Bachelor Thesis,
2nd semester 2011-2012

Döner kebab networks,

*migrant network embeddedness of
döner kebab restaurants in Groningen*

By:
Johan Klaas Krom

Student number: 1789325
Supervisor: Ajay Bailey

Faculty of Spatial Sciences,
University of Groningen

Abstract

The city of Groningen in the Netherlands is home to a considerable number of döner kebab restaurants, most of which are managed by people of Turkish origin. This paper discusses how these restaurants' personnel are embedded into and influenced by migrant networks. This is done by means of a case study based on concepts such as 'migrant networks', 'embeddedness' and 'migrant entrepreneurship'. Results are based of qualitative research methods at seven restaurants located in Groningen's city centre. The topic is discussed from an informal-network perspective, focusing on direct relations maintained by these restaurants and how these connections facilitate social capital and place attachment.

The results indicate that these restaurants still rely on family relations and ethnic Turkish businesses for its entrepreneurial functioning. However, growing up in the Northern Netherlands has positioned both the first- and second generation on a bridge between the Turkish immigrant community and local Dutch societies.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

Döner kebab sandwiches were 'invented' in Berlin during the early nineties by presenting traditional Turkish 'döner kebab' meat on a piece of flatbread. The dish became a success and spread throughout Europe. By the year 2000 the first döner kebab joint 'Hasret' opened in Groningen and now, twelve years later, it's sold virtually everywhere. These ethnically Turkish shops combine strategic locations with opening times set to provide even the most die-hard party-goers with a quick meal.

This study is a product of an observation at my local döner joint: A van of a German meat company, managed by what were probably Turkish Germans, resupplying the shop. It made me wonder: How do these migrant businesses fit within the traditional European state-system? Do they surpass this structure and rely on transnational migrant networks instead?

This case study seeks to explore the migrant social network linkages of döner kebab restaurants in Groningen. It is set to complement existing studies such as those of Rusinovic (2007) and Walhbeck (2007) by comparing their overall theoretical concepts to the qualitative reality in Groningen. The overall theme is broken up in a number of sub-questions: The first two relating to 'business' aspects such as suppliers and business relations. Later we turn our attention to 'personal' aspects of the business: backgrounds and identities of staff members.

Main research question:

"How do döner kebab restaurants in Groningen relate to established migrant networks?"

Sub-questions:
- "What are migrant or ethnic dimensions to these restaurants' suppliers and business relations?"
- "Does ethnicity or origin have a role in the way these businesses operate or market themselves?"
- "What are the transnational dimensions to the relations between restaurant staff and migrant networks?"
- "How do employees and owners relate to their country of ethnic origin?"

First the general theoretical and conceptual frameworks in which this research is set will be introduced. These are followed by a chapter on methodology: It contains conceptual definitions, 'tools' of data-collection, means of analysis and reflections on procedure and positionality. The third chapter presents the results of data-collection on a point-wise basis per sub-question. These results are then summed up and coupled to theory during in chapter five. Finally chapter six concludes this discussion with an overall reflection.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Population

Observations have pointed out that the döner kebab trade in Groningen is still largely dominated by the city's Turkish community. This community is probably the largest minority in both Germany (DESTATIS, 2010) and the Netherlands. In comparison, the community in Groningen is small: According to CBS statistics (2012) only 1% of the city's population is of Turkish origin. It is below the Dutch average of 2% and far below those of cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam (respectively 5% and 8%). In total there are about 400.000 people of either the first- or second generation in the Netherlands (CBS, 2012).

The Dutch-Turkish population was created following labour immigration programmes during the sixties and seventies. Initially these immigrants were considered 'guest-labourers'; they would return as soon as their contracts in the Netherlands terminated. However, when the need for immigrant labour diminished during the eighties, they actually stayed. Socially the Turkish population is a closer community than other former labour migrants. It is suggested that this community-based mentality has led to the Turkish population setting up relatively more businesses than other migrant groups, rivalling native Dutch levels of entrepreneurship (CBS, 2012). On the down side it caused the second generation to be relatively conservative, religious and isolated. This perceived failure to integrate in Dutch society remains the cause of many political debates. It remains debatable to what degree this failure is of their choosing: The second generation deals with institutional discrimination and a restrictive labour market (Doomernik & Crul, 2003).

2.2 Theoretical backgrounds

Literature suggests that embeddedness into social networks has important influences on migrant entrepreneuship (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993). Rusinovic (2007) divides these into an informal and an informal aspect. Formal implies connections with official institutions such as banks, local government and regular job-markets. Informal refers to personal relations where friends and family substitute these official institutions. Participation in networks of both kinds is called 'mixed embeddedness' (Kloosterman et al., 1999).

Networks consist of a combination of actor agency and structural societal conditions into which migrant entrepreneurs are 'embedded'. Individual actions of entrepreneurs are influenced by the societal structures surrounding them; hence 'embedding' these actors within social networks. This 'embeddedness' defines the amount of 'social capital' (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993) an entrepreneur can leverage to gather actual financial capital, information and labour (Rusinovic, 2007). To quote Kloosterman et al. (1999, p. 10) "Through their networks of relatives, co-nationals or co-ethnics they have privileged and flexible access to information, capital and labour at relatively little (monetary) costs. The use of social capital within the current opportunity structure gives these businessmen a competitive advantage […]". Azmat (2010, p. 378) defines entrepreneurship as: "the combining of novel ways to create something of value in a new way, and entrepreneurial orientation includes the basic dimensions of risk taking, innovativeness and proactiveness." Migrant entrepreneurs distinguish themselves in this process in the way they leverage social capital (Kloosterman et al., 1999). To get a clearer picture of what 'migrant' entails we distinguish two elements: 'immigrant' and 'ethnicity'. 'Ethnic' is defined as based on "a set of connections and regular patterns of interaction among people sharing common national background or migration experiences" (Azmat, 2010, p. 378). Consequently 'immigrant' narrows the definition down to "[…] individuals who have immigrated over the past few decades and exclude[s] members of ethnic minority groups who have been living in the country for several centuries; the term 'ethnic' is a much broader concept and includes immigrants or minority groups." (Azmat, 2010, p. 378).

Note the role of social relations in ethnic entrepreneurial activity. It is through these connections that an immigrant entrepreneur accesses the required social capital. To contextualize this we turn to Massey's (1993) definition of 'migrant networks': Social networks connecting "[...] migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin." (Massey, 1993, p. 448). We see that these terms are closely related to Rusinovic's (2007) informal networks.

2.3 Conceptual model

When we transcribe this framework into a model we can roughly identify three themes: (1) Migrant networks, (2) social embeddedness and (3) entrepreneurship. Together they are a self-reinforcing process starting with immigration and ending with extensive migrant networks (Massey, 1993). The migrant generations were added to provide an extra dimension in data analysis.
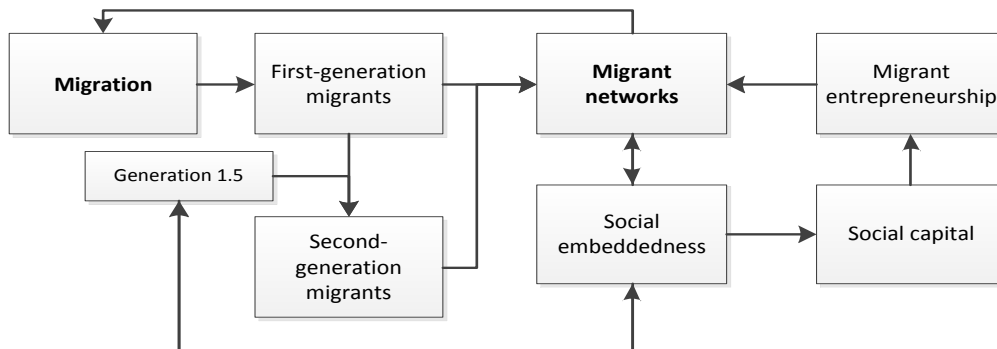

Figure 1:
The conceptual model is based on concepts introduced in the theoretical framework. Indirectly these concepts and relations between them serve as 'tools' for answering the research questions. Arrows represent the direction in which concepts influence each other.

