customers. In my research, it is observed that immigrant women business owners in our sample strategically create customer-employee homophily according to their customer profile. One of the participants declared that she does not want to address customers only from a specific ethnic group – a Turkish immigrant group –, but wider customer populations. For instance, she did not name the salon after her own name because of this reason. In order to achieve her aim, she prefers to hire her employees via public employment office and so that they come from diverse backgrounds as her customers. She said that the concept of her salon is reaching large number of customers as much as possible with many employees, so she does not limit

her salon and the services there with the ethnically desired ones. It is also obvious when I entered the salon, there were no signs of Turkish tastes on decoration, music playing on the background and so on. I was served a coffee during the interview, instead of Turkish tea which was served in the salons in which ethnic identity is in sight.

The other example of hiring tendencies of Turkish immigrant women business owners according to their customer profile is from a hair salon with high ethnic affiliation. A Turkish advertisement of a shop selling wedding dresses and henna night costumes hanging on the door of the salon welcomed you. Turkish was the predominantly spoken language in the salon. Five people are employed there and four of them have Turkish migration background. One of them recently came from Turkey, speaks no German, he is preferred to be hired there because he is an expert on high bun hairstyle which is very popular hairstyle among immigrant Turkish population especially for special days such as wedding ceremonies, henna nights and circumcision parties and he was already famous and had the capability to attract more customers. However, during the interview the owner of the salon also told me that there is a German hairdresser worked in her salon on two days of the week. She explained the situation as:

Because I have a lot of German customers here and in order to prove we don't serve Turks only, I hired a German hairdresser, she comes here on Thursdays and Fridays. She is for them, for older people. (Interview 6)

5.4.3 Customers

None of the participants declared they serve only customers with Turkish migration background. They all agreed that their customers have mix backgrounds including other immigrant populations, natives and co-ethnics. All of them said that their customers find them through their networks and suggestions from friends. The area of the salon and owners' previous work experiences as employees also plays an important role in relations with customers. The residents of the neighbourhood of the salons constitutes the main source of their customers. Those beauty salons are generally concentrated in the neighbourhoods with high immigrant populations, so that the

composition of customers is shaped accordingly. If they have customers living outside of the neighbourhood of the salon, all of the participants declared they have, they are the older residents of there who moved to other places but continue to visit those salons regularly or they are the friends of them that they met in their new place of residence.

In Germany, hairdressers are qualified to cut both women and men hair. Every hairdresser is trained to do so, examined and received certificate accordingly. Therefore, signboards of the salons indicate texts like “for women and men”. Just one participant stated that she served only to women in her salon and added that she was the only women-only hairdresser in Cologne. She also offers private room for headscarfed to prevent to be seen from the outside, although no men are allowed there. She explained as:

I realize that in this market in Germany -and it also starts in Turkey-, when you say women hairdresser they work together with men, men work as workers in salons. I didn't prefer like this, because in Germany it is mixed, it doesn't matter, women and men go to the same hairdresser. My salon serves only women... Although I serve only women, some headscarfed women worry to be seen from the front side. Because of that, I have an additional room inside. (Interview 3)

The rest of the participants serve both men and women in their salons. However, I observed that men customers constitute only a small part of the total customers and they do not share similar migration background with the owners and mostly include native German men. Generally, co-ethnic men do not prefer to visit the salons of their women co-ethnics to get their haircuts done, since haircut includes a close intimate physical relation. Religion may be an effective factor in this decision. Among other immigrant groups, immigrants from North African countries also do not prefer women hairdressers and there are many men-only hairdressers (barbers) in the city run by men who have migration background from North African or Middle Eastern countries including Turkey where major religion is Islam. the difference between hairdressers and men-only barbers is that barbers also offer beard shaving and shaping. A participant points out this situation as:

Turkish men don't prefer to go to Turkish ladies. They've been ghettoized. There are Turkish barbers and they usually go there. Turkish men rarely come here, but German

men generally would love their hair cut by ladies. They consider ladies as softer, I mean gentler. (Interview 11)

As one of the three forms of capital according to Bourdieu (1986/2011), cultural capital is also used by those women to succeed in their business in the beauty sector. Their shared migration and cultural background, specific products sold and services offered including products from Turkey, a special room for headscarfed women, eyebrow threading in the salon attract co-ethnic customers. Moreover, the decoration, music playing, beverages and snacks offered in the salon, magazines, and advertisements all appeal to the customers with having particular type of tastes and demand. Turkish hairdressers and beauty salons are not cheaper than the other salons in Cologne. However, customers prefer these salons to spend their money because of the reasons as referred above and the shared background. For instance, the hairdresser drew my attention in the field because of a Turkish advertisement of henna night costumes was hanged on the door, and I thought that this salon may be owned by a Turkish immigrant. It is possible that this advertisement also attracts the co-ethnic customers, or the regular customers would enjoy the discount on the dress that they see it in the hair salon they visit.

Relations with customers and how owners manage it are important topics to be discussed. Since they work a lot and spend most of their times in the salons, the salon also creates a place for socialization and customers are the ones whom they get in touch in most of the times. In their work Boissevain et al. (1990) points out how ethnic entrepreneurs deal with the relations with their customers and how they use different strategies for their co-ethnic and non-co-ethnic customers. The findings of my field research and the discussions of the work of Boissevain et al. (1990) shows variety of similarities. For instance, they prefer mix customers rather than only co-ethnics, because their co-ethnics expect to be treated specially and demand discounts on the grounds of their co-ethnic networks and relations. Some of the participants narrate their experiences with their customers as:

I mean servicing, if you like to serve and care that's good. Being a hairdresser, it's hard to deal with people. Dealing with people from our culture is even harder. When

you serve a German; you say the price, you say what you are gonna do and after you finish what you get is a polite 'thank you'. But in our culture, Turkish people, let me generalize you barely delight 60% of them. 40% of them will say 'I don't like it', 'can you redo these flyaway strands'. This job is all about patience, if you are patient you will succeed. (Interview 6)

I don't prefer having such a close relationship with my customers, especially with Turks. I make their hair and nothing more, we don't become too familiar. Our Turks go too far sometimes (laughs)... It is actually misunderstood; of course I like them all, I see them as my brothers and sisters, aunts and uncles. But our Turkish people internalize some behaviours in an extreme and wrong ways. German people are not like this. They keep themselves distance. For example, when a German smokes here and drinks coffee, she clears them away after that. A Turk doesn't do that. (Interview 7)

Actually, we can't agree on prices with Turkish people. They mention other prices that they see at other places and they expect the same when they get a leg in the door. We start to explain our machine at that case. There is this machine called IPL, one of them identifies just dark hairs and the other does all kind of hair. So, the price increases accordingly. We are trying to explain that we use a high-quality machine. They use it if they understand the difference. (Interview 9)

Bonding close relations is another strategy for ethnic entrepreneurs to create and maintain customer loyalty. In addition to what they serve in their salon, they also spend their time for socializing, including friendly conversations, listening problems and trying to give some pieces of advice. These small talks on problems often are about familial affairs including spousal relations and complaints about them. Listening to the customers and trying to find a solution is a part of job according the participants responses. In this way, their aim is to create an atmosphere where their customers feel like home and keep them as a customer for the next times. On the other hand, since they are confined to their salon all day, self-employed people also depend on their customers to socialize and make friends (Boissevain et al.,1990). The workplace becomes a place for socializing for the business owners and also for the customers. Therefore, creating an atmosphere that reminds home is a frequently used strategy.

Sometimes they just come with "börek" (a Turkish pastry) in their hands and ask if I need anything. Such a cosy ambiance, just like a family. Most of my customers are also my friends who are also Turkish. They stop by and we chill, drink coffee, chit chat, gossip just like in a coiffeur. (laughs). (Interview 3)

We are like a family or friends here with customers. They like this cosy place, and we like them as well... Maybe it's just the same with employees too, maybe "gurbetlik" is the reason. We Turks are warm people, like Italians, so Germans adapt themselves to this warmth too. Now they hug and kiss when they come... This is the best part

of the job, to make people smile. We serve tea or coffee to most of our customers, so naturally we start to chit-chat. Warm talks make them feel at home. This is the most common thing I hear from my customers. Generally, people comment on Facebook like 'Such a cosy place', 'I feel at home' and 'My hair is cool'. So it means that, we have this warm atmosphere. Maybe, it's because the sympathy of Turks. (Interview 8)

Yes, we have fun. We like what we do, customers have fun too. We have nice chats here... For example, that customer you saw, it was her first time for the laser, we also talk about private things... We become like as psychologist here... We share ideas. For example, I advise one single mother that she could use taxi application for their kids if their school was further than 2,5 kilometres. I told her that she had this opportunity, she could fill the form to use it. I know this because I use it as well. (Interview 9)

Workers in the service sector are not only responsible from the quality of their job; they also have to make the customer feel good in every aspect with their attitudes, since their job includes face-to-face relations with the customers. For instance, in our case, self-employed women's job does not only cover hairdressing or skin care. Developing close relations with customers, smiling, listening to their problems, giving advice when necessary, creating a warm atmosphere in the salon etc. are also the part of their job. This type of labour, which mainly includes feelings, gestures and emotions, is defined as 'emotional labour' (Hochschild, 2012). Results derived from the interviews and observations show that, the women in our sample use their emotional labour while working, to attract customers.

There are some women that they come not only for skin care or foot care but also for confiding their problems. So, we listen and try to find a solution together. Unfortunately, we have customers that mention their problems, cry and crack up here. (Interview 4)

I want my customers feel like home when they come to salon. I don't want them to say that I was grumpy. 'Cause I act like who I am, I don't correct my Turkish pronunciation. I welcome my customers warmly. If I'm not at the salon, customers always ask me... Of course, I like to socialise. I communicate with many people, chit-chat during the day, sometimes I listen about their problems when they need. I mean, I'm not a doctor or psychologist but supporting people, sharing your ideas with them feels good when they come and they thank you after a week. (Interview 6)

It's not just an art or ability to me, good social relationships are also necessary. (Interview 11)

5.4.4 Traders and suppliers

All of the participants provide main materials that they use in salon from big German companies. The main reason is their quality, reputation and customers' expectations in this direction. However, for the side products such as hairsprays and brushes, many of the business owners prefer to work with other immigrant Turkish traders. Those distributors can also provide products from Turkey. They sell those products with lower prices as participants told and this is one of the primary reasons why participants prefer to work with them. Also supporting their co-ethnics in the market is the other reason for this preference. This issue refers co-ethnic solidarity in the literature and it is also observed in the case of Vietnamese manicurists in the work of Eckstein and Nguyen (2011).

