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Do concepts of ethnic economies explain existing minority enterprises? The Turkish speaking economies in London

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Abstract

Minority businesses have recently received a lot of scholarly attention. This paper critically analyses the concept of ethnic economies with regard to their applicability to recent migrant communities in specific urban settings. The critique is illustrated with case studies and information on Turkish speaking businesses in the UK, which to date have not been studied in detail. Only Turkish Cypriot businesses have received some scholarly attention. 'Turkish speaking' includes Turkish Cypriots, Turks and Kurds. The empirical basis is interviews with key informants, case studies of businessmen and women, and secondary analysis of statistics and community material, including business guides for Turkish speaking businesses from 1999 and 2003.

Introduction

Discussions about globalisation have focused our attention on transnational companies and large movements of people. The global players are governments, non-governmental organisations, NGOs, supranational and regional organisations and transnational companies that influence the large socio-economic and political framework in which we interact. Globalisation, defined as the growing interconnectedness of people, cultures and economies across national borders (Giddens 2002), has been facilitated by advances in internet and communication technologies (ICT), and transport, accompanied by cost reduction. These and other factors induced the huge worldwide restructuring of labour markets after Fordism. These other factors have included changes in the international division of labour, reinforced by the opening of new markets and places of production with cheap labour and less regulated working and production conditions in developing countries and lately in countries of the former Soviet Union. The “new” international division of labour meant that many manufacturing processes were outsourced to these countries. Many head offices, research and development units, and wholesale operations have remained in the Western industrialised countries (Sassen 1998, 2001). Many of these functions high up the value chain have been clustering in global cities and metropolitan areas. This has specifically affected housing and land prices, labour and transport costs.

My interpretation of the context for increasing self-employment focuses on two aspects. One consequence of the above-mentioned clustering of selected company functions in metropolitan areas in industrialised countries has been the need to outsource services and parts of the production process in order to reduce costs. This has created a demand for small businesses and the self-employed that can deliver some services and products at a much cheaper price, as they have fewer overheads than large corporations. The restructuring of labour markets globally has, moreover, forced many large companies to pursue internal restructuring with the effect of making people redundant. Some of those people have turned to self-employment as a career option, others have been unemployed for so long that they have pursued self-employment as a last resort to earn a living. In addition, some highly qualified people have left companies, as they did not want to remain within the hierarchical structures of large corporations.

Analysis of labour market processes in the 1980's for the UK has shown that rising self-employment corresponded to phases of increasing unemployment (Blanchflower and Oswald 1991). In recent years, fostering self-employment has become one of the top priorities in economic policy across the world, particularly in western industrialised countries. The enterprise society is seen as a solution to the structural economic crisis (Scase 2000, Rainnie 1991). The expected economic gains are job creation and innovation that ultimately lead to more productivity. In the UK, for years each Budget Report has highlighted the "enterprise society", a society in which enterprises are formed and seemingly prosper successfully to the benefit of all involved (Gavron et al. 1998, HMTreasury 2002, 2001). The UK hopes that more small businesses by disadvantaged groups, including black and minority ethnic businesses and women, contribute to closing the productivity gap (SBS 2002).

Table 1: The number of small businesses in the UK at the beginning of 2001

Kind of enterprises	**No. of enterprises**	**% of enterprises**	**employment in %**
All enterprises	**3,808,930**	**100**	**100**
*With no employees**	*2,600,940*	*68.3*	*10.6*
Employers	*1,207,995*	*31.7*	*89.4*
1-4	784,070	20.6	8.4
5-9	209,630	5.5	5.5
10-19	118,165	3.1	6.0
20-49	57,955	1,5	6,5
50-99	8,705	0.5	4,9
100-199	8,705	0.2	4.5
200-249	3,790	0.1	4.8

*Sole proprietorships and partnerships comprising only the self-employed owner manager(s) and companies comprising only an employee director.
Source: SBS 2003