Being the most basic means of input this model takes 'migration' as starting point; it raises awareness of the settlement region within the society of departure and gradually builds up a migrant social network in the region of settlement (Doomernik & Crul, 2003; Weeks, 2008). Such a network will reduce risks and costs to future migration and in turn reinforce the migration process (Weeks, 2008). These networks become communities in their own respect, separate from pre-existing social structures (Wahlbeck 2007). When first generation guest-labourers eventually become permanent residents they bring along their families from home. If these families contain children these could become the so-called '1.5 generation'. Over time settlement will lead to the creation of the 2nd generation: As the model shows these are considered as consequences of the first generation's immigration.

As was explained previously, social embeddedness creates potential social capital, which in turn defines the individual's economic opportunities. If the right mix of social capital is acquired, some people in the population will become entrepreneurs. Migrant entrepreneurship will introduce systems of suppliers and business relations into existing networks, hence altering and reinforcing them.

These concepts will be explained further in paragraph 3.1; definition of concepts.

3. Methodology

3.1 Definition of concepts

The following list summarises definitions of concepts as they will be used throughout this paper. Most of these definitions have already been introduced during the discussion of the theoretical framework and conceptual model.

Ethnic entrepreneurs

A type of entrepreneurship based on "a set of connections and regular patterns of interaction among people sharing common national background or migration experiences." (Azmat, 2010, p. 378).

Immigrant entrepreneurs

A type of entrepreneurship, similar to ethnic entrepreneurship, that includes "[…] individuals who have immigrated over the past few decades and exclude[s] members of ethnic minority groups who have been living in the country for several centuries; the term 'ethnic' is a much broader concept and includes immigrants or minority groups." (Azmat, 2010, p. 378). In this paper the 'immigrant' and 'migrant' definitions are used interchangeably.

First generation migrants:

People who have been born abroad and have at least one parent who was born abroad as well (CBS, 2000, p. 25).

1.5 Generation

"[…] the youngest immigrants ([…] approximately 12 or younger) are actually in the same situation [as the second generation] – too young for the country of origin to have had a strong impact on their own development, and growing up in the new country almost as though they had been born there." (Weeks, 2008 p. 298). Note that these people are officially still considered as first generation.

Second generation migrants:

People born in the Netherlands with at least one parent of foreign birth (CBS, 2000, p. 25).

Migrant networks:

These are social networks connecting "[...] migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin." (Massey, 1993, p. 448).

Social embeddedness

Refers to the way in which social contexts can affect economic action. Here it is used as an umbrella concept that covers different aspects of social capital in relation to migrant entrepreneurship (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993, p. 1346).

3.2 Applied methods

Social networks are multi-faceted, subjective systems that are based on contextual personal experience. You need the participants to tell you about them (Aitken & Valentine, 2010). Therefore in-depth-interviews were recognized as the most relevant manner for data collection. These have been supplemented with visual and non-participant observations. No secondary data was used.

3.2.1 In-depth-interviews (IDI's)

Two sets of interview guides were composed corresponding to different types of interviewees. The first was intended for the businesses' owners and founders (see appendixes 1 & 3). It offeres a biographical account of the business' history, explores their access to social capital and investigates how embeddedness influenced business relations. The second set of questions was intended for secondary actors like employees (see appendixes 2 & 4). This was of a personal, biographical tone and primarily concerned with how the interviewee came to work at the company and what relations were of importance for that.

All participants were recruited by entering restaurants during quieter hours and asking whether any staff would be willing to participate. In most cases an appointment was made at a convenient time later that week.

3.2.2 Observations

As has been said before; observations were only a secondary method of data-collection: There is only so much they can tell about personal relations. However, they did prove useful in providing context not provided by in-depth-interviews.

General observations were unstructured and incidental: There were no pre-made checklists, or active participations. Visual observations consisted of photographs and were conducted with consent of the owners.

Specific points of interest were:

- *Whether there are often migrant-group related people at the restaurant.*

Regular presence of such people suggests the strength of relations and the position of the restaurant within the local migrant community.

- *Find out in what languages personnel communicate with each other.*

Being a powerful cultural factor, language could give an indication of personal identities.

- *Observe whether there are 'ethnic' elements incorporated into the venue's design.*

Do companies try to establish themselves on basis of their ethnic identity or do they try to blend in with the host community?

3.3 Data management and analysis

Consent to record an interview was given in all but one case. Here notes were made which were later compiled into a text. All recorded interviews were transcribed, although less relevant sections were skipped to save time.

Data was analysed manually: A first phase extracted data required to construct ego-networks for each participant. For this all the third parties mentioned during an IDI were marked and noted down. The second phase consisted of identifying useful quotes; sections that summed up a certain topic in just a few sentences. Not all findings could be retraced to one or two clear, identifiable quotes: Some data was loosely woven throughout discussions, or composed the overall discourse and tone of an interviewee.

It is from of these networks, quotes and discourses results were drawn up. Conclusions are composed from a combination of data and the theoretical concepts set out previously. Note that interviews were originally conducted in Dutch: Quoted fragments have been translated and might have been phrased otherwise if the interviewee would have had a say.

3.4 Ethical considerations

Ethical concerns were raised twice: The first was in data collection: The question of addressing personnel, persuading them to participate and the manner of data-extraction during the interviews. These issues also troubled visual methods.

Second is the issue of publication; both during the IDI's and academic reports or presentations: To what degree can data be anonymous? After discussing a 'touchy' subject one interviewee asked:

> *"Will this show up in your paper, what I'm saying now? [...] Because later they [competitors] might ask me 'why do you write these things about me?'"*.

Although it's unlikely that most readers can relate material to the interviewee; people from the interviewee's environment (especially competitors) and those familiar with the city could, due to the very locational nature of the data.

These matters generally concerned the following topics:

- Competition between various (döner kebab) restaurants in the city and the privacy of the people running these businesses.

- Positionality; difference in level of education and social background: It was striking how participants willing to cooperate were either confident due to their franchise's success, had some positive personal experience with higher education or were clearly confident with speaking in Dutch. The nervous atmosphere of people that refused hinted at a difference in such factors.

- Ethnic and religious issues: These are very personal topics that are easily misunderstood. Considering current political discourses, inquiries after one's 'ethnic

origin' could easily be interpreted as an 'othering' statement translating to "we don't want you here". A participant illustrated this issue:

"If you are called 'allochtoon' all the time, you're not really inclined to start integrating into society"

3.5 Reflection on fieldwork

The initial research question for this paper was "*How does [company name] relate to established transnational migrant networks and systems?*". However, after a month of inquiring only two IDI's were agreed upon; too few for sufficient coverage and cross-correlation. Following this the research question was expanded: The restrictive 'transnational' element was removed and the population now encompasses *all* döner kebab restaurants in Groningen.