You can find everything here. Our exports (Turkish ones) sell the Turkish products too. You can have both German or Turkish. It doesn't matter. I have all, not just Turkish (laughs). (Interview 3)

Of course, price is important. For example, I buy a comb for €4 or dye for €4 from German, Turkish sells it for €3. If I order 100 dyes, it makes €100 difference for all. So, my prices remain permanent. According to the price, I decide as to the product they send. Sometimes I see something different in Turkish seller, and I try it, if I like it, I order again. Look at this, it's a brand called Morfose, from Turkey. It's really fantastic. My customers love it. It's cheap as well. Why wouldn't I order? It's cheap and it's good for me, for them and for our Turkish people. We want Turkish people to earn good money. (Interview 7)

I was buying from Wella in the first place, I mean Wella itself because I was in a collaboration with the company. There are Turkish wholesalers in Germany as well. They are selling Wella too and if I can't find a product in Wella, I order from those Turkish wholesalers. But sometimes they don't have all the products, so it's hard to work with them all the time. I prefer them because they are cheaper and Turkish. (Interview 11)

Results show that there are three main reasons behind working with Turkish traders. The first one is that they sell products at a cheaper price compared with German companies. Secondly, they want to support their co-ethnics in the market by purchasing goods from them. Lastly, in this way they can only buy some specific products from Turkey that Turkish traders provide. This movement of products between Turkey and Germany also indicates another important issue which is going to be discussed in the next section.

5.4.5 Transnational practices

Transnational interactions refer to the flow of material or non-material things across state borders like money, people, physical objects as well as information, beliefs and ideas by non-governmental actors (Nye & Keohane, 1971). Migrants and non-migrants in country of settlement and country of origin are linked through social fields that immigrants create. Their social, economic and political relations are developed and maintained across borders, and thus they live their lives simultaneously in two spaces. People, ideas, beliefs, practices, products and items move across state borders through social networks that immigrants and their non-immigrant fellows create and this movement is two-fold (Glick Schiller, 1989; Levitt, 2004). Faist (2000) used the term transnational social spaces as dense and continuous trans-border linkages between migrants, groups, communities and non-state organizations in international migration studies to understand the exchange of persons, symbols, ideas and information, services, goods, and capital that are exchanged across the state boundaries.

In the case of immigrant women hairdressers, we also see exchange across Germany and Turkey which includes the movement of people, money, objects, practices, tastes and so on both material and non-material things. Thus, immigrants in the country of migration also connected with the beauty practices, sense of beauty and latest fashion trends in Turkey, their country of origin. From the interviews, it can be seen that how immigrant women business owners use those cross-border movements as a strategy to success in ethnic business. The transnational practices in our case that is employed by the women entrepreneurs in beauty sectors can be explained under two main parts. The first one is exchange of social practices, including tastes, skills, sense of beauty, and fashion. The second one refers to exchange of material objects like goods, tools and necessary products between two places.

Participants of the research, immigrant women who own a business in the beauty sector, serve mostly to their co-ethnics and many of the services offered in their salons are ethnically desired ones that customers cannot meet those demands in anywhere else. Ethnic customers demand latest trends and common practices in Turkey. Therefore, hairdressers and beauty salon owners have to keep their knowledge and

skills accordingly. For instance, high bun hairstyle is a very popular model among Turkish immigrant populations especially in special occasions such as wedding ceremonies as in Turkey. Immigrants try to maintain their cultural traditions and hairdressers as ethnic enterprises are one of the tools of it in the country of migration. Because of the shared tastes in country of origin and country of settlement, hairdressers with migration background have to serve according to those tastes to please their co-ethnic customers. If they already know the necessary skills for it, that is okay, but if they do not they develop some strategies to overcome this including employing one with the necessary skills or learning in person to attract co-ethnic customers.

I worked in Ataköy/Istanbul for 3-4 years to learn how to make a bun. (Interview 1)

Yeah bun, 'cause I do bun too. Many different people use bun nowadays. In weddings, mothers or young girls all use buns. They all want to look pretty in weddings. (Interview 5)

When I first heard of Mr. Özgür, he had many Turkish customers that love buns. We reached him through an intermediary, I employed my employees on advice and we keep working together for 4 years. Our work is more intended for Turkish people because nearly every weekend we have a Turkish wedding here. Even two or three in a weekend but at least one. So, buns are the most popular ones among Turkish people. (Interview 6)

The other treatment that is popular in Turkey but is not taught in training in Germany is eyebrow threading which is a method of eyebrow plucking by using string. Application of this method in hairdressers and beauty salons is another way to attract co-ethnic customers. Even, some of the salons made written announcements like “iple kaş alınır” means “we apply eyebrow threading” on the windows of the salons to inform customers or potential customers that they are capable of offering this service.

Body waxing in beauty salons as a method of body hair removal is another common practice in Turkey for women. However, this practice is not popular in Germany, so the materials sold for it is neither in good quality nor it is reasonably priced. Therefore, both owners and customers prefer waxing materials imported from Turkey. Recently, new technologies i.e. laser machines for hair removal have started to replace waxing both in Turkey and Germany. These new machines have offered permanent solutions for hair removal. In beauty salons in Germany which are called “kosmetik”, this

service is offered to customers and according to participants' responses Turkish customers are more likely to ask this treatment.

Some customers want manicure, pedicure, skin care or some want false lash. Sometimes we use three-week false lashes. Some customers, mostly Turkish women, start laser depilation three months before the wedding. German women generally don't worry about their body hair. They don't care at all. (Interview 4)

When we make depilation, Turkish women ask if we buy the wax here or from Turkey, or they ask if it's wax or liposoluble wax. Wax in Turkey is better than in Germany. It's cheaper and of higher quality. Recently, we transfer the wax customers to laser depilation. (Interview 9)

There are some products for the cultural specific demands that could not be found in Germany. Epilating wax and hair pins for high bun hairstyles are two examples of these products. They purchase those products generally in their visits to Turkey or they give order to their customers or friends who have plans to visit Turkey.

Some hairpins and other stuff, we want them from Turkey for the buns (laughs)... We demanded products for buns from Turkey. 'Cause pins from Turkey are better. Most of the time we bring pins and accessories from Turkey. We buy them from better prices. Sometimes our customers buy if they go to Turkey, sometimes we go for holidays and buy some stuff from Turkey. (Interview 6).

We travel and buy the products from Turkey by ourselves when we are in need. Those visits are kind an escapade for me. Sometimes I go to Turkey for a week. For example, for cosmetic products, make-up products, wax and so on. They are in better quality and cheaper. (Interview 9)

Sometimes a product is preferred just because it became very popular in Turkey. Therefore, in this example the movement of a material – a product – is also derived from the exchange of a non-material – fashion –.

Actually, I wanted to order a mask, I recently heard about that, it is a popular product in Turkey. I discovered such a product through an acquaintance. Hopefully next year... Frankly, there was also an eyebrow eyelash booster serum, that I saw in Turkey last summer by chance. But for sure I have to wait their approval from the Ministry of Health, so it didn't work. So I had to postpone it, actually it is a well-known brand that I use and like. The other one was a black mask, it was also a product from Turkey, a brand. My daughter's friend recommended this one, so we heard about it. We were also satisfied with that product. Since we were satisfied with it, I thought that I could also order and sell it here. (Interview 5)

It is important to point out that, recent developments in communication and transportation technologies make those movements easy. The Internet and especially

the social media create a platform where people can share their ideas and it shortens the distance between two places. In this way ideas, information, knowledge, trends and fashion in one place easily spread to another in seconds. Similarly, increased number of flights and affordable plane tickets eased the movement of people, objects and ideas with them.

Women in our sample always have to follow the latest trends of beauty sector both in their country of origin and country of immigration. Participant women also declared that in order to develop their knowledge about beauty practices in Turkey, they made observations when they come to Turkey on holidays, they watch hairdressers in Turkey carefully to learn and would be apply to their customers in Germany. This shows that in addition to formal education acquired from German institutions, ethnic enterprises have to equip themselves with specific skills and qualifications mostly by informal ways such as by practicing at in home, from a friend or from observations in Turkey.

Therefore, it can be concluded that, ethnic entrepreneurship requires transnational practices as it is clearly seen in results, which includes the continuous exchange of both tangible (products i.e. wax, hair pin, other beauty products and accessories) and intangible items (information, fashion, practices, tastes, norms and beliefs) between two spaces.

5.4.6 Domestic chores

Results of this study shows that domestic chores at home, especially childcare is regarded as women's responsibility. And their position as business owners does not create any change about this issue. Therefore, women in our sample develop some strategies in order to handle the business management and their expected responsibilities at home at the same time. Some declared that they chose the location of the salon accordingly. The salons are preferred to be at either close to their houses or the children's school. In this way they can be able to perform their domestic responsibilities, childcare and their business at the same time in an easier way. Some others stated that they postpone their self-employment career until their children grow up. This shows that, traditional gendered division of labour still prevails among

immigrant families and employment status of women – even business ownership – does not have an effect on it. In fact, women have double burden considering their domestic labour together with business ownership. From the participants' own words it is easy to see that household responsibilities are presumed to be women's job and because of that reason they pursue their career accordingly.

