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Second Generation Entrepreneurs of Turkish Origin in Germany: Diasporic Identity and Business Engagement¹

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Abstract

The focus of this article is the exploration of the impact of the Diasporic Identity of second generation entrepreneurs of Turkish origin in Germany working in the field of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) on their entrepreneurial behaviour and here particularly, on their business engagement in Turkey.

One obvious rational reason for business engagement in Turkey is the overall business climate and the promising profit maximising opportunities. Purely intuitive reasoning, thus feelings directly steered from “Diasporic Identity”, refers to an overall emotional attachment and nationalistic attempts such as the strong desire to contribute to the development of the home country. Additionally, Turkish language skills and cultural sensitivity incorporate some elements that are rooted in “Diasporic Identity” that turn into rational competitive advantages.

Finally, second generation entrepreneurs are distinct from their first generation counterparts. Differences include educational and professional skills and abilities, the transnational nature of the ICT business and opportunities to cross borders on physical, symbolic, virtual and mental ways.

1. Introduction

Germany and Turkey feature transnational relations on economic, political and social level par excellence. With 2400 German companies investing in Turkey, Germany is Turkey's most important trading partner (Wirtschaftsblatt, 2006). Both countries intend to foster economic cooperation, especially in regard to Turkey's attempt to join the European Union. In addition, more than two million people of Turkish origin are currently living in Germany constituting a heterogeneous society. Many have built multiple linkages to Turkey through family reunification processes, constant moving back and forth, and a high amount of remittances that are sent home each year.

In regard to economic ties, one needs to acknowledge the increasing business activities of entrepreneurs of Turkish origin within Germany that invest in their so-called homeland. The Turkish Studies Institute in Essen, Germany estimates a number of 120.000 entrepreneurs in the year 2010 (Rheinische Post, 2005). The most popular business areas in which entrepreneurs engage are the retail, tourism, textile and catering industries, but also increasingly the areas of telecommunication, Internet and computer industry (Berliner Zeitung, 2001). Istanbul as the economic engine of Turkey in particular, and Turkey in general, attract many investors from abroad due to its immense market opportunities and potentials. Also entrepreneurs of Turkish origin in Germany have seen the potential of investment in Turkey.

Whether entrepreneurial behaviour, and more specifically, whether the engagement to invest in Turkey is rooted in rational and cause-effecting reasoning or by an emotional attachment and affinity towards Turkey and subsequently, a Diasporic Identity will be the fundamental question of this article. In sum, Entrepreneurial Behaviour will be studied through the lenses of Diaspora reasoning.

2. Definitional and Theoretical Ambiguities

The term *second generation* is relatively disputed since it reinforces boundaries among the group and also between minority and majority society. Taking this into consideration, the term will be only pragmatically used to denote that the focus will be on the children of those guest workers who have immigrated to Germany in the 1950s and 1960s.

Defining and conceptualising the term *Diaspora* is a complex process. Originally, the term *Diaspora* was firstly used in the bible, describing the forcible and brutal dispersion of Jews,

which resulted in collective nostalgic emotions and desires to return to their *homeland* (Cohen, 1997), forming the basis of *Classical Diaspora* research. In the context of globalisation, however, the discourse on *Contemporary Diasporas*, whose displacement arises due to situations that are neither traumatic nor associated with disaster, yet with opportunities elsewhere, evolved (Reis, 2004). Border-crossing is hereby not only restricted to physical movements but can additionally take place on e.g. virtual and symbolic level.

However, various authors (Bauböck 2003, Portes 2003, Soysal 2000) claim that *Diaspora* will always remain a term, which constitutes a certain contested connotation, referring to the negative discourse on *Classical Diasporas*. It is also argued that the term *Diaspora* only includes the relation between *home* and *host* and subsequently neglects additional potential spaces of movements and activities that were created by globalisation. Hence, the study on *transnationalism* and *transnational communities* emerged.