In the end this research is based on the following:

- 7 In depth Interviews.
    - 7 Different locations.
    - 4 Different franchises / companies.
    - 2 employees.
    - 5 Owners / higher ranking personnel.
    - 3 first generation.
    - 4 second generation.
- Photographic material of 3 restaurants.
- Incidental observations conducted at all interview locations.

4. Results

As mentioned during the introduction results will be discussed per sub-question. These results are essentially a number of observations made during data analysis. Separate results do not necessarily relate to each other: they will be compared and contrasted later.

4.1 Suppliers and business relations

"*What are migrant or ethnic dimensions to these restaurants' suppliers and business relations?*"

Here we examine external relations that contribute directly to the internal management of businesses. Amongst others, these relationships entail Rusinovic' (2007) information, financers and employees. Main matter of interest is the nature of these relations: Where do they come from, what are they based on and is there a distinctive migrant element in a networked structure?

4.1.1 Ethnic background of suppliers

According to Wahlbeck's (2007) study one can expect to see a preference for immigrant- and co-ethnic suppliers over 'native' Dutch companies. We see this reflected by what participants call "Turkish wholesalers": These are Dutch companies, founded and managed by people of Turkish descent:

"*Because a wholesaler, a Turkish wholesaler, sells more eastern products. Also western products, but mainly eastern, you see? For instance ham, salami, bacon: Who do you go to? The Italians. Or the Turks of course. Also kebab, and such; Turks. French Fries, cooking oil and drinks, that for cafeterias; Dutch!*"

- Young male, 2nd generation; co-manager.

However, despite purchases at these Turkish wholesalers, business is paramount; not background:

"It doesn't matter to me whether it's Dutch or Turkish. If the price and quality are good I go to both. It's not an issue for anyone here: They all say 'it's about revenue and purchase price'. It doesn't matter whether it's Dutch or Turkish or Moroccan."

- Middle-aged male, 1st generation; restaurant-owner

This argument places Turkish wholesale in different perspective. According to one interviewee these companies are cheaper for small restaurants such as döner restaurants; 'native' wholesalers are balanced towards larger scale shops and restaurants. It is unknown whether small Dutch restaurants like cafeterias agree:

"[a well-known Dutch wholesaler] supplies more of the large companies, large restaurants. That also a reason we buy there [the Turkish wholesalers]: They deliver, regardless whether it's a 100 euro or 500 euro order; they deliver for free […] [A] doesn't and [B] only delivers from a minimum price. And then the price / quality still isn't good enough for us, they're still too expensive."

- Middle-aged male, 1st generation; restaurant-owner

4.1.2 Suppliers of 'ethnic' products

Restaurants require so-called 'ethnic' products; products that belong to the immigrant's culture (derived from Azmat's (2010) definition of ethnic). In order to make the core dishes such as 'döner kebab sandwiches' or 'lahmacuns', döner restaurants require a selection of ethnic products such as döner meat, Turkish bread and spices. Overall we can distinguish three different lines of supply: (1) Producers of Turkish meat, (2) Turkish bakeries and (3) Turkish wholesalers. Additionally these different branches have different locations and supply lines:

Meat is generally purchased from producers in Germany (see paragraph 4.3.2), whilst wholesalers based in the Netherlands resell products imported from Turkey. Bread is exclusively purchased from Dutch-Turkish bakeries.

"Bread is fresh so it's from here... Yes, there are Germans but I don't know whether that's fresh. [...] We get it from a Dutch supplier. [...] It is a Turkish company."

- Young female, 2nd generation, speaking for her 1st generation uncle; restaurant-owner

"No, not in Turkey, but in the Netherlands. In the Netherlands there are Turkish wholesalers, so we do cooperate with them."

- Young male, 2nd generation male; co-manager

4.1.3 Financial support

"I wasn't that rich back then, so my father supported me. And I'd say that's a normal thing to do: If I had a son who wanted to start up something, something good, not just something; I'd also support him."

- Young male, 2nd generation; co-manager

"When I took this over I approached my brother; my father also gave financial support."
"[...] you didn't go to a bank, get a mortgage... a loan?" "No, [...] your direct family, that's your parents; brother sister [...]"

- Middle-aged male, 1st generation; restaurant-owner

According to Rusinovic (2007) financial capital is one of the three resources gleaned from informal network social capital. The first fragment introduces the man's father as main financier, the second expands on that. Formal institutions such as banks weren't approached for a loan when setting up their enterprises. Rather they turned to their closest (male) family

members: Fathers and brothers. This is related to the central role accorded to family in the Turkish community (Doomernik & Crul, 2003) rather that the Dutch reliance on institutions (Kloosterman et al. 1999).

4.1.4 Cooperation and information exchange

Rusinovic (2007) defines information exchanges as the second social capital resource. Contact between different franchises within the city is rather limited. This seems to be compensated by family contacts: Restaurant-owners in Groningen exchange information such as supplier recommendations and recipes with relatives in the business elsewhere.

"I have an uncle in Berlin and he's been in the trade for years now. And then you start: 'this is cheap there and you should do your spices thus'. My brother-in-law then tells me 'you should make your pizza this way'. We do learn from each other this way. 'I have the best kebab en I use these spices for it'; you do help each other, in some ways"

- Middle-aged male, 1st generation; restaurant-owner

"Sometimes you ask each other how to make their sauce. 'How do you make your bread?' 'What do you put in your sauce?'... 'well!'.. 'Do you put those spices in it?'"

- Young female, 2nd generation; former restaurant owner, niece of current restaurant owner in Groningen.

4.1.5 Finding suppliers
One core topic to business relations, closely connected to the 'information' aspect is the manner in which contact between entrepreneurs and suppliers is established. According to traditional conceptions of migrant entrepreneurship, one expects informal networks relations to be the defining element here (Rusinovic, 2007). In reality we see both an informal and a formal connection:

"When I arrived here [the founder] told me 'these our own wholesalers and that's where you'll purchase your products' so that's where you start"

- Middle-aged male, 1st generation; restaurant-owner

In this first case we see the established owner recommending his relations to his new colleague. This informal connection is complemented by a more formal linkage where wholesalers themselves search for potential customers. There are usually no personal relations between both parties beforehand:

"*So then these managers come and tell us 'we have these products, are you interested in any of them?' […] That's the way we get to know wholesalers: they approach us, we don't approach them.*"

- Young male, 2nd generation; co-manager

4.1.6 Recruiting employees

Finally we discuss Rusinovic' (2007) third resource of social capital: labour. In practice people apply for jobs in diverse ways. In some instances the owners' son and / or other relative was given a job; a traditional sign of informal networks. On the other hand many positions were filled by people with whom there was no previous personal connection. As we see in figure 2 the only previous connection with the current employer was the Turkish community: They were aware of each other existence, no more. This reflects statements made by Wahlbeck (2007).

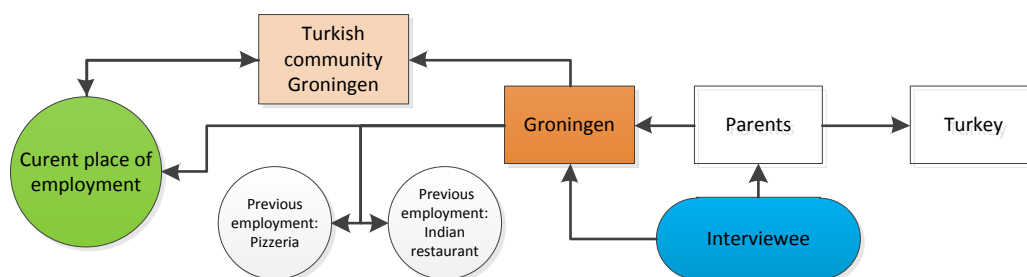*Figure 2: Network-example without previous personal connection with future employer. However, both parties were part of the Turkish community. Arrows indicate the direction in which contact was made.*

"*They're often boys who ask 'hey, do you have a job?', those boys come to work for a few hours during dinner* "

- Young female, 2nd generation; former restaurant owner, niece of current restaurant owner in Groningen.