I used to work as cashier. Before that, my daughter was a little baby so wasn't working. Then, I decided to attain to have an occupation. And I finished vocational school... My home is not in this neighbourhood, it's in Kalk, but not very far away from here. 5 minutes by car, it's not that far. But, my daughter's school is nearby, this is the biggest reason why I open my salon here. It is an advantage for me. As I said, first I know many people around here as customers and networks, secondly my daughter's school. Because of my family lives in Turkey, I always have the idea that being close to my daughter in any case. (Interview 5)

Yes dear my house also in this area. Because in this way I am close close to my children, I am "zentral" (central in German), my children go to school it is close, my house is nearby, I can handle everything. (Interview 8)

Someone had to be devoted in the home, it was me. I have taken care of my children until they were 12-13. I mean they had matches and trainings at the weekends. I have always taken care of them. But, I had always a wish deep inside me to have my own business... After my children got a certain age, they are now 24-25, after they grew up and learn to stand on their own knees, I didn't want to be a woman who only spend time at home all day and think about what to cook for dinner. So, I opened my own business... My house is very close, I come and go by walking. I am running this salon as hobby, I didn't want to enlarge the business, I didn't want make it chain business. If I had wanted to I could open 3 or 4 salons more. After that age, after my children grow up my only wish is to go to work easily, by that logic I opened this salon in a close distance from home. This idea is comforting me... Also, we have such a situation that, because my husband has his own business too, all the responsibility in the house is belong to me. Even in my salon, my own business place, I don't feel like a businesswoman sometimes. I am still a mother that if necessary I can go to home in 10 minutes and become a mother or housewife and then go back to work. (Interview 6)

Harvey's (2005) study on black women entrepreneurs as beauty salon owners shows how race, gender and class intersect and determine women's business activity. Similarly, results of the study show that demand from black women which derives from 'gendered racism' was an important determinant for entry decision to the beauty sector. In order to fit to the society's 'racialised' beauty standards, black women have to work with their hair more and this creates an open market for hair industry for black women. In contrast with the result of my research, Harvey's study claims that women prefer to open their own businesses to save more time with their children. Similarly,

in our case, the choice of the location of salon, which is close to the home or school, ease to perform responsibilities in both home and work. However, my results also indicate that childcare is seen as an obstacle to set up a business. Women in my sample delay the idea of business ownership because of their childcare responsibilities. Yet, we can see that in both cases professional childcare is not an option and women are responsible for it, and it has an influence on their business activities.

5.5 Effects of Self-employment on Immigrant Women's Lives

This research also questions the effects of self-employment on immigrant women's life in terms of economic and social relations with the host society as well as within their ethnic community and families. The last part of the interview was reserved for the questions to understand women's experiences of self-employment and its effects on their lives, whether it enhances empowerment in the context of migration.

With their entrepreneurial activity in the host society, participants of the research present a different profile from the definitions of ethnic labour force. Those women can escape from the so-called 4D jobs (dirty, difficult, dangerous and demanding) which are known as typical immigrant jobs through the self-employment. In this way, entrepreneurial women can protect themselves from the disadvantages of their position in the job market.

5.5.1 Economic

As it is discussed in the section above, economic interest plays a crucial role in the decision process of self-employment. They see self-employment as a way to achieve economic success compared to their previous jobs as a worker with stable income. Despite high expenditures and taxes they pay, many of the participants declared that they increase their income through self-employment. Especially, women doing this job for a longer time, acquired properties including houses. Women who run their businesses for less than five years, abstained from claiming that their economic status had improved substantially. A participant who has run businesses (chain salons) for 16 years proudly talked about her economic achievements. She confidently said that:

I did whatever I wanted to. I earned, I acquired properties. I made money, and I spent as I wished. (Interview 2)

Another one who runs her salon for 17 years mention economic impacts of self-employment on her life as:

... On the other hand, when we think of materiality I mean you can buy a house, you can do certain things. Otherwise, if you have monthly salary you can't do your wishes, you can't buy properties. Everything would be limited. (Interview 11)

An owner of hair salon who run her business for 7 years compared her economic well-being with the past as:

For sure, economically we are in better position now. (Interview 3)

Also, an upward mobility can be seen through their residential preferences. For example, two of the participants of the research used to live where their salons are located, which are generally immigrant and working class neighbourhoods. They later moved to other neighbourhoods, which are located in suburban or central areas. This change in their residential areas hints the rise in their economic conditions.

5.5.2 Social status

In addition to its economic returns, self-employment also raises immigrant women's social status and their self-confidence. Of course, economic empowerment may have an effect on it, but having a business, being a boss, being a master itself change their perception of themselves as well as how others see them without taking economic status into account.

First of all, participant women see themselves in a better position, they feel proud, couraged and confident for what they did. They also think that other people admire them and see them as more esteemed than before. The own words of participants show their thoughts and feelings about their upgraded position in the society:

I mean first of all you feel confident. You became a woman who stands on her two feet. You start to believe in yourself, if something happens you say you can handle it. You see that power in yourself. (Interview 4)

In the end, when you earn your money and save it, this makes you happy. You understand that; yes my work is appreciated, I have regular customers. Those are

always good things... Sometimes I hear from my friends that people say somethings like “Bully for her! She did it, opened her salon.”. (Interview 5)

When you have your own business, people see you in a different way... Or this master certificate, it is also very influential, after I hung it to the wall, people started to call my name. You get a position, a status. People started to see you as a master; it changes your position. (Interview 7)

Secondly, participant women feel their familial relations especially with their husbands change after they became business owners. They feel more respected by their husbands and other family members.

First, your husband’s attitudes change towards you, when you have your own business and you can stand on your two feet. Your husband talks with you more carefully, behaves more carefully, sees you as a respectable person. That happens. Children are also in the same way. For example, in special occasions or events, when someone asks what your parents’ job are, they answer proudly. These are the good sides. (Interview 4)

In my family life, yes I can say that the his masculine attitude has become more visible, because before that I was a mother who woke up in the morning and prepared breakfast for my kids, but right now I can easily leave the house as my children grew. (Interview 6)

For example, one day I visited my sister-in-law, she was going to university at that time. She used to introduce me as his brother’s wife. We went to somewhere, to a friend of her; she said “She is a master now” to her friend. You know, even we don’t realise, people’s opinion about us changes... I know that it was hard for him (interviewee’s husband), too. It’s like this, it’s our salon, I mean not yours. He can’t just walk in and take money from the cashier counter or I can’t tell him to sit there and take 5 Euros or 10 Euros... I realize when my parents come here to get a haircut, they act differently. They come here very proudly. That is a very good feeling. (Interview 7)

Lastly, integration of immigrants to the host society through the self-employment is a topic that is worth to discuss. In their study, Şahin, Nijkamp and Baycan-Levent (2007) concluded that “Each and every successful self-employed immigrant or minority business contributes to improved social and economic integration” (p.111). A participant of the research also talks about her feelings about the integration and acceptance to the German society by self-employment and narrates her experience with a native customer:

In German society they also perceive you in a different way. They accept you more... For example, sometimes German customers come and when they go back home they call me again and thank me and say that I have adapted to Germany very well. They may surprise you suddenly (laughs). My husband thinks that they call for reklamation (German word for complaint), I mean he thinks that they are angry and hands me the

phone. Then the customer thanks and says “you adapted here very well”, they pay attention to very different things that you don’t even realize... Even when we offer them tea, they like it a lot. (Interview 11)

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented the result of a six-week field research that includes interviews with eleven women business owners with Turkish migration background in beauty sector with Turkish migration background in Cologne, Germany and observations in the field. Data analysis of the research indicates that participants have different migration histories as it was discussed in Chapter 2. All of the participants are second-generation immigrants with their ages being varied between 33 and 53. They were either born in Germany, moved to Germany when they were children in the form of family reunification, or they came through migration marriage. They all have the necessary education and certificates to open their salons. However, the later processes continue rather in illegal ways.

The motivation sources of participants for working in beauty sector includes familiarity with the occupation; limitations in language, education and job market; and the advantage of beauty sector in business ownership. Motivations for self-employment, on the other hand, are increasing the income; escaping poor working conditions and being independent; increasing social status and existing culture of self-employment in the family. Age is also a determinant for entrepreneurial decision for these women. All of the participants started to run their businesses after 30. They wait until gain experience, built networks and ease their domestic work at home. Their different migration patterns also affect their entrepreneurial experience in business entry decision.

Five major resources were used by participants for initial capital which are their own savings, bank loan, governmental grant/credit, and family support. In addition to the sole capital resources, two of the participants used the combination of two resources like own saving and family support or credit and family support.

Co-ethnic employment is observed in those businesses, which based on networks and trust relationship. Knowledge of cultural specific skills are also important in the

preference of hiring co-ethnics. Also, it should be noted that, in the hiring process the customer profile is taken into account, businesses may employ natives when they feel it is necessary to content their customers.

Costumers are largely composed of women with Turkish migration background who resides nearby. In some cases, regular customers who moved from the neighbourhood may come from longer distances. There is a warm relationship between the customers and the business owners, which sometimes leads to alter the job description to something else that requires listening and caring. Participants declared that they have mix customers; co-ethnics and non-co-ethnics with a higher proportion of co-ethnics in almost all cases. In order to attract their co-ethnics as customers they utilize their cultural capital especially with the special services they offer and other means pointed out.

Results show that many of the participants engage transnational practices while running their salons. Those transnational practices include material and non-material exchange between two places such as people, money, objects, products and ideas, beliefs, fashion, trends, knowledge.

Despite the success of their business and their status as business owners, women are still considered as the only ones who are responsible for domestic chores at home, especially childcare. Women develop some strategies to manage and ease their double burden and they shape their career accordingly.

Lastly, it can be said that, although self-employment has its own difficulties such as harsh payments, instable income, long working hours, tiring conditions lack of leisure time, and stress; women in this sample said that they experienced improvement both in economic and in social terms. In addition, through the self-employment they could escape from the so-called immigrant jobs which are dirty, difficult, dangerous and demanding.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis is to examine entrepreneurial activities and experiences of women with Turkish migration background as business owners in the beauty sector in Cologne, Germany. In order to do that, a six-week field research and 11 in-depth interviews were conducted in the city of Cologne with immigrant women who run their own business in the beauty sector including hair salons and beauty salons. Qualitative research methods fit to the aim of the study since it enables us to understand the experiences of immigrant entrepreneur women including their strategies to finance and run the salon, their sources of motivation toward beauty sector and self-employment, their interaction with networks and resources and the effects of self-employment in their life.