The overall comprehension of this article will be based on the understanding of *Contemporary Diasporas* (see Vertovec 1997, Levitt et al. 2002). In spite of the mentioned negative association of the term *Diaspora*, it nevertheless offers a framework that adopted its understanding to more recent global developments and discourse. In addition, *transnationalism* in the sense that one should consider a wide perspective on spaces beyond *home* and *host* will be taken into consideration, leading to the following definition by Van Hear and Vertovec in: de Haas (2006:7): “*Diasporas are defined as populations of migrant origin who are scattered among two or more destinations, between which they develop multifarious links involving flows and exchanges of people and resources: between the homeland and destination countries, and among other destination countries.*”

In addition, it is crucial to focus on the formulated term *Diasporic Identity*. Inevitably, holding a *Diasporic Identity* is only able to apply when one is a Member of a certain Diaspora; thus the term will be based on the above explained understanding of *Diaspora*. The extension of *Identity* in this context is defined as “*the individual sense of importance in a social context.*”¹ All the attributes of a Diaspora become individualised, as an identification with the own person.

¹ <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Delphi/5179/Glossary.htm> (April 2007)

This consciousness of having a *Diasporic Identity* depends on various interrelations. Shuval (2000) developed a framework that serves as a basis for analysing the relationship between the individual towards the host country (*host*) and the country of origin (*home*). The relationship towards *home* and *host* is hereby not a static process. A not fulfilled relationship to the host country, triggered by e.g. discrimination and marginalisation can lead to a stronger aim to return to the home country, therefore leading to a stronger Diasporic identity (Shuval, 2000).

The term *entrepreneur* exists since the 15th century and derives from the French verb *entreprendre* meaning *to undertake* in the sense of undertaking a venture (Bolton et al. 2004, Rae 1999).

Bird (1989) has developed a framework *Model of Intentionality* highlighting the multi-variable setting that shape the behaviour of entrepreneurs. More precisely, this model conceptualise an understanding of decision-making processes and intentions that lead to actions (Bird, 1989). Applying it to entrepreneurs, intentions aim to enable new ventures or new values in existing ventures (Bird, 1989: 8).

Bird takes the point of departure by arguing that intentions involve *mental* and *intra-psychic* activity, meaning processes that take place within the mind or psyche, being rooted in the individual's personal needs, values, wants, habits, and beliefs (Bird, 1989). Those are hereby either rooted in a *rational and cause-effect* way of thinking, or in an *intuitive and holistic way of thinking* (Bird, 1989). The intuitive sense is firstly, rooted in the entrepreneurs' personality, which is shaped by experiences and personal history, and secondly, in the environment. The latter includes social, economic and political contexts and subsequently encompasses all the external factors in the setting of engagement (Bird, 1989).

3. Methodological Considerations

The empirical study is based on *primary and secondary data* and is mostly of qualitative nature. *Primary data* was generated through 14 open-end, semi-structured qualitative interviews with twelve entrepreneurs and two experts, conducted in Germany and Turkey in the year 2007. People of Turkish origin in Germany² were chosen due to the overall relevance

² This research targets the children of guest works, excluding political refugees, educational migrants and highly

since it constitutes the largest minority group within Germany.³ The focus on second generation entrepreneurs enables to look beyond typical first generation immigrant business like gastronomy and small-scale services. Indeed, the field of In ICT became very popular among second generation of people of different origin in Germany (*Berliner Zeitung*, 2001), being a very dynamic and rapidly developing area. In fact, most of the interviewees are consultants or developer in the area of software solutions and applications, owning a small or medium size company with only a couple of employees, just having one partner or being the only consultant. The aim is not to analyse a specific area of business, but to use a specific target group in order to narrow down the audience. In addition, it also serves a methodological purpose; entrepreneurs working in that specific area will be more likely to join virtual business networks, which made it easier to access and address them.