In one case an employee described how he and his future employer searched for mutual acquaintances, which could then (theoretically) be called upon to testify for the applicants' integrity. Although this check was never made, the existence of such a connection proved to be of importance in the man's application process (see figure 3):

"[...] but the döner-business I worked at in Almelo, there was a Turkish baker next door whom I knew quite well. He had a shawarma-joint in Groningen ten years ago. [...] I asked for work, we talked a little and he asked me 'where are you from?', 'Almelo', 'oh I know somebody in Almelo!'. 'Ah, yes, that was our neighbour; you can always ask him how I work."

- Young male, 1st generation; employee
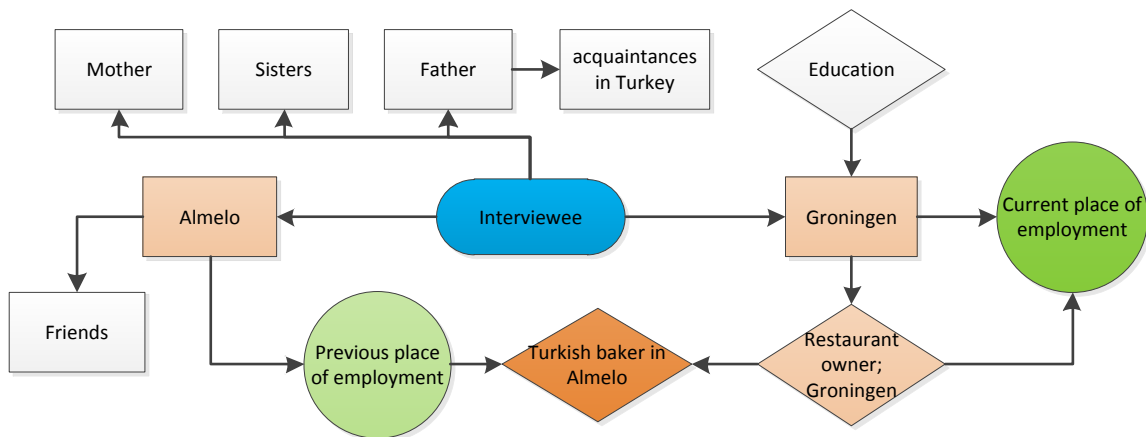
Figure 3: Network-example where employer and employee have mutual-acquaintance (here; a Turkish baker in Almelo). This third party can confirm the applicant's worth based on earlier first-hand experience. Arrows indicate the direction in which contact was made.

4.2 Influences of origin

"Does ethnicity or origin have a role in the way these businesses operate or market themselves?"

Here we examine to what degree a common 'background' influences business and entrepreneurship. We discuss matters like inter-ethnic relations and family networks.

4.2.1 Ethnicity and religion

This subject contains a powerful 'othering' factor: Belonging to one group equals distinguishing oneself from another. If such conflicts exist elsewhere they can be 'imported' by immigrants from that region. In practice this is reflected in inter-company competition.

"Well, our competitor is [religion X] and [we are] [religion Y] and that's the way we regard each other, so to say; there's no contact. [...] We are [ethnicity A and religion Y] [...] we are both [religion Y] and [ethnicity A]. And they are both [religion X] and [ethnicity B]."

- 1ˢᵗ generation interviewee

As Groningen has a relatively small Turkish community there's not much space for inter-minority tensions. It is clear that older generations consider such backgrounds of greater importance than younger ones.

"I think there's a much larger divide there [in big Dutch cities], especially between [A] and [B]. I think you'll have this divide soon because you have [X] and [Y]: It's much stronger in big cities."

- 2ⁿᵈ generation interviewee

"But, what I want to say is: I'm a [X], but I don't have any problems with people that come here. I also have [Y] or [Z], it really doesn't matter to me [...] There's nobody of whom you can say 'they have many of those'; you can't say that of anyone.

- 2ⁿᵈ generation interviewee

4.2.2 Family businesses: networks

We see that families are probably the greatest external influence on business organization. Most döner restaurants with multiple locations are run as family-businesses. This pattern is reflected in the following quote: The interviewee describes how his family came to dominate the company.

"That was when I took over the business. A year later I advised my brother-in-law 'hey, this business is doing really well', so wouldn't it be nice if we could keep its name in the family? [...] and then my uncle came into the picture, and so did my brother... And that's how it became a family-business. So, it's not that I run all the shops by myself. This shop's mine, but if there's a problem at one of the other locations I go there immediately: In the end it's my brother's or my brother-in-law's, you know? We don't really make a difference of it."

- Young male, 2nd generation co-manager

The following ego-network is another example of such a business model: The interviewee's cousin '1' originally founded the franchise in location 'B'. When business increased he called upon the interviewee and cousin '2' to run the new locations 'A' and 'C'. By now the founder, cousin '1', has retired and location 'B' is closed. However, locations 'A' and 'C' are still in business as parts of the original franchise. They are still led by the same cousins brought to Groningen by cousin '1'.
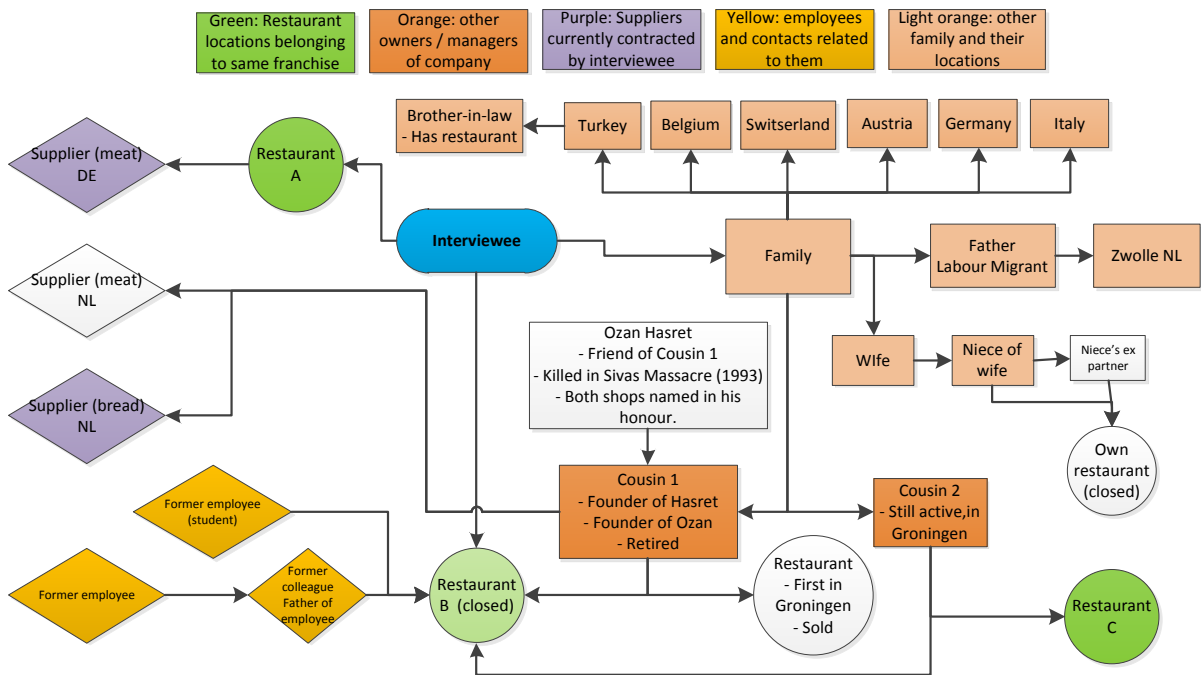

Figure 4: Family networks: the founder called upon his cousins to help with the business. Additionally notice how suppliers introduced by the founder are still contracted (left) and how a former colleague provided his son as an employee. Arrows indicate the direction in which contact was made.