In Chapter 2, migration from Turkey to European countries – especially to Germany – and general migration trends all over the globe were discussed. Castles and Miller (2009) argue that migration continues in new ways in accordance with the changing economic, political and social structures. Migration from Turkey to European countries and Germany has started with labour agreements in the early 1960s. Initially, it was considered as temporary, but then with the family reunifications and other forms of migration large number of immigrants from Turkey settled Germany. Since then, migration from Turkey continues to European countries and especially to Germany in many ways. As it was discussed in the Chapter 2, migration from Turkey to Germany is not stable and does not follow the same way over the years, it is rather a dynamic and an ongoing process. Participants of this research also prove this point that their forms of migration and years they settled Germany show variations. While some of the participants were born there, some joint their families (parents or other relatives)

with family reunification and some other came to Germany in more recently through marriage migration. Moreover, Chapter 2 indicated that Turkey is not only a migrant sending country anymore but also a migrant receiving county with the recent developments in the region. According to the United Nations International Migration Report 2017, Turkey hosts the largest number of refugees in the world.

In Chapter 3, general theories of ethnic entrepreneurship were discussed. In general sense, those theories consider men as main actors and take women as employees, helpers or family labourers. Nevertheless, reviewing those theories is still necessary for understanding the case of this thesis. Studies that focus on immigrant women entrepreneurs are not many in number and have a narrow scope. Therefore, as both Halkias and Caracatsanis (2011) and Brettell (2007) urged, studies of women ethnic entrepreneurs that focus on the biographic data and experiences should be conducted. Within the light of these, the present study aims to contribute to the field by filling this gap.

The phase of field research including the pilot study and the Internet search conducted before entering the field were described in the Chapter 4. Ethnographic research, which was conducted in the Cologne, Germany showed that ethnic entrepreneurship among immigrants from Turkey is a widespread economic activity in various sectors and fields. Among them, some directly target to serve mainly co-ethnic customers while others have customers from mixed backgrounds. Examples of the former include bookstores selling publications in Turkish, music stores selling music albums popular in Turkey, translation offices and so on. On the other hand, kiosks, cafes, restaurants and other places that serve general populations are the examples of latter. Businesses included in the former category, are generally located in the immigrant neighbourhoods where minority groups including people from Turkey tend to reside. While the latter can be seen in any part of the city. The situation is similar in the case of immigrant hairdressers. Although they appear in every part of the city, they are generally clustered in the immigrant neighbourhoods. The other point about the location of ethnic businesses is that, in the field, it was observed that women ethnic entrepreneurs less often operate their business in the places other than immigrant

neighbourhoods (i.e. city centre) than their male counterparts. The possible explanation of this situation may be found in the in-depth interviews. Many women hairdressers and cosmeticians in our sample stated that they prefer to be close to their homes – generally located in the immigrant neighbourhoods – to easily look after their school age children and handle their domestic chores. Thus, gendered division of labour in the household affects women business owners' preference of the location of their salons. It was also revealed that household responsibilities and childcare are still expected from women regardless of their employment status. Self-employed immigrant women carve out their career considering this, and use some strategies to overcome this situation. Some of them postpone their career by not opening their own business or they do not work at all until children grow up. Some others, if they start up business, prefer to open their salon close to either their home or kids' school to handle their doubled work burden.

In this research, self-employment among immigrant women seems to be as a reaction to unemployment and working conditions in the job-market as an employee in terms of low wages and limited opportunities for social mobility. Also, educational barriers mainly derived from language difficulties, and non-recognition of diplomas and certificates received in the country of origin leave self-employment as the best option for the upward social mobility. Self-employment in the family has also a positive effect on women in choosing self-employment as a career. Women who has family members working as self-employed told that they ask and listen their advice and in many times they had worked in those business and gained experience there on how to run a business. Therefore, it can be said that culture of self-employment is an influential factor in the decision process of running one's own business.

Those salons are registered and legal, which means that participant women hold the necessary certificates and documents to open a beauty salon in Germany. However, the requirement of the officially recognized education does not mean that necessary skills and qualifications are acquired only through institutionalized education offered in Germany. Domestic trainings are also significant in this case. Many women in this research used to practise their skills at home by doing beauty treatments to friends and

family, before they open their salon or enrol on vocational school. Some learnt it in different countries i.e. Turkey (country of origin) and Austria (born there as a second-generation immigrant). Helping family members who own a business in beauty sector is another way of learning the occupation. Visits to the country of origin either for work or for holiday also upgrades participants' vocational skills. They learn cultural specific methods and tricks to use in their salon in Germany. Therefore, necessary vocational education in Germany and other means of informal education go together in the training process of immigrant hairdressers and cosmeticians. Also, training and learning are ongoing processes in ethnic entrepreneurship in beauty sector. It is not finish with the master certificate obtained in Germany, they are willing to learn traditional and trendy applications in their home country.

In parallel with the argument above, when we look at the services offered in the salons, it is seen that ethnically demanded services are also offered such as waxing, high bun hairstyles, eyebrow threading, in addition to standard applications. Customers have mixed backgrounds and in those salons the percentage of the customers' background depends the salon's concept in most of the times. For instance, if an owner prefers to highlight the ethnic characteristic of the salon by the services they provide, decoration and so on, the number of co-ethnic customers would be higher. As co-ethnic customers, co-ethnic employment is also a very common phenomenon in immigrant business. The main reason is that co-ethnic employers are the ones who can fulfil these jobs due to their skills for cultural specific and ethnically demanded services. Secondly, shared background, culture, language, habits, beliefs create a family-like atmosphere in which both employers and employees feel close to each other. However, the tendency of hiring co-ethnics is also a preference and it is more valid for the ones that distinguish with their ethnic characteristics.

Results revealed that social capital and cultural capital are also used by women ethnic entrepreneurs. Social capital provides information and advice about business ownership and market conditions. Also, the source of customers and employees are largely based on social networks they have. They also utilize their cultural capital in

those businesses. They offer ethnically demanded services to their co-ethnics which are founded on their cultural capital.

In order to provide ethnically desired services, some specific products from the country of origin have to be purchased. Business with Turkish traders as ethnic entrepreneurs in another sector is a way to buy necessary products from Turkey. Another way to get these products is to buy them directly at the times when they (owners, friends or customers) visit Turkey. The movement of those products together with the ideas and styles from one country to another show the transnational activities of ethnic enterprises.

The most voiced drawbacks of the jobs are financial and social constraints. Financial difficulties refer to large amount of payments and taxes. Moreover, unstable income, and fear of failure make this job more stressful. On the other hand, lack of spare time for leisure activities, intense work pressure, lack of balance between work and life are the examples of social constraints that participants experience with self-employment. It is observed that participant women maintain their businesses only by using some informal business activities. For instance, they do overtime and pass their annual permits, also the hiring process in most of the cases is based on informal business networks.

Although the challenges posed by the nature of self-employment are declared by participants many times, women in self-employment satisfied their career choices, they stated that they are happy in their occupation and enjoy being their own bosses. Data analysis showed that participants of the research enhanced their economic and social integration through self-employment. Buying properties, changing the residential place, employing workers, successfully handling with heavy taxes in German system, opening chain salons can be regarded as a proof of this. Grants and credits given by the government in addition to financial support from family would make a contribution to participants' economic success at least at the beginning parts. In social terms, women declared that they are respected more by their family members and other people around them. It can be concluded that they feel more confident and proud of what they achieve.

All in all, the initial question of this thesis concerned with how cultural and gender factors shape business activities of women with Turkish migration background in Germany and create an ethnic niche market for specific services can be answered based on the analysis of the results acquired in field research. As a matter of fact, structural conditions such as unemployment, educational limitations in host country leave self-employment as the only option for better income. Although the role of structural conditions on self-employment should not be underestimated and mentioned in the thesis, this study rather focused on cultural and gender factors on immigrant women's entrepreneurial activities in Germany.

Ethnic demand for specific services can be correlated with high rates of self-employment. Culture of self-employment in family, extended family and ethnic community also affects business entry decision in a positive way as they have networks whom they can take advice and tips. Also, they become accustomed to shop keeping. Many of the participants have a previous work experience in the businesses of one their family members. This experience and knowledge encourage them to open their own businesses. Even, in many cases, participants have family members who had worked with them and opened their own salons later on.

Particularly, cultural factors have a huge impact on the nature of job, which includes relation with employees, customers and traders, transnational practices and work-house balance. Firstly, employees are hired in those businesses usually on recommendations from friends and family to establish trust relation. Co-ethnic employment, on the other hand, reduces the communication costs between employer, employees and customers, because of the common background creating a family-like homogenous atmosphere. The other reason for the preferences of co-ethnic hiring is that they know the cultural aspects of hairdressing, demanded by the ethnic community in Germany. Nonetheless, the family-like relations established through co-ethnic hiring may spoil professional employer-employee relation at work, blur personal boundaries and job description. A participant who declared that she had a relation that resembled sisterhood with her boss, said that she was exhausted because she could not reject her boss on issues like over work. This relation developed between employers

and employees creates a new site of exploitation for the employees. However, as a boss they also create an exploitative work atmosphere for themselves as results showed.

As a second point to be mentioned, to guarantee customer loyalty, business owners expand their job description and include other features to make their customers feel comfortable as if they are at home. For instance, offering coffee and tea, putting on a smiling face, having a nice conversation, listening to customers' problems and giving advice also become part of the job as they use their emotional labour. This effort to create an atmosphere like home is a reproduction of their gender roles at work. They transport their culturally expected gender roles at home to the work place like being hospitable, which is one of the most praised customs in Turkish culture.