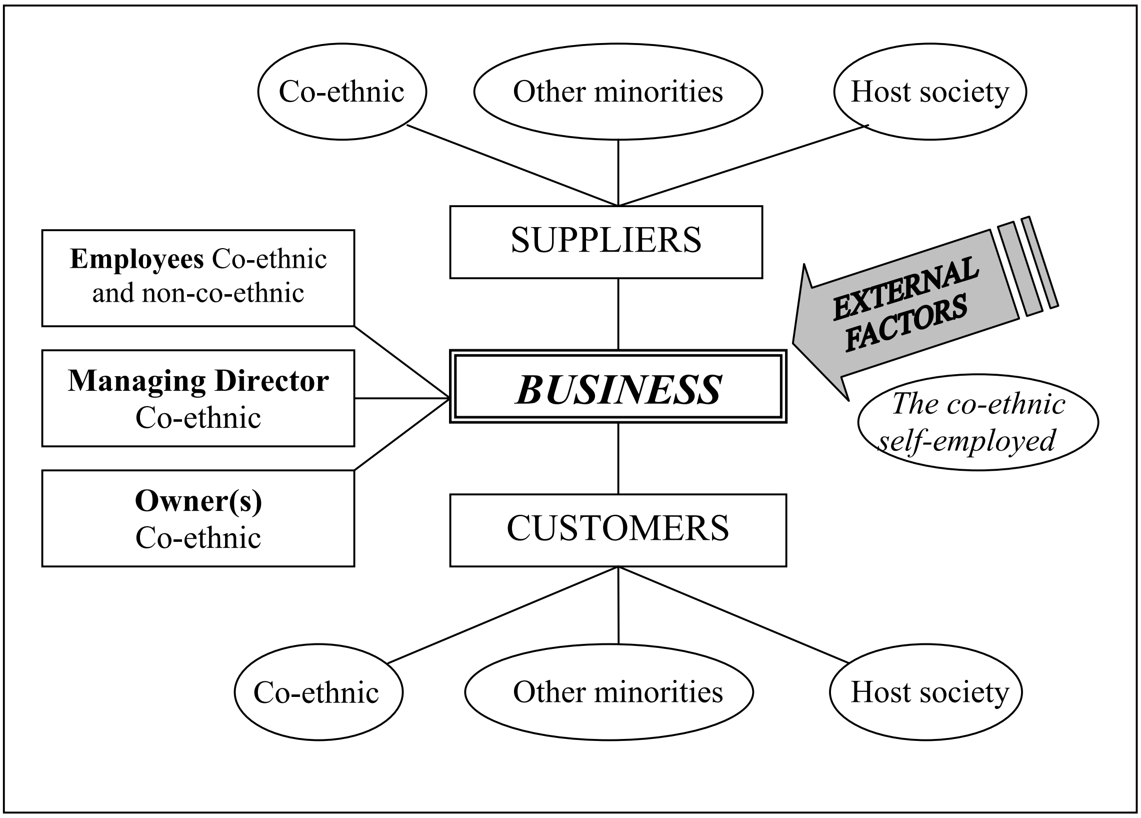
Minority businesses, however, have for a long time been regarded by mainstream economics as rather a burden (Sassen 2001, 1998), and their economic significance for the society of settlement and the minority community has been overlooked (Light and Gold 2000). Table 1 gives an overview of the number of small businesses in the UK. Women are still in the minority amongst the small business owners and the self-employed. However, their percentage is increasing at a faster rate than that of men in all western industrialised countries (Bygrave et al. 2001 and 2002), particularly amongst minorities (Light and Gold 2000).