4.2.3 Physical representations: Shop decoration

Prominent 'ethnic' decorations can be used to highlight the exotic nature of products or express an entrepreneur's identity; it is known to have been consciously done by other immigrant entrepreneurs in Groningen such as the North African shop discussed by Middendorp (2005). However, döner' businesses in the city don't seem to do this. A sober counter features prominently in a functional lay-out (see figure 7). Present decorations aren't necessarily of 'ethnic' nature; one location had put up vintage film-posters (see figure 6). If ethnic decorations are present these are usually small-scale, such as those on the right-hand wall in figure 5.

Figures 5 & 6: Different kinds of decorations.

Figure 7: A typical counter / kitchen. Notice the döner kebab meat roll in the back.

4.3 Transnational dimensions

"What are the transnational dimensions to the relations between restaurant staff and migrant networks?"

The very term 'immigrant entrepreneur' implies a certain foreign background. For this the term 'transnational', rather than e.g. 'international', is used because it defines the process as reaching beyond state borders, rather than merely crossing them.

4.3.1 Place attachment

"Wie bin Grunniger"

- Young male, 2nd generation; co-manager

'We are Groningers' in the native local dialect. Regardless of their often double nationalities, second-generation entrepreneurs consider themselves 'Groningers'. They were born in the city and maintain multicultural social networks there. Their Turkish connections are limited to some family and business-relations abroad.

Although the involved first generation does have stronger connections to Turkey, most of them are better considered '1.5 generation':

"I've been born in Turkey, but I came to Germany at the age of 15. I lived there for 26 years and came here 5 years ago"
- Middle aged male, 1st generation; restaurant-owner

A younger '1.5 generation' member describes the degree to which he and his sisters feel attached to the Netherlands:

"Also my sisters, when we're there, in two weeks, and when we go that it's usually for four or six weeks; after about two weeks we were homesick to the Netherlands"
- Young male, 1st generation; employee

4.3.2 'German' kebab

Although döner kebab meat is traditionally a Turkish dish, the concept of the take-away sandwich originates from Berlin. As one of the participants described the product's history:

"You see, traditionally, Turkish döner kebab is presented on a plate. Then there was this German Turk in Berlin, when the wall between west and east came down, who said 'why do we have to eat this from a plate? Can't we just put it in bread and add some sauce?' and that's how it came to be. [...] so they just took a 'kaiserbrötchen' and put it in there [...] later they realized 'hey we can also put it in Turkish flatbread'; the 'brötchen' are too small [...] Yes, döner kebab meat does originate from Turkey, but döner kebab [sandwiches] actually comes from Germany; the concept comes from Germany "

- Young male, second generation; locations manager

There are a few producers in the Netherlands. However most restaurants in Groningen buy their meat directly from producers in Germany:

"The largest are in Germany, because you have thousands of such restaurants there, hence the main suppliers are generally there too."

- Young female, 2nd generation; former restaurant owner, niece of current restaurant owner in Groningen.

"We have a supplier in Germany, that's where it's produced. In the past we made it ourselves, but eventually it just became too much work. This is really a job for a 'meat-factory', a 'döner-production facility', and they make it. We simply make the spices and send those to them."

- Young male, 2nd generation; co-manager

4.3.3 Relatives abroad

"*Aunt, uncle, cousin, lots of cousins. Also some friends from our village […]. And also in Switzerland, Berlin: We have family everywhere. But there are most in these three countries: Germany, Switzerland, Belgium... and Austria, there's a lot there too. But mainly Germany.*"

- Middle aged male, 1st generation; restaurant-owner

Although all participants were descendants of labour migrants, they did not migrate in clusters: families were spread out over Europe, winding up wherever industrial activity required cheap labour.

"*Yes, I have an uncle and some cousins in Germany. There's a lot of family in France too. […] Yes, that's about it; Germany, France, the Netherlands. And also Switzerland [...]*"

- Young male, 2nd generation; co-manager

4.4 Country of origin

"How do employees and owners relate to their country of ethnic origin?"

Finally we connect to the place of ethnic origin. These entrepreneurs might be considered "immigrants" in Groningen, but do any ties remain connecting them to the place this belief would have them originally?

4.4.1 Language

Few observations were required to notice the use of Turkish amongst restaurant personnel: Participants regularly answered colleagues or phone calls in fluent Turkish. One interviewee who was less confident about speaking in Dutch had even arranged his niece to serve as a translator. However, this was due to his relatively short stay in the Netherlands, not his reluctance to learn a host language: He had lived in Germany before and his German was good. Furthermore one second-generation entrepreneur admitted that his Turkish was lacking. On average it might be said that most second-generation interviewees were bilingual and probably better in Dutch than Turkish. First-generation participants' language skills depended on their migration history and personal age.

4.4.2 Descendants of labour migrants

"My Grandpa was the first generation. I believe he arrived here in 1970. He was still a young man when he arrived. He lived in Amsterdam first. There were these 'guest workers' in those days [...]. To be honest, I'm proud of my grandpa, because I feel he's the reason that we got here in the first place."
- Young male, 2nd generation; co-manager

Similar stories were shared by all participants: All were descendants of labour migrants that arrived in the Netherlands during the nineteen-seventies and -eighties (Doomernik & Crul, 2003).

"You know, most people aren't intending to return. 'I'll be going back'; that was the first generation, like my grandpa. They all bought washing machines and ovens, carefully keeping these in their packaging for they would be taking these with them. But these days everyone is intent on staying here, so everything they invest: They buy a house and other things here, so investments are done here and no longer in Turkey, as they used to."

- Young female, 2nd generation; former restaurant owner, niece of current restaurant owner in Groningen.

As the immigrant-labourers decided to settle in the Netherlands, their attention was redirected. As mentioned in the fragment above: They bought houses here and no longer sent washing machines or ovens back to Turkey. Over time their wives and children who had stayed behind were brought to Groningen, and families started expanding:

"See, my granddad had come here from Turkey with four friends from two neighbouring villages. They brought their children with them, these were my parents. At some point they got children, they got grandchildren and […] we are currently with 150 people, almost our total family. It's just a small example […]. But it went the same way in Belgium, and the same way in Germany, and the same in Switzerland. Well, that's how it expanded."

- Young female, 2nd generation; former restaurant owner, niece of current restaurant owner in Groningen

4.4.3 Holidays

Regardless of their migrant background, all participants return to Turkey frequently for holidays. Often it is the only major holiday destination and they go there at least once a year.

"I just know everybody there [previous place of residence in the Netherlands], and I like it that way. In that city in Turkey it's almost the same. Even if I wouldn't know anybody, I still wouldn't walk alone: Because, then I'm walking with my dad, and he's a taxi-driver […] and then it's like 'oh, you're his son? Come, join us!"