In order to provide culturally desired services to the customers, business owners develop some strategies. Purchasing necessary products from Turkey is one strategy in this case which requires an activity across state borders. Learning trendy applications in Turkey is another strategy they employ to content their customers.

Lastly, I would like to add that women in our sample shape their carriers considering their domestic responsibilities at home which are traditionally assumed to be their roles. They either choose to open their businesses close to their houses or their children's school or in order to manage their work and household responsibilities, they delay their careers as entrepreneurs until their children grow up. All of these show us the effect of cultural and gender factors in shaping business activities of women with Turkish migration background in beauty sector.

This research is an attempt to fill the gap in the literature of ethnic entrepreneurship, which merely covers the women's experiences as business owners in the country of migration. Therefore, this study tried to understand women's personal experiences, their migration history together with their cultural identity and background, and to see how it affects, and affected by their entrepreneurial activities. Results showed that they engage in entrepreneur activities in various ways, and their personal narratives have an influence on their motivations. They use several strategies to finance and run their

businesses. Generally, those strategies are the combination of their ethnic and gendered resources. In economic and social terms, there is an improvement in participants' lives, despite the drawbacks of the job.

For the further studies, it will be interesting to conduct a study on self-employed women in beauty sector in Turkey. Such a study will also help us to see how migration factor affects women's experiences on occupation and business. Moreover, a study focusing on Syrian women hairdressers in Turkey will be beneficial to understand women ethnic entrepreneurship in Turkey as it is one of the most preferred vocational education by immigrant Syrian women according to UN Women's report (2018).

It should be remembered that, usage of the Internet for sampling was an innovative method in this research and it is important to remind its utility. The Internet and social media also serve a social space and a platform for interactions, which are open to observation that can also be used in further research. On the contrary, limited time in the field and lack of previous networks constitute the limitations this thesis. These two factors restricted the number of participants. Although in the qualitative research the sample size is often kept in small numbers, if I could reach more participants in the field, the data I obtained from the interviewees would be more fruitful. Since this research was conducted by using qualitative methods with a small sample in a certain area, to understand the issue in a broader perspective, further research should be conducted in different settings. Also, women ethnic entrepreneurs in sectors and business lines other than beauty should be examined in future studies.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: TURKISH ENTERPRISES IN COLOGNE









APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (TURKISH)

Kişisel bilgiler

- Yaş
- Doğum yeri
- Eğitim seviyesi

Göç hikayesi

- Ne zaman Almanya'ya geldiniz? Ne amaçla (evlilik, iş, aile vs)?
- Veya aileniz ne zaman gelmiş?
- İlk geldiğiniz yer Köln mü? Köln'e ne zaman yerleştiniz?

İş hayatı

- Eğer Türkiye'den geldiyseniz Türkiye'de çalışıyor muydunuz?
- Almanya'da daha önce nerede çalıştınız, hangi işleri yaptınız?
- Aileniz hangi işlerde çalışmış? Şu an hangi işlerde çalışıyorlar?
- Burada işsizlik yaşadınız mı?
- Çalıştığınız yerlerdeki koşullar şimdiki işinize kıyasla nasıldı?

Serbest meslek

- Ne kadar süredir burayı işletiyorsunuz?
- Ailenizde veya geniş ailenizde başka işletme sahipleri de var mı?
- Burada çalışanlardan aile üyesi var mı?
- Çalışanları hangi aracılıkla buldunuz, daha önceden tanıdıklarınız mıydı?
- Tanıdık veya aileden çalışanlar varsa bunun sebepleri nelerdir?
- Çalışanların tanıdık çevredense bunun bir avantajı olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
- Böyle bir yer açma fikri nasıl oluştu?
- Sermayenizi nasıl sağladınız?
- Kendi işinizin sahibi olmanın olumlu yönleri nelerdir?
- Kendi işinizin sahibi olmanın olumsuz yönleri nelerdir?
- Müşterilerle olan ilişkiler; Müşteriler Türk mü? Size duyup mu geliyorlar yoksa tanıdık bildik insanlar mı?
- Müşterileriniz yakın çevrede oturanlar mı, yoksa başka bölgelerden de gelenler var mı?
- Alıcılar, sağlayıcılarla, toptancılarla olan ilişkiler. Burada kullandığınız ürünleri nereden sağlıyorsunuz, onlar da Türk kökenli mi veya Türkiye'den gelen ürünler var mı?
- İş yeriniz evinize yakın mı yoksa başka bir bölgede mi?

- Kuaförü neden bu muhitte/bölgede açtınız? Size nasıl avantajlar sağlayacağını düşündünüz?

Kuaförlük

- Burada ne çeşit hizmetler veriyorsunuz?
- Bu hizmetlerden kimler en çok yararlanmak istiyor, nasıl talepler alıyorsunuz?
- Kimler hangi hizmetleri almak istiyor?
- Düğün, nişan gibi etkinliklerde özel olarak iş alıyor musunuz?
- Bu yetenekleri nerede öğrendiniz?
- Kuaför olmanın güzel yanları nelerdir?
- Kuaför olmanın kötü yanları nelerdir?

Etkileri

- Kendi iş yerinizin sahibi olmak hayatınızda sosyal ve ekonomik olarak neler değiştirdi?
- Geçmişle kıyaslama yapabilir misiniz?
- Daha mı zor, daha mı iyi? Artıları eksileri nelerdir?
- Sosyal ve ekonomik olarak nasıl farklılıklar yarattı?
- Aile hayatınızda ve toplum içinde statünüzün değiştiğini düşünüyor musunuz?

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (ENGLISH)

Personal Information

- Age
- Place of birth
- Education Level

Migration Story

- When did you come to Germany? For what purpose (marriage, work, family etc.)?
- Or when did your family come?
- Is Cologne your first destination? When did you move to Cologne?

Work Life

- Were you working in Turkey, (If you came from Turkey)
- Where did you work before in Germany? What kind of works did you do?
- What kind of jobs did your family do? Where are they working now?
- Did you face with unemployment here?
- When you compare with your current job, how can you evaluate working conditions in your previous workplaces?

Self-employment

- How long have you been running this place?
- Is there anybody in your family and/or extended family that is a business owner?
- Is there any family member working here?
- How did you find your employees? Have you known them before?
- If there is any family member or acquaintance, what is the reason of it?
- Is it advantageous that employees are acquaintances?
- How did you find the idea of opening this place?
- How did you finance your capital?
- What are the advantages of having your own business?
- What are the disadvantages of having your own business?
- How is your relationship with customers? Are they Turkish? Do they come on recommendation or are they acquaintances?
- Do customers live nearby? Or are there customers from other neighbourhoods?
- How is your relationship with traders? Where do you supply the products you use here? Are they Turkish as well? And are there any products from Turkey?
- Is your home close to your work or do you live in another neighbourhood?

- Why did you open the salon in this neighbourhood/area? What kind of advantages you think it can bring?

Hairdressing

- What kind of services you give here?
- Who wants to benefit mostly from those services? What kind of demands do you have?
- Who wants to have which services?
- Do you work in events like wedding, engagement in private?
- Where did you learn those skills?
- What are the advantages of being a hairdresser?
- What are the disadvantages of being a hairdresser?

Effects

- What kind of things have changed socially and economically by having your own business?
- Can you compare past and today?
- What are the pros and cons?
- Do you think that your status has changed in your family and society?

APPENDIX D: PHOTOS FROM HAIRDRESSERS AND BEAUTY SALONS











Sevgili Dilek

Yıllar sonra seni bu kadar yakınında
bulmak beni çok mutlu etti.

Hep bir arayış içindeydim tam aradığım
kuaförü buldum diyordum ama her seferinde
yine yanıldığımı anlıyordum.

İyiki seni ve buradaki arkadaşları tanıdım
herkez çok samimi ve işini çok iyi yapıyor.

Hepinize ayrı ayrı çok teşekkür ediyorum...
(nazımı geçtiğiniz için :))

Funda

—
—
—

Liebes Team,
Liebe Dilek Abda,

Dilek Abda Du bist die erste
Freisaurin zu der ich zum
ersten Mal gegangen bin ich war
damals auch sehr froh Dich
kennen gelernt zu haben.
Nun sind es bestimmt schon
über 12 Jahre her und ich bin
froh das Du einen eigenen Laden
hast ich fühle mich hier sehr wohl
und bin immer sehr zufrieden
mit den Ergebnissen.
Tolles Team hast Du auch
wünsche weiterhin viel Erfolg
und auf weitere viele Jahre
bis ich in Rente gehe :)

Sorry biraz uzun oldu :)

Saygılarımla
Nermin Dogram, Özfırda

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APPENDIX F: PHOTOS OF WORKING HOURS SIGNBOARDS



APPENDIX G: TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

Bu arařtırmanın amacı, Almanya'nın Kln řehrindeki gzellik sektrnde faaliyet gsteren Trk gmen kkenli kadın giriřimcilere ynelik bir analiz sunmaktır. Arařtırma, ev sahibi toplumda kadınların g, toplumsal cinsiyet ve giriřimcilik rntleri arasındaki iliřkiyi anlamayı hedeflemektedir.

Almanya'nın drdnc byk řehri olan Kln, byk bir Trk gmen nfusuna sahiptir. Etnik giriřimcilik bu gmen nfus arasında yaygın bir ekonomik faaliyettir. řehirde yirmi dakika yryř yaparak bile, bu eēilim aıka fark edilebilir. Trk “kebab” lokantaları, “dnerciler”, bfeler, pastaneler, src kursları, Trk tabelalarıyla dikkat ekmektedirler. Bu iřletmeler sınırlı iř piyasasına ve zellikle gmenler iin yksek oranlarda seyreden iřsizliēe bir reaksiyon niteliēindedir. Bu nedenle ilk kurulan iřletmeler az sermaye gerektiren ve kolay giriř yapılabilen iřlerdir. Sundukları servis genellikle artı bir eēitim gerektirmeyen etnik ve geleneksel bilgiye dayalıdır.