4. Entrepreneurial Behaviour - Rational and Cause-Effecting Thinking

Rational and cause-effecting thinking refers to the in neo-liberal economics rooted perception that behaviour is determined and steered by the most profit making and efficient manner. Indeed, every interviewee was convinced about the economic potentials and major market opportunities in Turkey. Turkey is, according to all of them, a growing market in the area of supply industries, textile, automotive business and ICT. Particularly greater Istanbul and Izmir are the two regions, which constitute, according to the interviewees, the biggest potentials to invest. Entrepreneur 6 (E6)⁴ highlights that the reason why so many second generation entrepreneurs of Turkish origin set up their own business is due to the fact that they see the potential in the market when they visit Turkey on holidays, so they are subsequently convinced that they have to invest in Turkey and use the potential (E5).

qualified migrants from Turkey. Even though it has not been an indicator for sampling nor has it been a question in the interviews, I would like to highlight that the initial conditions and therefore, emotional attachment towards Turkey may be of significant difference when one takes the situation for Kurdish or other minorities into consideration.

³ Federal Statistical Office Germany, see: <http://www.destatis.de/download/d/bevoe/AuslaenderGeburtsland.xls> (May 2007)

⁴ References to the quotes of the interviewees are labelled as E1- E12 and the experts as Expert1 and Expert2. All the transcriptions can be find in the work (MA thesis): Schulte zu Berge, Bettina: *Diaspora, Identity and the Question of Home: Diasporic Identity of Second Generation Entrepreneurs of Turkish Origin in Germany*, Copenhagen Business School Library, work can be requested by email: Bettina.Schulte@gmail.com.

One interviewee stated that it is typical in Turkey that new, innovative processes and software-models get introduced to the market. This is often due to the fact that many employees are much younger than in Germany and are therefore much more open and flexible towards new developments (E3). A further argument is the price since many products can be bought for half the price by constituting a good quality (E5). Generally, one needs to consider the large labour pool and the relatively cheap labour in Turkey and the availability of land and the good infrastructure in urban areas. Regarding ICT, the interviewees mentioned that the whole sector is still in progress to develop. According to E5, people in Turkey lack a solid knowledge about ICT, so that there is a potential to consult even basic functions; there is not even *Ebay*. It is therefore quite likely that the ICT field, especially the Internet will experience an absolute boom within the next 5 years (E5). Hence, major motivation of engagement has to be the overall business climate and profit maximising opportunities when doing business in Turkey. In that sense, entrepreneurs of Turkish origin from Germany do not differ from any other foreign investor since the potential and the economic opportunity are screened through rational and profit maximising business lenses.

Nearly all interviewees were convinced that their *language abilities* would contribute to the general success of the venture. Language shall not only be seen in a linguistic way but additionally in a cultural way, knowing how one needs to behave with Turkish partners in regard to conventional, cultural and religious perceptions (E5). In fact, Lowell et al. (2004) argue that *Diaspora investors* are investors *par excellence* as they constitute cultural and linguistic assets. Even some of the business portfolios and web pages indicate the company's advantage regarding languages and intercultural skills. In this way, having Turkish roots does not only become a characteristic of their entrepreneurship, but also serves as a competitive advantage over entrepreneurs without Turkish origin and thus, as a rational entrepreneurial behaviour. However, this factor is appealing since it implies a rational behaviour, which is rooted in an ethnic or national awareness. E10 confirms this argument:

„Logically, one has advantages as a Turk when approaching business partners. One speaks the same language, one is aware that small talk is required and one is on the same level of understanding, one socialises, one has the same humour, one shares interest in specific topics. That is a major advantage.” (E10)

It was additionally mentioned that it is a competitive advantage to be someone from overseas since everything and everyone related to the *West* is perceived in Turkey as someone and something *superior*. E5 argues that Turks usually like products or services from the so-called *West* and highly respect those that enjoyed a *Western* socialisation and education. This admiration of people from abroad can reach a point that a *German* entrepreneur could receive more respect than an entrepreneur of Turkish origin from Germany. Hence, this phenomenon

might trigger behaviour, where entrepreneurs of Turkish origin from Germany highlight the fact that they are from Europe, having obtained a European education and having gained broad experiences. This behaviour can be seen as a rational one since the interviewees are aware of that phenomenon when taking profit from it.