- Young male, 1st generation; employee

Diverse reasons were given: Some still had a lot of family living there; others stated the ease of being familiar with the language and the affordability due to lower overall prices. Turkey's diverse environment and culture were referred to when asked about repetitiveness of such a singular destination.

"I have an uncle and an aunt in Istanbul. Another aunt in the village I was born. My wife's family is still in that village too. Yes, it's not that much anymore, but it's family nonetheless. But exclusively for vacation, and family-visits sometimes. We visited no family last year, just holiday. It's just a beautiful country; good food. [...] Also good weather, I like it there. You know Turkey, Greece, Spain; they're all touristic, but that's why I prefer Turkey: We know the language, the food is good, and it's cheaper than Italy and Spain. I simply like to go on holiday there."

- Middle aged male, 1ˢᵗ generation; restaurant-owner

One participant added the possibility of investing in real estate as a reason for visiting; general familiarity with the country was given as a reason for doing these investments there.

"I go to Turkey at least once a year. In any case I'm going there mid-may. I also go there when I'm about to invest in something [...] There's a lot one can invest in there [...] buy a parcel of land, you can buy and let apartments there [...]"

- Young male, 2ⁿᵈ generation; co-manager

5. Discussion

This report was set to answer the question "*How do döner kebab restaurants in Groningen relate to established migrant networks?*". Literature defined that migrant entrepreneurs usually acquire social capital from so-called 'informal' networks based on friend- and family relations. In Groningen entrepreneurs confirm to Wahlbeck's (2007) findings that trust and loyalty are of utmost importance in these relations: Although the trend is on decline, employee-level jobs often still go to co-immigrants. Furthermore, we see the 'family-business' concept going strong: Although the measure of mutual dependence may vary, all franchises are owned and managed by families. This has much in common with the 'traditional' image Rusinovic (2007) ascribes to first-generation immigrant entrepreneurship. It also equals preliminary results of bachelor research conducted at the University of Bremen (Rau et al., 2012). As to non-family relations; contracted suppliers often have Turkish backgrounds. However, this is supposedly due to plain economic considerations: Turkish wholesalers are either the only providers of certain products, or most specialised at supplying small retailers.

Finally, the participants' networks appear to vary in geographical dimensions: All participants had family members throughout Western Europe as well as at least one business relation outside of the Netherlands. On the other hand the "Wie bin Grunniger" quote reflects the increasingly local embeddedness of personal identities.

6. Conclusion

The overall importance of the entrepreneur's family, the enduring Turkish background of most suppliers and the relative importance of communal Turkish heritage as represented by language skills and holiday destinations, suggests a strong connection to migrant networks and a great reliance on migrant social capital.

However, results show that this migrant element is increasingly balanced by actors' embeddedness in local non-migrant networks. Business relations are merely of Turkish background and / or located abroad by economic necessity. Regarding generational differences it seems more appropriate to consider all first-generation participants as '1.5 generation': Both these and second-generation interviewees seem to have more attachment to

the Dutch setting than to their supposed region of origin: Statements referring to the multi-cultural nature of their social lives, lack of 'ethnic' place making in restaurant design, increasing participation in the Dutch higher education system and overall being born and raised in Groningen suggests that many, especially second-generation interviewees, are positioned on the bridge between Turkish migrant- and native 'Groninger' networks. Reasons for this distinction may be found in the small scale of the local Turkish community, the somewhat isolated position of Groningen in the Netherlands and the large amount of contact with non-migrants in this specific trade. The entrepreneurs' embedding in communities with a similar identity still creates informal networks, but the migrant aspect to these communities appears to be losing importance.

It would be interesting to expand upon these results by including a comparison to other non-Turkish businesses in similar enterprises. Such research should take a deeper look into the connections into formal networks and follow up on Rusinovic' (2007) work by investigating possible differences between first- and second-generation entrepreneurial activity.

6. References

Azmat, F. (2010), Exploring social responsibility of immigrant entrepreneurs: Do home country contextual factors play a role? *European Management Journal*, 28(5), pp. 377-386.

Aitken, S. & Valentine, G. (2010), *Approaches to Human Geography*. London: Sage.

CBS (2012), *Bevolking per maand; leeftijd, geslacht, herkomst, generatie*. Den Haag / Heerlen, Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek.
http://statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/publication/?DM=SLNL&PA=71090ned&D1=0&D2=0&D3=0&D4=0&D5=0&D6=0,12,24,36,(l-5)-l&VW=T
(Website last visited on 2012-03-09)

CBS (2012), *Kerncijfers wijken en buurten*. Den Haag / Heerlen, Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek.
http://statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/publication/?DM=SLNL&PA=70904ned&D1=37&D2=0,90,6858,10671&D3=l&HDR=T&STB=G1,G2&VW=T
(Website last visited on 2012-06-7)

CBS (2000) Standaarddefinitie allochtonen. *INDEX; Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek* #10, pp. 24-25

DESTATIS (2010), *Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit: Ausländische Bevölkerung, Ergebnisse des Ausländerzentralregisters*. Wiesbaden, Statistisches Bundesamt.

Doomernik, J. & Crul, M. (2003), The Turkish and Moroccan Second Generation in the Netherlands: Divergent Trends between and Polarization within the Two Groups. *International Migration Review*, 37(4), pp.1039-1064.

Kloosterman R., J. van der Leun & J. Rath (1999), Mixed Embeddedness: (In)formal Economic Activities and Immigrant Businesses in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 23(2), pp. 253-267.

Massey et al. (1993), Theories of International Migration: Review and Appraisal. *Population and Development Review* 19(3), pp. 431-466.

Middendorp, P. (2005), Artisjok tussen de bloemkolen. *De Volkskrant*, 2012-12-03.

Portes, A. & Sensenbrenner, J. (1993), Embeddedness and Immigration: Notes on the Social Determinants of Economic Action. *American Journal of Sociology* 98(6), pp. 1320-1350.

Rath, J. & Kloosterman, R. (2000), Outsiders' Business: A critical Review of Research on Immigrant Entrepreneurship. *International Migration Review* 34(3), pp. 657-681.

Rau, R., Engelmeier, L., Horsinka, G., Nurgenç, E.S., Pollmann, S. (2012), *Prekarisiering bei selbstständigen Gastronomen in Gröpelingen*. Universität Bremen; Institut für Geographie. Prof. Dr. Hillmann.

Rusinovic, K. (2007), De (in)formele sociale netwerken van eerste en tweede generatie migrantenondernemers. *Migrantenstudies* 23(2), pp. 99-114.

Ryan, L. (2011), Migrants' social networks and weak ties: accessing resources and constructing relationships post-migration. *The Sociological Review* 59(4), pp. 707-724.

Wahlbeck, Ö. (2007), Work in the Kebab Economy: A study of the ethnic economy of Turkish immigrants in Finland. *Ethnicities* 7(543), pp. 543 – 563.

Weeks, J.R. (2008), *Population; An introduction to Concepts and Issues*. 10th Edition. Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth.

7. Appendixes

7.1 Interview with company founders.

Thank you for making this appointment and volunteering for this interview. As I've noted in the invitation, I'm conducting a number of interviews for my bachelor thesis. This specific research project is about transnational migrant networks and how these relate to migrant entrepreneurship in Groningen. I assure you that this interview is entirely confidential and anonymous. It will not be published unless you explicitly permit me to do so. If you'd like I can send you this interview's transcription as well as the final report to which this interview would contribute.