Gn yıllar iinde farklılařmasıyla, Almanya'daki Trkiye kkenli gmen nfusun eřitliliēi artmıřtır. Bu durum da bahsedilen farklı ve eřitli nfus iin farklı kltrel ihtiyaları ortaya ıkarmıřtır. 1960'larda bařlayan iři g 1970'lerde aile birleřimi ile devam etmiřtir. Bylelikle kadınlar, ocuklar ve ebeveynler de g srecine dhil olmuřlardır. Aileler kalıř srelerini uzatmıřlar, ocuklar Almanya'da okula bařlamıřlar ve pek oēu oranın daimi sakinleri olmaya karar vermiřlerdir. Ulařım ve iletiřim teknolojilerinin kolaylařması da bu sreci desteklemiřtir. Gmenler hemřehrilerinin iřlettikleri market, bakkal, restoran gibi dkknlar sayesinde Trkiye'den gelen rnlere eriřebilmiřlerdir. Ayrıca, Trk gmen nfusunun geniřlemesiyle paralel olarak kltrel ihtiyaların karřılanabilme řansının artması da kalıcı yerleřmenin yolunu amıřtır (İduygu, 2008; řen, 2003). Trkiye'den gelen bu heterojen gmen nfusunun eřitli zel ihtiyaları vardır. Gzellik salonlarında ve kuafrlerde verilen belirli hizmetleri talep eden kadınlar da bu nfusun bir parasıdır. Bu iřletmeler, Trkiye'den g gemiřine sahip olan diēer kadınlar tarafından iřletilmektedir.

Etnik girişimcilik üzerine literatür incelendiğinde, çalışmaların çoğunun erkek odaklı olduğu görülmektedir. Göçmen kadın girişimcilerin deneyimleri bu literatürde genel olarak görülmemektedir. Kadınlar, iş yeri sahibinden ziyade aile işçiliğinin bir parçası olarak görülmektedir. Halbuki, göçmen kadınlar da iş yeri sahipliğinde aktif olarak yer almaktadırlar. Etnik girişimcilik konusunun daha geniş bir şekilde anlaşılabilmesi için kadın girişimcileri de kapsayan çalışmalar yapılmalıdır. Almanya'nın Köln şehrinde güzellik sektöründe iş sahibi olan Türk göçmen kadınları inceleyen bu tez de çalışılmamış olan bu alana odaklanmayı amaçlamaktadır. Almanya'da Türk göçmen kadınlar tarafından işletilen bu kuaförler ve güzellik salonları hem kendileri için hem de çevrelerindeki diğer göçmen kadınlar için iş fırsatı yaratmaktadır. Ayrıca, bu ekonomik faaliyet kendi etnik topluluğu tarafından yaratılan ve sadece gerekli bilgi ve beceriye sahip hemşehrileri tarafından karşılanabilen belirli taleplere hizmet eden etnik bir niş pazarı temsil etmektedir.

Yukarıdaki tartışmalara uygun olarak bu tezin temel araştırma sorusu; kültürel ve toplumsal cinsiyet faktörlerinin göçmen kadınların girişimcilik faaliyetlerini nasıl şekillendirdiği ve belirli taleplere yönelik bir etnik niş pazar oluşturduğudur.

Göç, farklı bakış açıları kullanılarak sistematik bir analiz gerektiren karmaşık bir olgudur. Bu nedenle, göç üzerine yoğunlaşan farklı disiplinlerden farklı teorilerin tartışılması, daha iyi bir anlayış için bu tezin amacı ve yapısı açısından gereklidir. Uluslararası göç teorilerine genel bakış, olgunun ekonomik, politik, sosyal ve kültürel yönleri göz önünde bulundurmadan açıklamanın mümkün olmadığını görmemizi sağlar. Örneğin Türkiye'den Almanya'ya olan göç ekonomik ve politik nedenlerle başlamış olsa bile (işgücü kıtlığı ve ülkeler arasındaki anlaşmalar), işgücü açığı karşılandıktan sonra ve ülkeler arasındaki anlaşmalar sona erse dahi devam etmiştir. Göçmenler ve köken ülkedeki göçmen olmayanların arasındaki ilişkiler göç dalgalarının başka şekillerle mesela evlilik yolu ile olan göçlerle devam etmesine olanak tanımıştır. Göç, göç alan ve göç veren ülkelerdeki ekonomik ve politik koşulların yanı sıra sosyal ve kültürel koşullardan da aynı derece etkilenmektedir. Aynı zamanda göç alan ve göç veren ülkelerdeki ekonomik, politik, sosyal ve kültürel

dinamikler de göçe bağılı olarak etkilenmektedir. Bu nedenle, göç olgusunu incelerken tüm bu karmaşıklıkları da kapsayan bir çalışma yapmak çok önemlidir.

Almanya, misafir işçi politikaları ve 1960'ların başlarında İtalya, Yunanistan, İspanya, Portekiz, Türkiye ve Yugoslavya gibi ülkelerle imzalanan ikili anlaşmalarla bir göç ülkesi halini almıştır (Leung, 2007). II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası ekonomik yeniden yapılandırma süreci ile Avrupa ülkelerinde vasıfsız işgücü talebi artmıştır (Abadan-Unat, 1976). Bu talebi karşılamak için 1961 yılında Almanya ile Türkiye arasında iki taraflı bir işçi alımı anlaşması imzalanmıştır. Bu nedenle Türkiye'den Almanya'ya 1960'lardaki işçi göçü birkaç yıl çalışıp para kazanıp daha sonrasında köken ülkeye geri dönmeyi amaçlayan yalnız erkek göçü olarak tanımlanabilir.

1970'lerde, daha önceden planlandığı gibi geri dönmek yerine, birçok göçmen Almanya'da kalmış ve iş sözleşmeleri uzatılmıştır. Bu nedenle, ebeveynler, eşler ve çocuklar da dâhil olmak üzere geride kalan aile üyelerinin aile birleşimi yoluyla Almanya'ya göç etmesi Almanya'daki Türk göçmen sayısını önemli ölçüde artırmıştır. Bağımlı göçmen nüfusu hem aile birleşimi hem de Türkiye'den gelen göçmenlerin yüksek doğum oranlarıyla artmıştır (Koç ve Onan, 2004; Pütz, Schreiber & Welp, 2007). 1973'te Almanya işçi alımı anlaşmalarını durdurmuştur. Bundan sonra, Türkiye'den Almanya'ya göç, söz konusu aile birleşimi ve düzensiz göç de dâhil olmak üzere farklı bir bağlamda devam etmiştir. Düzensiz göçten kasıt, gerekli belgeler olmaksızın ülkeye giriş yapmak, orada kalmak veya çalışmak anlamına gelmektedir; turist vizesinin süresini ihlal etmek de buna örnek olarak gösterilebilir (Aydın, 2016).

1980'lerde; Alman hükümeti tarafından tersine göç desteklense de Türkiye'den Almanya'ya göç aile birleşimi ve mülteci akışıyla devam etmiştir. Türkiye'de 1980 darbesi sonrasında etnik azınlıklar da dâhil olmak üzere birçok siyasi muhalif Almanya'ya mülteci veya sığınmacı olarak göç etmiştir (Ehrkamp & Leitner, 2003; Pütz, Schreiber & Welp, 2007).

1990'lı yıllarda Türkiye'den Almanya'ya mülteci akışları ve sığınma başvuruları, Türkiye'nin siyasi istikrarsızlığı ve Kürt nüfusunun yüksek olduğu bölgelerdeki silahlı çatışmalar nedeniyle devam etmiştir. Evlilik göçü de aynı yıllarda Almanya'ya göç

etmek ve oturma izni almak için kullanılan başka bir yöntemdir. Bu göç biçimi, köken ülkeden eş seçimi anlamına gelmektedir (Lievens, 1999) ve bu göç çeşidi bugün de devam etmektedir.

Geçtiğimiz yıllarda Türkiye ile Almanya arasındaki göçte söz edilmesi gereken bir trend de, sirküler göç denilen göçmenlerin altı aylık dönemlerde Almanya ve Türkiye arasındaki ileri ve geri hareketi veya yüksek nitelikli ikinci nesil göçmenlerin uluslararası kurumsal şirketlerde çalışmak için Türkiye'ye göçüdür (Aydın, 2016). Ayrıca, günümüzde yüksek nitelikli işçilerin ve yükseköğrenim öğrencilerinin Türkiye'den Almanya'ya göçü öne çıkmaktadır. Toplamda, bugün Almanya'da Türkiye göç geçişmişine sahip 3,5 milyon insanın yaşadığı tahmin edilmektedir. Buradan Türkiye'den Almanya'ya göç sürecinin durağan olmadığı ve göçmenlerin geçmişlerinin homojen olmadığı sonucuna varabiliriz.

Castles ve Miller (2009), göçün yeni modellerle devam ettiğini ve bu yeni modellerin tüm dünyada ekonomik ve politik değişime uygun olarak geliştiğini öne sürmektedirler. Yazarlar günümüz uluslararası göçünü, geleneksel eski formlardan ayıran altı temel eğilim tespit etmişlerdir. Bunlardan ilki, “göçün kürelleşmesi”dir. Bu kısaca günümüzde göç akışlarının dünyanın birçok yerinde aynı anda yaşanması anlamına gelmektedir. Hem göç alan hem de göç veren ülkeler dünyanın her bir tarafında bulunan çeşitli ülkelerdir. İkinci olarak “göçün ivmesinin artmasından” bahsetmişlerdir. Bu da uluslararası göç hareketinde bulunan insan sayısının hızlıca artıyor olmasına işaret eder. Diğer bir eğilim olan “göçün farklılaşması” ise günümüzde tek bir göç çeşidinden bahsetmenin mümkün olmadığını hatırlatır. Üzerinde durulan bir başka akım ise “göçün kadınsallaşması”dır. Şu anda geçmişin aksine kadın göçmenler dünyadaki uluslararası göçmenlerin azımsanmayacak bir kısmını oluşturmaktadırlar. Ayrıca göç süreçlerinde kadının varlığı ve rolü göçün kadınsallaşması kavramı altında daha çok tartışılmaya başlanmıştır. “Göçün siyasallaşması” ulusal ve uluslararası politikaların göç hareketlerini nasıl şekillendirdiğine değinir. Son olarak da “göç geçişlerinin artması” bir zamanlar sadece göç veren ülke olarak bilinen Türkiye, Polonya, Meksika ve Güney Kore gibi ülkelerin günümüzde transit göç ülkeleri haline geldiğini ve hatta kısa zamanda göç alan ülkeler

haline geleceklerini tartıřır. Buna paralel olarak, Castles ve Miller'ın (2009) uluslararası göç hakkındaki argümanlarının, Türkiye'den Avrupa ülkelerine ve Almanya'ya göçün özelliklerini de açıkladığını söyleyebiliriz.