However, some interviewees explained that they would not feel comfortable being spotted as someone from the *West* and subsequently try to hide that they are from Germany by pretending to be from Turkey. E6 is extremely tired of always being seen as a *German-Turk* that he really tries not to provoke any evidence that he might not be a Turk; however, in most of the cases, this effort to try to be unnoticed, is impossible. One of the perceptions is that Turks from abroad are much *softer* in their interactions and that they are not aware of some of the conventions, like respecting the elder generation. Not greeting someone even though one knows that person, would be perceived as *ayıp* (shame), which immediately implies that that person has not been raised in Turkey (E1).

In this light, it is evident that the lack of Turkish language skills immediately creates boundaries. In fact, socialisation in Germany does not imply lower Turkish language skills, but particularly on professional level, interviewees mentioned lacks. E8 states:

„I am fluent in Turkish (...) I went to a Turkish school in Germany for 2 years (...) but yet I still have an accent. Naturally I would have an accent and not the knowledge of technical terms like someone that went to university in Turkey.”(E8)

The degree of accent however varies depending on how intensively one has learnt and practised the language in Germany and during holidays in Turkey. In most cases, though, one is neither used to a more formal, more sophisticated Turkish nor to the particularities of the Turkish business language. Moreover, many interviewees stated that they would feel ashamed when they speak Turkish. E2 mentions that he gets very nervous when he has to speak Turkish since he is always afraid of being labelled.

Indeed, stating that one is from Germany can lead to a negative perception by the Turkish society. Turkish citizens in Germany are often labelled as *Almanyalı* or *Almancı*. The latter has a rather negative connotation in Turkey (Kaya et al., 2005); which is rooted in certain behaviour of Turks from abroad when coming back for holidays, mostly labelling those that left Turkey as rather *simple farmers* from Anatolia in the 1960s that would eventually return as *rich Europeans*. E1 admits that there are of course

“[...] some Turks that have been living in Europe for many years, have worked and invested lot and have constantly returned to Turkey for holidays in their big Mercedes. Immediately Turks in Turkey would think that they simply want to show off just because he or she is from the West (...). If one behaves like that, it is not surprising that people label someone as an *Almancı*.” (E1)

Some interviewees admitted that their parents' generation might have not behaved in the most appropriate manner. Others twisted it to the argumentation that Turks were mostly jealous on what those Turks abroad have achieved and would subsequently, create a label out of jealousy:

“Many guest workers came to Germany from the rural, poorer areas and have developed and achieved something. Others, richer Turkish people that have studied in Turkey, just see the Turks that used to be poor with a bag full of money.” (E1)

The fact that people of Turkish origin in Germany are sometimes ashamed of being labelled as *from Germany*, not wanting to be perceived as an *Almancı* contradicts the earlier made argument that it is advantageous to be seen as a *Westerner* in Turkey as that grants a certain level of respect. Here, one needs to distinguish between personal and business level. Whereas the respect towards people coming from abroad, especially from the *West* is valid when doing business, the same might not be the case on a more private level, where some people of the Turkish society still have resentments towards Turks from abroad, whether that is rooted in slight jealousy or in debatable behaviour of the first generation.

Interestingly, most of the interviewees stated that they themselves have never had negative experiences, indicating that the *Almancı problem* might have faded away with the new generations. Indeed, the initial situation is greatly different. Since the second generation is aware of the fact that their parents have worked hard in Germany and are proud of them for what they have received and accomplished, there is no necessity to show off and find appreciation in Turkey. In that sense they are more pragmatic and also aware of the fact that Germany is not a money-spinner, how one entrepreneur has stated it (E9). Only one entrepreneur (E1) recalled a negative experience where his partner referred to him as *Almancı*:

“Once, one of our partners got upset. We were busy signing a contract und we thought that we would be done by 12 h, aiming to go straight away to the next meeting. Unfortunately, we did not make it to the next meeting. Even though we informed them that we will not be there on time, they were very disappointed, in fact, the owner was really upset with us, stating: Guys, acting in the German way, you will not succeed in Turkey.”(E1)

He thought that trying to fit in as many appointments into the schedule would meet the aims of both parties. But on the contrary, the partner got very upset by the fact that he would not fully commit himself to that particular project.