The term "minority ethnic business" (MEB) is used here throughout, as the terms "migrant," "immigrant" or "ethnic" businesses are misleading. These terms are often used to describe migrants coming to a host society, which would exclude businesses that share religion as a common feature, for example Jewish businesses, or those operated by those who have been living in a country for generations and are not necessarily similar to recent migrants from developing countries. MEBs have been studied in more detail since the late 1970s by an increasing number of researchers (Aldrich et al. 1981, Light 1979, Bonacich 1972 and 1973, Ram 1992, Jones and McEvoy 1986, Ward 1986). These researchers have developed concepts to summarise, describe and explain the numbers of businesses by ethnic or racial subgroups. Most of these concepts were developed *a posteriori*, based on empirical findings on minority businesses in the US. This paper analyses some of these concepts and definitions and evaluates their usefulness for the UK context and for the case study of Turkish speaking businesses and self-employed people in London. It argues that the concepts and their operationalisation have remained partly unclear and that research did not consequently look at all the relevant aspects of small business activity. It further suggests that the basic categories these concepts and discussions are based on need to be re-examined in order to map existing realities. The empirical basis is interviews with key informants who are members of the Turkish speaking community, businessmen and women and business guides for Turkish speaking businesses.

Concepts for analysing minority businesses

Several concepts are used in the academic literature to analyse minority businesses. The most common are the “ethnic economy” and the “ethnic enclave economy”. However, authors do not use these concepts consistently. They vary in their focus on the different aspects of business formation and development. In order to structure the discussion and the criticism, the following four aspects have been chosen to describe the significant features of small business development: human resources in the businesses, including business ownership; suppliers; customers; context and location. Figure 1 shows their positions and relationships to each other. These four areas guide the critical evaluation of the literature on so-called ethnic businesses and are illustrated with research findings.

Figure 1: A model of the ethnic ownership of business



Definitions and overview of the concepts

"The ethnic self-employed and employers, and their co-ethnic employees" is one of the first operational definition of the *ethnic economy* (Bonacich and Modell 1980, p. 100-111). A later definition adds "unpaid family workers" (Light and Karageorgies 1994, p. 663). I agree with Light and Gold (2000) that this concept only describes ownership economies, excluding the self-employed. These authors rename this way of categorizing ethnic businesses the "ethnic ownership economy" (2000, p. 23). The distinctive rationale for creating this concept is to differentiate between employment created by co-ethnics and in the mainstream labour market.

The term *'ethnic enclave economy'* was originally used to describe an economy that is clustered spatially in few locations, based on the analysis of Cubans and African-Americans in the US city of Miami. The early definition assumed that every immigrant group or ethnic minority had an ethnic economy, but not an enclave economy. Three conditions need to be fulfilled for an enclave economy to exist. Firstly, the enclave economy has a spatial requirement in the clustering of firms. Secondly, it focuses on co-ethnic employees and employers and the economic interdependence of co-ethnic firms. Thirdly, ethnic enclave economies obtain advantages similar to a monopoly through the deep horizontal and vertical integration of business activities in co-ethnic communities. Thus, the value obtained at each stage of production remains with the communities. The self-employed were only included in the concept at a later point (Waldinger 1993). The focus of the analysis in this study was on the employees employed by co-ethnic employers. Due to these specific conditions, empirically not many enclave economies have been depicted. In later usage, the term summarised the economic advantages of locational clustering. Economic advantage is the outcome of the vertical and horizontal integration of businesses in core territorial locations, which enables them to keep the added value of the production process stages within their communities. Other authors defined those industries in which one ethnic minority was over-represented as making up an "enclave economy" (Zhou and Logan 1989).