Bu tez çalışmasında, etnik girişimcilik kavramı göç geçmişine sahip insanlar arasında yaygın bir ekonomik aktivite olan kendi iş yeri sahipliğine işaret etmektedir. Kültürel ve yapısalcı yaklaşımlar, bu olguyu tek bir perspektiften açıklamaya çalışsa da Volery'nin (2007) savunduğu gibi, bu fenomen çok daha karmaşıktır ve sadece bir faktörle açıklanamaz. Kültürel yaklaşıma göre, göçmenler arasında yüksek oranda olan kendi iş yerinin sahibi olma, dolayısıyla etnik girişimcilik, toplumun kültürel özelliklerinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Yapısalcı yaklaşım ise, etnik girişimciliğin incelenmesinde sadece ev sahibi ülkedeki işsizlik ve ayrımcılık gibi dış faktörleri dikkate alır. Bu tezde ise etnik girişimcilik literatürü bölümünde birden çok teoriye değinilerek bütün unsurları kapsayan çalışmaların önemi ve gerekliliği vurgulanmıştır. Ayrıca bu bölümde kadın etnik girişimciler üzerine olan çalışmalara da değinilmiştir.

Bu çalışmada altı haftalık saha araştırması ve 11 katılımcıyla yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış derinlikli mülakatları, gözlemleri, ses kayıtlarını, saha çalışmasındaki fotoğrafları içeren niteliksel araştırma yöntemleri kullanılmıştır. Katılımcılar Almanya'nın Köln kentinde güzellik sektöründe işletme sahibi olan Türk göçmen kadınlardır.

Saha araştırmasına başlamadan önce hem mülakat sorularını hem de araştırmacının becerisini test etmek için Ankara'da güzellik salonu sahibi olan bir kadın görüşmeci ile pilot çalışma düzenlenmiştir. Pilot çalışmanın yanı sıra sahaya varmadan önce geniş kapsamlı bir internet araması yapılmıştır. Bu aramada özellikle Google Maps, Facebook, Instagram ve nrwrehberim.de gibi siteler incelenmiştir. Bunu yapmadaki temel amaç şehir, şehrin farklı bölgeleri ve olası görüşmeciler hakkında önceden bilgi sahibi olmaktır. Ayrıca bu sayede işletmecilerin kendilerini dijital platformlarda nasıl tanıttıklarını ve özellikle sosyal medya sitelerinde nasıl sosyal ilişkiler kurduklarını da gözlemleme fırsatı yakaladım. Saha araştırmasında Türk girişimcilerin en çok yoğunlaştığı Kalk, Mülheim, Vingst ve Ehrenfeld bölgeleri ziyaret edilmiştir.

Saha araştırması sırasında araştırmacının karşılaştığı problemler ve bu problemlere yönelik geliştirdiği stratejiler de tartışılmaya değerdir. Sahada karşılaşılan ilk sorun katılımcılara ulaşmak için gerekli iletişim ağlarının eksikliği idi. Bu durumun üstesinden gelmek ve potansiyel görüşmecilere ulaşmak için araştırma öncesinde ve araştırma sırasında internet sıklıkla kullanılmıştır. Tabii ki bir araç olarak internetin de kendi artı ve eksi yönleri vardı. Daha orada bulunmadan şehir ve şehrin bölgeleri hakkında bilgi sağlaması internetin avantaj sağlayan yönlerinden biridir. Ayrıca kentteki Türk işletmecilerin ve özellikle güzellik sektöründe çalışan kadın işletmecilerin yerlerini bulmada da etkili bir yöntem olarak kullanılmıştır. Aynı zamanda sosyal medya üzerinden bazı işletmecilere araştırma hakkında kısa bir bilgi veren ve katılmaya gönüllü olup olmadıklarını soran mesajlar gönderilmiştir. Fakat, mesajlara geri dönüş alınamadığı için bu yöntem başarısız olmuştur. Cevaplanmayan mesajların yanı sıra internet kullanımının bir diğer dezavantajı ise yanlış bilgilendirme olmuştur. Sahaya adım attığımda, İnternet üzerinden tespit edilen birçok işletmenin kapalı olduğunu veya farklı isimler altında çalışmaya devam ettiğini fark ettim. Ayrıca internet, kuaför ve güzellik salonlarının bir kadın tarafından işletilip işletilmediği hakkında net bir bilgi sağlayamamaktadır. Bu nedenle, yeni katılımcılara ulaşabilmek için başka bir strateji daha gerekiyordu. Kartopu örnekleme yöntemi bu noktada eksik iletişim ağlarının açığını kapatmak amacıyla kullanıldı. Bir katılımcı araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettikten sonra, kartopu örnekleme yöntemi kullanılarak o katılımcının referansı ile diğer katılımcılara ulaşarak sahadaki ilişki ağları genişletilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Saha araştırması sırasında yaşanan ikinci zorluk ise katılımcıların araştırmada yer almak ve mülakat için rıza vermek konularında isteksiz olmalarıydı. Önceden herhangi bir iletişim veya referans olmadan onları ikna etmeye çalışmak çoğu kez reddedilmeyle sonuçlandı. Bunun altında yatan nedenler şöyle sıralanabilir; 1) araştırmacı hakkında bilgi sahibi olmamaları 2) yeterli vakitleri olmamaları, 3) zamanlarını “boş yere” harcamaktansa, çalışıp para kazanmayı tercih etmeleri. Bunun yanı sıra, bazı işletme sahipleri de araştırmaya katılmayı mülakatı çalışırken gerçekleştirme karşılığında kabul ettiler. Reddedilme vakaları, bunların ardındaki olası sebepler ve işyeri sahiplerinin zaman kaybetmek yerine çalışmayı tercih etmeleri

gerçeği de piyasanın ne kadar rekabetçi olduğunu kanıtlar niteliktedir. Bu nedenle sahada geçirilen süre ve örnekleme yöntemleri araştırmacı açısından sonraki çalışmalar için sorgulanabilir ve gözden geçirilip yenilenebilir. Örnek vermek gerekirse, sahada geçirilecek daha uzun zaman ortama aşinalık sağlayabilir ve katılımcılara erişim sağlayan ağları artırmaya yardımcı olabilir.

Saha çalışması sırasında, bahsedilen engellerin üstesinden gelebilmek için dört farklı strateji geliştirilmiştir. Yukarıda açıklandığı gibi, ret vakalarından kaçınmak için öncelikle kartopu örnekleme yöntemi kullanılmıştır. İşyeri sahiplerinin boş vakitleri için randevu ayarlamak ise en çok kullanılan diğer bir yöntemdir. Böylelikle hem katılımcılar işlerinden alıkonulmamış oldu hem de mülakatlar uygun bir ortamda rahatça gerçekleştirilebildi. Saha araştırması sırasında geliştirilen üçüncü strateji ise salonları yoğun olmayan, müşterilerin görece daha az olabileceği saatlerde ziyaret etmektir (sabah erken, akşam saatleri veya öğle araları gibi), çünkü salon sahiplerinin gerçekten yoğun oldukları zamanlarda araştırmaya katılmayı reddetme ihtimallerinin daha yüksek olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Son olarak salon sahiplerinin önceliklerinin müşterilerinin istekleri ve onları memnun etmek olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Bu nedenle geliştirilen son strateji salonları müşteri olarak ziyaret etmek olmuştur. Bir müşteri olarak rica edince salon sahiplerinin araştırmaya katılmaya olumlu cevap vereceği düşünülmüştür. Üstelik müşteri olarak giriş yapmak ve salonda daha fazla vakit geçirmek işin doğasını, salonları ve salonun içindeki sosyal ilişkileri ayrıntılı bir şekilde gözlemlene şansı vermiştir. Ziyaretlerden birinde salona müşteri olarak giriş yaptım, müşteri olarak işlemim tamamlandıktan sonra araştırmacı olarak niyetimi açıkladım. O sırada müsait olduğu için katılmayı kabul etti. Diğer bir seferinde ise kuzenim için randevu aldık ve bu sırada araştırmadan söz ettik. Sadece saç boyama işlemi sırasında katılabileceğini dile getirdi ve böylelikle mülakat gerçekleştirildi. Anlatılan bu örnekler ve tartışılan sorunlar bu işin zor, yoğun ve çaba gerektiren bir iş olduğunu ortaya çıkarmaktadır.