One the one hand, the interviewees seemed to be aware of the fact that foreigners get respected in Turkey (on business level), which they might highlight in order to receive some competitive advantages, being rooted as a rational behaviour. On the other hand, the same ones are afraid of being labelled as *Almancı*, and thus, prefer to be seen as a Turk and are

even afraid of being spotted as a Turk from abroad (mostly on private level). The first set of behaviour is rather rational whereas the second set refers to a *Diasporic Identity* due to the strong aim for belonging to a society. In sum, whereas some behaviours and attitudes are fully rooted in rational and cause-effecting thinking, others indicate a notion of *Diasporic Identity*.

5. Entrepreneurial Behaviour - Intuitive and Holistic Thinking

Intuitive and holistic thinking refers to those processes that are not rooted in rational and economic cause-effective thinking, referring to emotions and personal preferences, anchored firstly, in the personality and the personal history of the entrepreneur and secondly, in the overall environment .

Rational thinking, like the awareness of market opportunities in Turkey and thus, the awareness and willingness to invest in Turkey turns into a very challenging argument if one places it in a contextual perspective. As a matter of fact, there are places where investments might be even more profitable than in Turkey. E5 points out that there are indeed markets where the products might be much cheaper; but he nevertheless believes that his advantage of speaking the language compensates for it. Hereby the argument of language and culture is used as a compensation for financial and economic compromises. Similar arguments are expressed by E2:

„Of course there are markets that are more profitable. But there is the issue of language and culture, the way one interacts with people; at the end of the day we are doing business with people and not with machines. Even if we would have spotted opportunities in China, it would have been far more difficult to penetrate the markets.” (E2)

Investing in Turkey, even though other places might be more profitable, would assume higher levels of (financial) risks. However, none of the interviewees has perceived the engagement in Turkey as more risky than in other parts of the world. By contrary, even if there might be better opportunities in China, the perception of doing so seems much more risky since they are not aware of the local language and particularities. Concerning Turkey, they believe that knowledge about Turkey and Turkish language skills will firstly, be a major advantage and secondly, a less risky investment.

Therefore, on the one hand, investing in a country like Turkey might be more risky than elsewhere. Moreover, turnovers and profits might be even more promising elsewhere. Rational entrepreneurial reasoning would imply to opt for those more profit-maximising opportu-

nities. On the other hand, the fact that the interviewees encompass competitive advantages by knowing the language and particularities, the risk decreases. E6 underlines the latter statement by arguing that many entrepreneurs of Turkish origin would usually prefer to go to Turkey, even though production prices might be less in Romania or elsewhere. According to him, this is the point where emotions and nationalism come into the picture. E8 describes it in very simple, but straight way:

„If the market opportunities were that much higher in a different place than Turkey, I would of course consider it, but I cannot help it, we are talking about home and my strong feelings towards home.“ (E8)

Here, the argumentation shifts from a rational one (*turnovers and language skills as a competitive advantage*) to an intuitive one (*strong feeling towards home*), which is rooted in *Diasporic Identity*. Nearly everyone stated that it was his or her dream to engage in Turkey. E8 points out that he has the strong desire to contribute to Turkey:

“I received many opportunities in Germany that I would not have received in Turkey and I am grateful for that. I wish to share that with my country.”(E8)

He believes in owing Turkey something for not having been there for so long. This commitment and motivation to engage in Turkey introduces the factor of nationalistic attempts. Three quarter of the interviewees pointed out that they aim to contribute to Turkey’s economic development and image in order to enable its economy and thus, its image and power in the world. E2 states that he is proud to know so many entrepreneurs of Turkish origin in Germany. The awareness that they are many qualified people of Turkish origin in Germany that are committed to engage in Turkey flatters him. E6, on the other hand, is convinced that people in Germany will never perceive him as a *German*. Therefore, he consciously introduces himself as someone from Turkey: “*People in Germany should know that there are also normal and smart people in Turkey*”. Hence, he wants people to be aware that there are indeed successful Turks not only in Germany, but also in Turkey. By introducing himself as a Turk, he automatically wishes his client or colleague to have a positive image towards Turkey. This pride has a specific Diasporic notion that particularly the Turks abroad want to contribute with their knowledge and activities to the development of their home. The behaviour is rooted in a very strong relationship towards *home*, which consequently, results in the desire to enable further economic, social and political developments. This behaviour is hereby fully intuitive and steered by Diasporic Identity.