Dissatisfaction with the concepts discussed above in further studies fuelled attempts to redefine them. Reitz (1980) defines *ethnic economy* as any work-context in which co-ethnics utilize a language other than that of the majority language in a given society at large. Ward (1987) further requires that both customers and suppliers are co-ethnics: if one of the conditions does not apply, the transactions at issue take place outside the ethnic economy. The concept of "ethnic hegemonization" focuses on the clustering of co-ethnics in an industry sector or more narrowly in a trade (Jiobu 1988). The industrial power that is achieved by numbers of employees and companies clustering in the sector or trade is significant. The broadest concept was developed by Logan, Alba and McNulty (1994). It made the sharing of an ethnic trait the differentiating feature of an ethnic economy, which enables members to gain economic advantage. Their concept includes relations between co-ethnic owners, co-ethnic employees in co-ethnic companies, and co-ethnic employees in the main labour market. For these authors an industry becomes ethnic controlled when co-ethnic workers in mainstream companies and co-ethnic employers, who are not necessarily employing only co-ethnics, together are overrepresented in the industry. In this approach, then, all ethnic-controlled industries together are the ethnic economy. This approach also implies that ethnicity has additional value which comes into play in relations between individuals sharing the same ethnic feature. Boyd (1990) describes the phenomenon among African Americans that job control is nearly as important as business ownership. This kind of job control through employees affects processes including hiring, pay negotiations, and working conditions, which are taken over by co-ethnic managing directors, social networks or organisations.

Light and Gold (2000) have recently redefined the term “ethnic-controlled economy”. Their focus is on the power of co-ethnic employees in the general economy. They describe it as “significant and persistent economic power exercised by co-ethnic employees in the mainstream economy” (p. 23). The basis of this power is the “de facto control of an economy based on numbers, clustering, and organisation (…) and possibly external political and economic power” (p. 23). Market power and economic power seem to be treated as equivalent in this approach. The rationale for the approach is to address the advantages of ethnicity in the economy and to include all manifestations of economic power based on number, organisation and clustering as viewed from the perspective of employees. The authors claim to summarise the concepts of ethnic niche (Waldinger 1996), Jiobu’s (1988) “ethnic hegemonization” and the effect of overrepresentation described by Logan et al. (1994) using the concept of the ethnic-controlled economy.

Explanations of ethnic business development and success

Traditionally, studies of “ethnic entrepreneurship” differentiate between focusing on the supply or the demand side. Academic studies have found several reasons as to why some members of minorities pursue self-employment. Some explanations stress the significant impact of cultural and ethnic resources (family and community members who contribute money, time, information and / or contacts), which enable ethnic men and women to realise a genuine wish for self-employment and the drive for upward mobility. Others highlight the escape from the primary labour market where minorities are disadvantaged. Reasons may include the lack of language skills, different education, skills and experiences, discrimination, unemployment and lack of upward mobility (Ram and Jones 1998, Bonacich 1972 and 1973, Waldinger et al. 1990a, Wilson and Martin, 1980, Light and Karageorgies, 1994, Light and Gold 2000). Other differentiations include “push” and “pull” factors, where push-factors refer to the above mentioned experiences in the primary labour market of the host society (Brockhaus 1982, Slevin and Colvin 1992, Boyd 1990). Pull-factors are those attractions of self-employment that motivate men and women to pursue it. These include increased wealth and income, and more personal freedom in the job (Light and Gold 2000, Waldinger et al. 1990a). Recently, Chavan and Agrawal (2002) pointed out the significance of “productive diversity principles" in multicultural societies for understanding business success. This term subsumes the use of language, ethnic skills, networks and resources, together with overseas capital, ownership of businesses in country of origin and the cultural diversity of the society the ethnic business operates in for economic benefit. Other approaches highlight the primary importance of such resources for explaining the phenomenon and economic success of ethnic businesses (Zimmer and Aldrich 1987, Boyd 1990).