Şimdi araştırmanın bulguları katılımcıların demografik bilgilerinin sunumu ile başlayacaktır. Araştırmanın katılımcıları Köln’de güzellik sektöründe kuaför olarak ya da kozmetikçi olarak kendi işlerinin Türk göçmen kadınlardır. Bütün katılımcılar 1960

ve 1970'lerde göçmen işçi olarak Almanya'ya gidenlerin çocukları veya gelinleri olan ikinci nesil göçmenlerden oluşmaktadır. Araştırmanın yapıldığı sırada katılımcıların yaşları 33 ile 53 arasında değişmektedir. Katılımcılardan dokuzu evlidir, ikisi boşanmıştır ve hepsi çocuk sahibidir. Katılımcıların göç şekilleri daha önceki bölümlerde tartışıldığı gibi çeşitlilik göstermektedir. Bazı kadınlar Almanya veya başka bir Avrupa ülkesi -bir örnekte Avusturya- doğumludurlar. Beş tanesi aile birleşimi yoluyla çocuk yaşıta Almanya'ya göç etmişlerdir. Bu beş kadından üçü Almanya'daki eğitim ve sağlık hizmetlerinin avantajı düşünülerek oradaki akrabalarının (amca ve teyze gibi) yanlarına gönderilmişlerdir. Diğer bir grup ise evlilik göçü yoluyla Almanya'ya gelen kadınlardan oluşmaktadır. Bu kadınlar halihazırda Almanya'da yaşayan Türk göçmenler ile evlendikten sonra onların yanına katılmak suretiyle göç etmişlerdir. Fakat bu, her bir katılımcının tek bir göç yolu izlediği anlamına gelmemektedir. Bazı durumlarda çoklu göç modellerini takip eden daha karmaşık örnekler görmekteyiz. Örneğin araştırmanın katılımcılarından biri Avusturya'da doğmuş ve daha sonraki yıllarda ailesiyle birlikte Türkiye'ye dönüş yapmıştır. Bu kişi daha sonra evlilik yolu ile Almanya'ya göç etmiştir. Başka bir örnekte ise Frankfurt'ta doğduktan sonra bakımı için annesinin yanına Türkiye'ye gönderilen bir katılımcı ailesinin Almanya'ya yerleşme kararı almasından sonra 11 yaşında Almanya'ya gelmiştir. Bir başka örnekte ise ailesi tarafından Almanya'daki amcasının yanına gönderilip bir süre orada kaldıktan sonra yurda dönen bir katılımcı, daha sonra evlilik yolu ile tekrar Almanya'ya yerleşmiştir. Bu örnekler de göstermektedir ki katılımcıların Almanya'ya göç ettikleri yıllar, geldikleri zamanki yaşları, ve Almanya'da geçirdikleri zaman açısından tek bir göç modelinden bahsetmek imkansızdır. Bu tablo Türkiye'den Almanya'ya göçün sürekliliğini ve çeşitliliğini kanıtlamaktadır.

Bu çalışmada yer alan tüm katılımcılar Almanya'da kuaför veya güzellik salonu açmak için gerekli tüm belge ve sertifikalara sahiptirler. Yani salon açma aşamasında hepsi sisteme kayıtlıdır.

Bu tezde, bu kadınlar etnik girişimciler olarak tanımlanmıştır, çünkü onlar Waldinger ve arkadaşlarının (1990) ileri sürdüğü üzere aynı göç deneyimi ve ulusal geçmişi olan

şirket sahipleri ve aynı zamanda yöneticileridir. Onlar hemşehrileriyle ve iletişim ağlarıyla olan sosyal bağlantılarını da kapsayan etnik kaynakları kullanan ikinci kuşak göçmenlerdir. Örneğin, müşteriler ve çalışanlar genellikle yine kendi hemşehrilerinden oluşmaktadır.

Güzellik sektöründe çalışmak için katılımcıların motivasyon kaynakları meslek ile aşinalık; dil, eğitim ve iş piyasasındaki kısıtlılıklar ve güzellik sektörünün işyeri sahibi olma açısından avantajlı olmasıdır. Kendi işinin sahibi olmanın ardında yatan motivasyon kaynakları ise geliri arttırmak, var olan kötü çalışma koşullarından kaçmak, özgür olmak, sosyal statüyü arttırmak ve ailedeki kendi iş yeri sahibi kültürü olarak sayılabilir. Yaş da bu kadınlar için girişimci olma kararının alınmasındaki belirleyici faktörlerden biridir. Araştırmada yer alan bütün katılımcılar 30 yaşından sonra işyeri sahibi olmuşlardır. Kendi işyerlerini açamadan önce yeterli deneyim kazanana, gerekli ilişki ağlarını kurana ve ev işlerini kolaylaştırana kadar beklemişlerdir ve bu da en az 30 yaşını bulmuştur. Farklı göç şekilleri de girişimci olarak deneyimlerini, sektöre ve işyeri sahipliğine giriş kararlarını etkilemiştir.

Katılımcılar işyerlerini açarken başlangıç sermayesi olarak beş temel kaynağa yönelmişlerdir, bunlar; kendi birikimleri, banka kredisi, devlet yardımları / kredileri ve aile desteğidir. Tek çeşit sermaye kaynaklarına ek olarak, katılımcılardan ikisi kendi birikimleri artı aile desteği veya kredi ve aile desteği gibi iki kaynağın birleşimini kullanmıştır.

Temelde sosyal iletişim ağlarına ve güven ilişkisine dayanan hemşehrilerin istihdam edilmesi de bu işletmelerde sıkça görülmektedir. Hemşehrilerin istihdam edilmesinde kültüre özgü yetenekler ve bilgi de önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Ayrıca şu da göz ardı edilmemelidir ki işyeri sahipleri işe alım sürecinde kendi müşteri profillerini hesaba katmaktadırlar. Mesela bazı durumlarda bu işletmeler müşterilerin memnuniyeti adına Alman çalışanlar da işe alabilmektedirler.

Müşteriler ise büyük çoğunlukla yakın bölgelerde ikamet eden Türk göçmen kadınlardan oluşmaktadır. Bazı durumlarda o mahalleden taşınan devamlı müşteriler daha uzun mesafeden de gidip gelmektedirler. Müşteriler ve işyeri sahipleri arasında

sıcak bir ilişki vardır, bu da bazı zamanlarda iş tanımının dinleme ve ilgi gösterme gibi pratikleri de içeren başka bir şeye dönüşmesine sebep olur. Müşterilerin genellikle öneri üzerine bu salonları tercih ettikleri gözlemlenmiştir. Yani işe almada olduğu gibi müşteri tercihi konusunda da sosyal sermayenin rolü önemlidir. Katılımcılar müşteri profillerinin karışık olduğunu dile getirmişlerdir, fakat hemen hemen bütün örneklerde hemşehrilerin oranı daha fazladır. Katılımcılar hemşehrileri olan müşterileri etkileyebilmek için bazı özel hizmetleri sunabilmek adına kültürel sermayelerini kullanırlar. Bu hizmetlere ağda, ipe kaş alımı, gelin başı, kına başı gibi uygulamalar örnek gösterilebilir.

Sonuçlar göstermektedir ki katılımcıların birçoğu salonlarını işletirken ulusötesi pratikler icra etmişlerdir. Bahsedilen ulusötesi pratikler insan, para, nesne, ürün gibi elle tutulan ve fikir, inanç, moda, akım, bilgi gibi elle tutulamayan maddelerin ulusal sınırları aşan iki mekan arasındaki değişimdir.

İşletmelerinin başarısına ve işyeri sahibi olmalarına rağmen bu kadınlar hala ev işlerinin ve özellikle çocuk bakımının tek sorumlusu olarak görülmektedirler. Örneklemdaki kadınların bu çifte yük ile başa çıkabilmek ve işlerini kolaylaştırabilmek için bazı stratejiler geliştirdiği ve hatta kariyerlerini buna göre şekillendirdikleri gözlemlenmiştir. Bazı kadınlar salon açma fikrini çocukları belli bir yaşa gelene kadar ertelemişlerdir. Kadınlar tarafından geliştirilen bir başka strateji ise salonu evlerine veya çocukların okuluna yakın bir yerde açmaktır, böylelikle tüm işlere daha kolay yetişebilmeleri hedeflenmiştir.

Son olarak kendi işinin sahibi olmanın zorlu ödemeler, düzenli olmayan gelir, uzun çalışma saatler, yorucu çalışma koşulları, stres ve kısıtlı boş zaman gibi zorlukları olsa da örneklemdaki kadınlar hem ekonomik hem de sosyal anlamda güçlendiklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Buna ek olarak, kendi işinin sahibi olmaları, bu kadınların göçmen işleri olarak da bilinen kirli, zor, tehlikeli ve niteliksiz işlerden bir bakıma kaçabilmelerini sağlamıştır.

Sonuç olarak bu araştırma göçmen kadınların işyeri sahipliğini çok az kapsayan etnik girişimcilik literatüründeki bu boşluğu doldurma amacı taşımaktadır. Bu nedenle, bu

alıřma kadınların kiřisel deneyimlerini, kltrel kimlikleri ve arka planlarıyla birlikte g hikayelerini anlamaya ve giriřimcilik faaliyetlerinin nasıl bu kořulları etkileyip aynı zamanda bu kořullardan etkilendiğini grmeye alıřmaktadır. Sonular gstermektedir ki bu kadınlar giriřimcilik faaliyetlerine eřitli řekillerde dahil olmuřlardır. Katılımcıların kiřisel yařam yklerinin motivasyon kaynakları zerinde etkisi bulunduđu grlmektedir. Salonları finanse etme ve iřletmek iin eřitli stratejiler kullanmıřlardır. Bunlar genelde etnik ve toplumsal cinsiyet kaynaklarının birleřimidir. İřyerini aarken formel ve kayıtlı olsalar bile sonraki ařamalarda iř yerlerini ayakta tutmak adına enformel yntemlere (tanıdık iliřkisine dayanan iři alımı, uzun saatler alıřma, yıllık izni yapmama gibi) bařvurulduđu gzlemlenmiřtir.

Daha sonraki alıřmalar iin Trkiye'de gzellik sektrnde kendi iřinin sahibi kadınlar zerine bir arařtırma yapmak ilgin olacaktır. Byle bir alıřma, g faktrnn kadınların mesleki ve iř deneyimlerini nasıl etkilediğini grmemize yardımcı olacaktır. Buna ek olarak, Trkiye'deki Suriyeli kadın kuafrlerine odaklanan bir alıřma da (ki kuafrlk BM Kadın Birimi'nin (2018) yaptıđı bir arařtırmaya gre Suriyeli gmen kadınlar tarafından en ok tercih edilen mesleki eđitim eřitlerinden biridir) Trkiye'de kadınların etnik giriřimciliğini anlamak aısından faydalı olacaktır.

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Doktora / PhD

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