However, this affinity or desire to contribute to Turkey can also become pragmatic and even a way of selling and marketing the company. E1 states: “*We bring German know-how to Turkey in order to enhance its developments. That is the philosophy we are selling and it seems*

to find high acceptance.” This indicates that a very nationalistic and Diasporic behaviour and thinking will turn into a rational, cause-effecting competitive advantage.

A further theme is the *working styles, processes and habits* when working in Turkey. The majority of the entrepreneurs spoke in favour of the stereotypically, very friendly, personal and pleasant working environment, which is certainly an aspect when doing business in Turkey. E4 states that generally speaking, the overall laid back working atmosphere results in employees being more relaxed and sympathetic, not taking themselves so seriously. E10 points out that within a German business environment, he behaves in a much more strategic way yet with Turks, he can be more himself, knowing that Turks also expect partners or colleagues to approach issues on a much more personal manner. E6 highlights the fact that within Turkish companies, there is a general attempt to involve the personal life by organising social activities with the whole family attending:

“Business is done because people like each other, because of tight and close relations, you do not judge right away and categorise people, Turks are usually very respectful, which impresses me a lot (...) In Germany, people are mostly more reserved (...) business is business, private life is private life, none talks about his or her family, one maybe mentions his son's soccer game (...) but only in rare cases one would meet with the families of the partners or colleagues (...) In Turkey one would meet with the whole family on the weekends, relations are much more personal and intense.”(E6)

However, a much more laid back working environment can clash with the entrepreneur's working styles that they have obtained in a different setting. E2 also tells the coincidence that when he first started to cooperate with Turkish partners, they told him that they were certainly relieved once they have gotten to know him better since he seemed so serious and strict at the beginning.

Overall, the interviewee's intuitive thinking includes the overall emotional attachment and the perception of *home*, nationalistic attempts and the partly preference of more personal working styles. All of these factors thrive from a *Diasporic Identity*.

6. Personality and the Particularities of the Second Generation

Personality in this context (see figure1) looks at the black box of entrepreneurs. First of all, one needs to respect the terminology of *personality*, which self-evidently indicates a very heterogeneous and individual nature. Furthermore, the identity of the interviewees constitutes major *differences between the second generation and first generation entrepreneurs*, which will sharp the picture of the particularities of the second generation.

However, there are some major differences, just taking the unlike initial situations of life into account. The major difference is the ‘opportunity having and seeking’ nature of the activities of the second generation. Whereas the first generation mostly came as manual workers, constituting lower levels of educational qualifications, the second generation has a different starting point. Obviously, one needs to take into account that the term *second generation* encompasses a very heterogeneous population consisting of individuals that develop and engage in various forms. However, in the case of the interviewees, high levels of education, knowledge and being active in a dynamic field like the ICT fosters many opportunities, in Germany, Turkey and elsewhere. E2 argues:

“I was born and raised in Germany, I master the language (...) I am familiar with the laws and conventions (...) I know my rights and duties in Germany and in case I don’t know, I know where to look for it“ (E2)

E2 further states that it was indeed difficult not to have a role model regarding education and professionalism. This, for no means, indicates that he does not appreciate the achievements of his father. Generally, it might have encouraged entrepreneurs of Turkish origin to take a professional path, being aware that their parents did not have the same opportunities. E8 states that his father “[...] *has not dared to set up his own business in Germany at that time since he just moved to a new country, had a family to look after, he didn’t know the procedures, he spoke little German, a different judicial system. For me it was different, I grew up into this system that made it much easier for me.*” (E8)