As it is rather hard to make notes during the course of the interview, I would like to record it. Do you agree to this? I can assure you that this recording will be deleted as soon as the research is finished. It will not be distributed to or played in front of any third party.

Introduction

- Could you tell something about yourself?
    - Your name?
    - Your age?
    - Where you're from?
        - Where you've been born?
    - How long have you been in the Netherlands so far?

- (1st Generations) Can you tell me something about your migration to Groningen?
    - At what age did you come to Europe?
    - Did you come through other countries before ending up in the Netherlands?
    - Did you utilize existing networks?
    - What reasons made you decide to migrate? (push- and pull factors)

- (2nd Generations) Where do your parents originally come from?
    - For what reasons did they originally come here?
    - How have you experienced growing up to migrant parents in the Netherlands?

Core topics: Embeddedness

- How would you describe your life in the Netherlands?

- To whom do you interact mostly in Groningen?
    - Dutch, other migrants, Turks, business related contacts? ...

- How would you describe relations between migrant communities of different ethnic origin in Groningen and Europe?

- Do you personally have many contacts with migrants of other descent?

- How did you experience establishing new connections in Europe / Groningen?

- How do you observe your personal position in Groningen?
    - What are the ways you would identify yourself?
        - Groninger?
        - Dutch?
        - Turkish?
        - Entrepreneur?
        - Transnational / Migrant?
        - Other?
    - Could you give an indication of the aspects that define your identity?

- Do you maintain contacts with people you country (and region?) of origin?
    - Of what origin are these relations?

Core topics: Business

- Could you please tell me about the history of running your business?
    - Were you intending to set up a business when you came to Groningen?
    - Was this your first business?
    - Have you worked at similar businesses before founding this one?

- What made you decide to set this business up?
    - Role of migrant networks?
    - Social embeddedness?
        - Restrictions to native labour market?
        - Experience within the Döner business?
        - Was there any real competition yet by the time of founding?

- Is there a migration or ethnic aspect to competition within Groningen?
    - Do competitors come from different regions 'back home'?
    - …and how about the Netherlands or Europe at large?
    - Do you feel certain jobs are monopolized by specific migrant groups?

- What was the initial intended customer base?
    - Fellow migrants?
    - Students?
    - Stadjers?

- How did you come to meet your business relations?
    - Of what ethnic / migratory background are these contacts?
    - Where did you meet these contacts?
        - Shared migrant past?
        - Native Dutch acquaintances?

- Family?
  - Did you have these contacts before actually setting up the business?
    - Origin of these contacts? Dutch acquaintances, home or migrant personal past, family?

- Do contacts with your country of origin play a role in operating the business?

- Did setting up a business increase your contacts with with other migrants?

- To what degree are your business relations established outside of the Netherlands?
  - European countries?
  - Country of origin?
  - How did these contacts come to be?
  - Are traditional European state-borders of consequence for business operation?

Closing questions:

- How do you feel about staying in Groningen / the Netherlands / Europe for the rest of your life?

- How do you see your company's future prospects?

- How do you feel about Dutch society and political developments over the past decade, or so?

7.2 Interview with employees.

Thank you for making this appointment and volunteering for this interview. As I've noted in the invitation, I'm conducting a number of interviews for my bachelor thesis. This specific research project is about transnational migrant networks and how these relate to migrant entrepreneurship in Groningen. I assure you that this interview is entirely confidential and anonymous. It will not be published unless you explicitly permit me to do so. If you'd like I can send you this interview's transcription as well as the final report to which this interview would contribute.

As it is rather hard to make notes during the course of the interview, I would like to record it. Do you agree to this? I can assure you that this recording will be deleted as soon as the research is finished. It will not be distributed to or played in front of any third party.

Introduction

- Could you tell something about yourself?
    - Your name?
    - Your age?
    - Education?
    - Where you're from?
        - Where you've been born?
    - How long have you been in the Netherlands so far?

- (1st Generations) Can you tell me something about your migration to Groningen?
    - At what age did you come to Europe?
    - Did you come through other countries before ending up in the Netherlands?
    - Did you utilize existing networks?
    - What reasons made you decide to migrate? (push- and pull factors)

- (2nd Generations) Where do your parents originally come from?
    - For what reasons did they originally come here?
    - How have you experienced growing up to migrant parents in the Netherlands?

Core topic

- Could you describe how you came to work here?
    - Was this influenced by your migrant or family background?
- To whom do you interact mostly in Groningen?
    - Dutch, other migrants, Turks, business related contacts?

- How do you observe your personal position in Groningen?
    - What are the ways you would identify yourself?
        - Groninger?
        - Dutch?
        - Turkish?

- ▪ Transnational / Migrant?
- ▪ Other?
  - Could you give an indication of the aspects that define your identity?

- How do you regard your relations with your / your parents' country of origin?
  - Do you speak its language?
  - Do you often return there?
  - Do you formally still hold this nationality?

- Do you maintain a lot of contacts with people from your / your parents' country of origin's diaspora?
  - Could you give an indication of how these people are distributed throughout Europe?
  - Of what origin are these relations?
    - ▪ Family?
    - ▪ Friends?
    - ▪ Professional?

- How would you describe relations between migrant communities of different ethnic origin within Groningen and Europe?

- Do you personally have many contacts with migrants of other descent that yours?
  - Do you feel certain jobs are monopolised by specific migrant groups?

- Has work at here influenced the way you perceive your background as a (second generation) migrant?

Closing questions:

- How do you see your perspectives of staying in Groningen or the Netherlands for the rest of your life?
  - How do you think you current place of employment will feature in these perspectives?

- How do you feel about Dutch society and political developments over the past decade, or so?

7.3 Interview with company founders (Dutch version).

Bedankt voor deze afspraak en het mee willen werken aan dit interview. Zoals ik mogelijk al in de uitnodiging gesteld heb, ga ik een aantal interviews afnemen voor mijn bachelor project Sociale Geografie en Planologie aan de RuG. Dit onderzoek gaat over het ondernemerschapsgedrag van migranten in Groningen. Ik kan u verzekeren dat dit interview geheel anoniem is en vertrouwelijk behandeld zal worden. Wat u gezegd heeft zal niet gepubliceerd worden, tenzij u me daar uitdrukkelijk toestemming toe verleend. Als u het zou willen kan ik u zowel de transcriptie als het uiteindelijke verslag waaraan dit interview bijdraagt doorsturen.

Omdat het nogal een gedoe is om tijdens het interview notities te maken zou ik het graag willen opnemen. Stemt u hiermee in? Ik kan u verzekeren dat deze opname vernietigd zal worden zodra het onderzoek afgerond is. De opname zal niet in aanwezigheid van derden afgespeeld worden.

Introductie

- Zou u iets over uzelf willen vertellen?
    - Uw naam?
    - Uw leeftijd?
    - Waar u vandaan komt?
        - Waar u geboren bent?
    - Hoe lang woont u nu al in Nederland?

- (1ste generatie) Zou u iets over uw migratie naar Groningen kunnen vertellen?
    - Op welke leeftijd bent u naar Europa gekomen?
    - Hebt u in andere landen geleefd voordat u naar Nederland kwam?
    - Hebt u voor de verhuizing gebruik gemaakt van al gevestigde netwerken?
    - Om welke redenen bent u aanvankelijk verhuisd? (push- en pull factoren)

- (2^e Generatie) Waar komen uw ouders oorspronkelijk vandaag?
    - Om wat voor redenen zijn zij oorspronkelijk naar Nederland verhuisd?
    - Hoe hebt u het ervaren om met migranten als ouders in Nederland op te groeien?