Whereas first generation entrepreneurs mostly have targeted a group that were members of the same ethnic group, serving products that were mostly of ethnic nature (like grocery shops or restaurants offering Turkish food), the interviewees see themselves as entrepreneurs that are active in various fields, having clients of all origins. E2 describes one very interesting incident, where he joined a seminar at the German-Turkish Chamber of Commerce:

“We all sat in one circle by introducing ourselves: grocery shop owners, cell phone shop owner, everything... The first thing I said was that I do not see my company as a Turkish one but as a German company with a Turkish owner (at that time I was still Turkish citizen). Everyone on the table was shocked (...) I seriously cannot understand the problems of these entrepreneurs, they do not know how to visit public authorities, how to deal with formalities, ‘how can I apply for that? Who can I contact?’ I was shocked that there are so many entrepreneurs that still have these problems.” (E2)

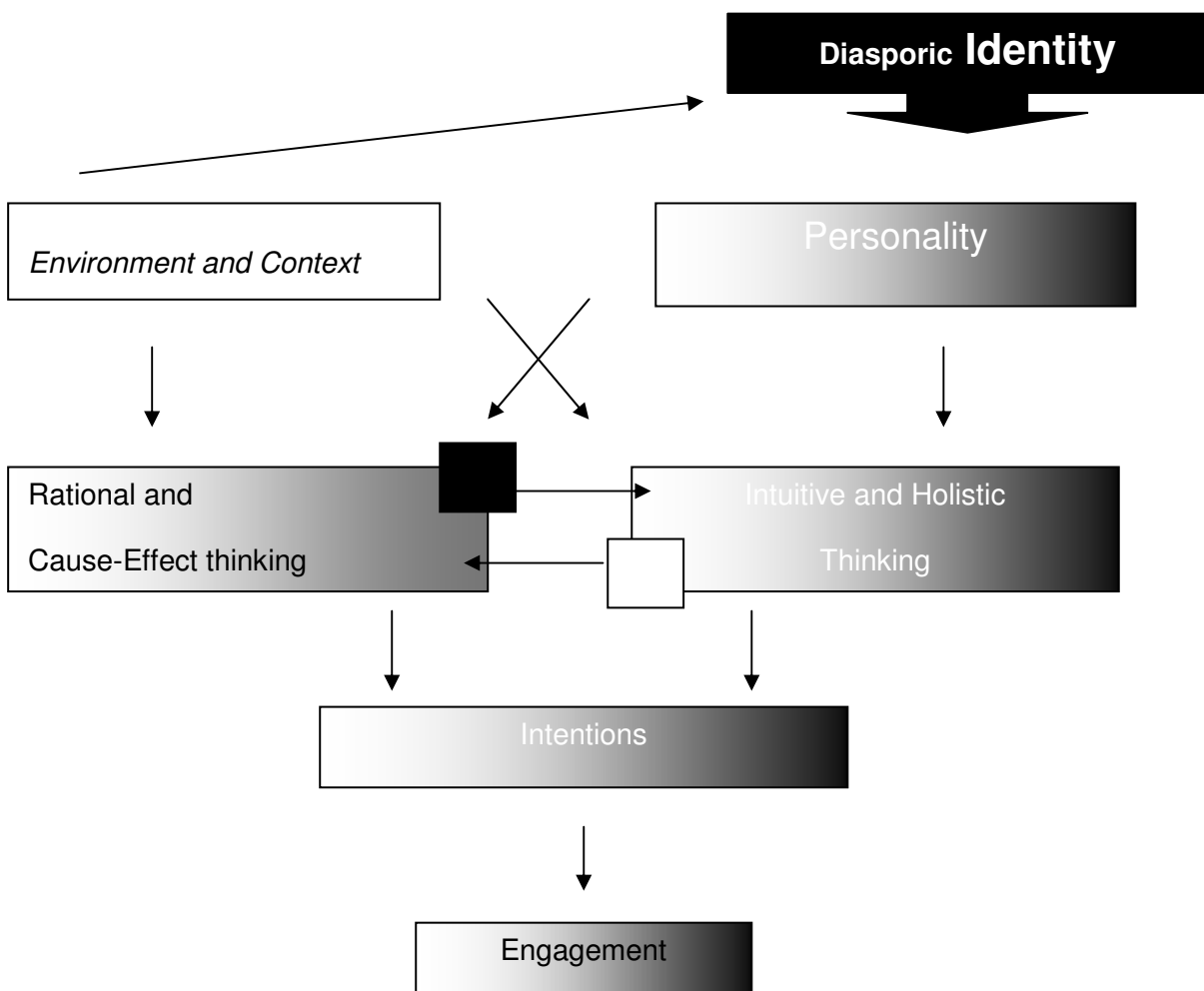
The first argument (*defining his business as a German one with a Turkish owner*) demonstrates the distinct identification of a *non-ethnic* entrepreneur but as a German entrepreneur of Turkish origin. The second argument (*being shocked about the problems of the first generation entrepreneurs*) demonstrates the advanced and more privileged circumstances of the new generation regarding legal, administrative and overall general knowledge.

7. Environment and Context

The political and social context and the overall environment need to be taken into consideration since it triggers rational and intuitive way of thinking. Economic and political exchange between Turkey and German such as general macro economic stability in Turkey would be arguments that trigger rational thinking.

The overall environment in the host country, more importantly, like perceptions in the majority society, media coverage or gestures can cause a fundamental effect on the personal consciousness and perception towards home and host and eventually also the Diasporic Identity. Hence, this aspect shall also be incorporated in this model, by extending a relation from the environment to the Diasporic Identity of the entrepreneurs.

Figure 1: Diasporic Identity in Bird's model of Intentionality, own conception.



8. Conclusion

The overall aim was to explore the impact of Diasporic Identity of second generation entrepreneurs of Turkish origin in Germany on their entrepreneurial behaviour by incorporating the factor *Diasporic Identity* into Bird's model of intentionality.

Taking Diasporic Identity as the point of departure, the illustrated box of *Diasporic Identity* (see figure1) has an impact on the *personality*, which then leads towards *intuitive and holistic way of thinking*. In the case of the interviewees, the factors were firstly, emotional affinity towards their home country, marginalisation and exclusion within society which fosters Diasporic Identity such and finally being able to contribute to the development of their *homeland*. The fact that most of the interviewees would prefer to engage in Turkey even though revenues might be higher in other places indicates the non-rational and non-profit maximising behaviour.

In regard to rational and cause-effecting thinking, the economic boom, the market opportunities and the demand for ICT specialists were collectively agreed upon.

However, some of the rational and cause-effecting thinking and reasoning touches upon Diasporic Identity; like a conscious decision to go to a country where one constitutes knowledge about local cultures and language skills. A further reason is the awareness that people and products from the *West* are very popular and finally, which is – as a *Turk from abroad* – a competitive advantage in Turkey. Interestingly, this perception is vastly different on a personal level. They fear being labelled and spotted as a *Turk from abroad*, being perceived as *Almançı* which subsequently, creates prejudices and resentments.

This mixture of rational and intuitive factors creates a special logic and lead to two folded intentions and subsequently, engagements. On the one hand, entrepreneurs by definition need to choose locations with the best turnover and profits. On the other hand, entrepreneurs are flexible enough to take their own decision in regards to business locations. Choosing Turkey might mean a loss in certain rational argumentation, but might gain a tremendous asset concerning their personal satisfaction.

Second generation entrepreneurs are hereby distinctive towards the first generation entrepreneurs. Educational and professional skills and abilities, the transnational nature of the ICT business, connecting *home* and *host* and *third spaces* on physical, symbolic, virtual and mental level, constitutes a high degree of opportunity-seeking character, personal and business mobility and future orientation.

It has therefore been proven to be appropriate to refer to *entrepreneurs of Turkish origin* and not to *Turkish entrepreneurs* - a term, which is usually applied in both, research and discourse. Hence, the second generation deserves a new frame and perspective and therefore, new approaches in research to study their particularities.

Finally, one needs to look at the *host*. Acknowledging the economic engagement and achievements of entrepreneurs of foreign origin might contribute to a more general recognition of their position in German society.

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