Kern thema's: Sociale inbedding (embeddedness)

- Hoe zou u uw leven in Nederland beschrijven?

- Met wat voor groepen hebt u het frequentst contact in Groningen?
    - Nederlanders, Turken, andere migranten, onderneming-gerelateerde contacten? ...

- Hoe zou u relaties tussen verschillende gemeenschappen van migranten in Groningen en Europa beschrijven?

- Hebt u persoonlijk veel contact met migranten van andere afkomst dan de uwe?

- Hoe ervoer u het vestigen van nieuwe connecties in Europa / Groningen?

- Hoe ervaart u uw persoonlijke positie in Groningen?
  - Op wat voor manieren zou u uzelf identificeren?
    - Groninger?
    - Nederlandse?
    - Turk?
    - Ondernemer?
    - Transnationaal / migrant?
    - Anders?
  - Zou u kunnen beschrijven op basis van wat voor elementen u dit voelt?

- Onderhoud u connecties met uw land (en regio?) van oorsprong?
  - Van wat voor oorsprong zijn deze connecties?

Kern thema's: Bedrijf

- Zou u me alstublieft iets kunnen vertellen over de geschiedenis van uw bedrijf?
  - Was u al van plan om een bedrijf op te zetten toen u naar Groningen kwam?
  - Was dit uw eerste bedrijf?
  - Hebt u bij vergelijkbare bedrijven gewerkt voordat u deze onderneming?

- Wat heeft ertoe geleid dat u dit bedrijf opzette?
  - Rol van sociale / migranten netwerken?
  - Sociale inbedding?
    - Beperkingen tot de 'conventionele' arbeidsmarkt?
    - Ervaring met de Döner-handel?
    - Was er al enige gevestigde concurrentie toen u het bedrijf opzette?

- Is er een etnisch aspect in de concurrentie tussen verschillende Döner-zaken in Groningen?
  - Komen concurrenten van een andere regio in het land van oorsprong?
  - Zie je deze scheiding ook terug in de rest van de Nederland / Europa?

- Hebt u persoonlijk veel contact met migranten van andere afkomst?
  - Hebt u het idee dat bepaalde bedrijfstakken door specifieke groepen gemonopoliseerd zijn?

- Wat was de oorspronkelijke doelgroep voor uw bedrijf?
  - Andere migranten?
  - Studenten?
  - Stadjers?

- Hoe hebt u aanvankelijk uw bedrijfs-gerelateerde relaties ontmoet?

- o Van welke etnische / migranten achtergrond zijn zij?
  - o Waar hebt u deze relaties precies ontmoet?
    - Gedeeld verleden als migrant?
    - Lokale Nederlandse kennissen?
    - Familie?
  - o Kende u deze mensen al voordat u uw bedrijf opzette?

- Spelen contacten met uw land van oorsprong nog een rol in uw bedrijf?

- Heeft het opzetten van een bedrijf uw contacten met andere migranten doen toenemen?

- In welke make zijn uw relaties buiten Nederland gevestigd?
  - o Europese landen?
  - o In uw land van oorsprong?
  - o Hoe hebt u deze mensen ontmoet?
  - o Vormen de traditionele Europese landsgrenzen nog een belemmering in het vormen van een netwerk?

Afsluitende vragen:

- Wat voelt u ervoor om de rest van uw leven in Groningen / Nederland / Europa te blijven?

- Hoe ziet u de toekomstige perspectieven van deze onderneming?

- Hoe voelt u over de Nederlandse maatschappij en de politieke ontwikkelingen hierin over de afgelopen jaren?

7.4 Interview with employees (Dutch version).

Bedankt voor deze afspraak en het mee willen werken aan dit interview. Zoals ik mogelijk al in de uitnodiging gesteld heb, ga ik een aantal interviews afnemen voor mijn bachelor project Sociale Geografie en Planologie aan de RuG. Dit onderzoek gaat over het ondernemerschapsgedrag van migranten in Groningen. Ik kan u verzekeren dat dit interview geheel anoniem is en vertrouwelijk behandeld zal worden. Wat u gezegd heeft zal niet gepubliceerd worden, tenzij u me daar uitdrukkelijk toestemming toe verleend. Als u het zou willen kan ik u zowel de transcriptie als het uiteindelijke verslag waaraan dit interview bijdraagt doorsturen.

Omdat het nogal een gedoe is om tijdens het interview notities te maken zou ik het graag willen opnemen. Stemt u hiermee in? Ik kan u verzekeren dat deze opname vernietigd zal worden zodra het onderzoek afgerond is. De opname zal niet in aanwezigheid van derden afgespeeld worden.

Introductie

- Zou u iets over uzelf willen vertellen?
  - Uw naam?
  - Uw leeftijd?
  - Uw opleidingsniveau?
  - Waar u vandaan komt?
    - Waar u geboren bent?
  - Hoe lang woont u nu al in Nederland?

- (1ste Generatie) Zou u iets over uw migratie naar Groningen kunnen vertellen?
  - Op welke leeftijd bent u naar Europa gekomen?
  - Hebt u in andere landen geleefd voordat u naar Nederland kwam?
  - Hebt u voor de verhuizing gebruik gemaakt van al gevestigde netwerken?
  - Om welke redenen bent u aanvankelijk verhuisd? (push- en pull factoren)

- (2^e Generatie) Waar komen uw ouders oorspronkelijk vandaag?
  - Om wat voor redenen zijn zij oorspronkelijk naar Nederland verhuisd?
  - Hoe hebt u het ervaren om met migranten als ouders in Nederland op te groeien?

Kern thema

- Zou u kunnen aangeven hoe u bij dit bedrijf terecht bent gekomen?
  - Is dit beïnvloed door uw migranten- of familie achtergrond?

- Met wat voor groepen hebt u het frequentst contact in Groningen?
  - Nederlanders, Turken, andere migranten, onderneming-gerelateerde contacten? ...

- Hoe ervaart u uw persoonlijke positie in Groningen?
    - Op wat voor manieren zou u uzelf identificeren?
        - Groninger?
        - Nederlandse?
        - Turk?
        - Ondernemer?
        - Transnationaal / migrant?
        - Anders?
    - Zou u kunnen beschrijven op basis van wat voor elementen u dit voelt?

- Hoe ervaart u uw relaties met uw / uw ouders land van oorsprong?
    - Spreekt u de taal?
    - Keert u er vaak naar terug?
    - Houdt u formeel nog altijd de nationaliteit?

- Onderhoud u veel contacten met andere migranten uit ow land van oorsprong?
    - Zou u kunnen aangeven hoe zij verspreid zijn over Europa?
    - Waar kent u deze mensen van?
        - Familie?
        - Vrienden?
        - Werk?

- Hoe zou u verhoudingen tussen verschillende gemeenschappen van migranten in Groningen en Europa beschrijven?

- Hebt u persoonlijk veel contact met migranten van andere afkomst?
    - Hebt u het idee dat bepaalde bedrijfstakken door specifieke groepen gemonopoliseerd zijn?

- Heeft uw werk hier invloed gehad op de manier waarop u uzelf als (tweede generatie) migrant beschouwd?

Afsluitende vragen

- Wat voelt u ervoor om de rest van uw leven in Groningen / Nederland / Europa te blijven?
    - Hoe denkt u dat dit bedrijf hier een rol in zou kunnen spelen?

- Hoe voelt u over de Nederlandse maatschappij en de politieke ontwikkelingen hierin over de afgelopen jaren?