Different approaches focus on integrating the supply and demand side, or agency and structure. Waldinger et al. (1990b) map the growth strategies of migrants. They differentiate four sequential stages. The first stage describes first entry markets, which show a high degree of ethnic concentration and low level of economic specialisation. The second illustrates the development of so-called "ethnic niches," which show a high level of ethnic and spatial concentration. "Ethnic niche" describes the clustering of businesses in one or a few trades, when they offer specific services or opening times of retail outlets and thus gain a market advantage that attracts customers. Markets are bigger, and facilitate ethnic specialisation. The third stage includes "ethnic niches" in "middleman" markets. Ethnic goods are sold to a large population. Markets have grown and are less spatially circumscribed and location dependent. Waldinger et al. discuss this business behaviour as innovative market and distribution strategy. The last stage, economic assimilation, entails the complete adaptation to the needs of the larger public and is called 'break-out'. Products change alongside production processes, and entrepreneurs lose ethnic identity and turn into mainstream firms. This also reveals the ideology of this approach – that economic incorporation means economic assimilation. I agree with Engelen (2001) that sequential theories of strategies for entering non-co-ethnic and non-local markets do not capture all the realities of existing business activities. One study found that first generation female migrants with high educational achievement, e.g. a university degree, target the host society from the start of trading (Strüder 2003). Innovation in practice means to make a business unique and not lose an identity that differentiates it from the other strategies. Sequential strategies also use the degree of ethnic concentration to categorize ethnic economies. Thus, they assume that protected markets create opportunities for ethnic firms, and do not picture ethnic businesses competing in the mainstream market from the start.

Jones et al. (2000) differentiate business strategies along the lines of co-ethnic or non-co-ethnic customers and local or non-local markets. However, they identify adaptation to mainstream preferences as the ultimate form of ‘break out’. Jones et al assume a geographical market hierarchy, with business strategies distinguished by whether they aim at co-ethnics or not and local or non-local markets. Break-out is defined as aiming for non-co-ethnic customers, the transformation of a stage in the production process nearer to the value adding stages and the targeting of non-local markets. The aim of market strategies in this definition seems to be to adapt to mainstream preferences. The possibility of businesses targeting the host society and other minorities from the beginning of trading is not recognised.

Approaches that are more recent aim to provide a more comprehensive explanation of the development of ethnic businesses. Interactionism is an approach that explicitly addresses the balances of agency and structure. The focus here is on how the interaction of agency, culture and structure leads to the emergence of ethnic entrepreneurship. Particular emphasis is put on the fit between offers of the agency side, so-called “ethnic resources” and the structure, particularly “opportunity structures,” which differs in different locations. Existing research often does not match the requirement this view demands, which is to vary conditions on the structure and the agency side (Light and Gold 2000, Waldinger et al 1985, Waldinger 1986). Three existing studies are mentioned here to illustrate the concept. Aldrich et al. (1984) compared Asian entrepreneurs to white British entrepreneurs in three British cities. They concluded that the opportunity structure in the environment beyond the community determined the shape and amount of ethnic entrepreneurship more than the agency side. Light and Gold (2000) criticise this study for lacking the insight which variation between different ethnic groups would have provided. Similarly, Waldinger (1986) only varied groups in his study and kept the environment / structure side constant. However, Razin and Light (1998) studied rates in self-employment of 77 groups, varied in national origin, in 16 metropolitan regions in the US and could show the interactive effect of opportunity structures in the environment and variation in the agency side. The most significant finding is that minorities from non-Christian countries and outside of North America and Europe with very different cultural backgrounds in terms of religion, practices and beliefs had a stronger tendency to concentrate in a few low-income trades in retail and in the service sector. Other minorities and their self-employment rate and pattern varied similarly to that of the host society in these urban settings.

The mixed-embeddedness (Kloosterman et al. 1999, 2001) approach claims to go further than this and provide a better framework for explaining ethnic minority businesses. It takes into account the interplay between ethnic minority businesses and the institutional, political and socio-economic background. It draws attention to the fact that the host society has an impact on the neighbourhood, the city, and the shape of the national and international influences with which these businesses interact. However, these ideas have been part of most geographical analyses for quite some time (e.g. Blanchflower and Oswald 1991). The discussion of the enterprise society has addressed many of these factors as well (Scase 2000, Burrows 1991). The businesses and entrepreneurs they picture have the following features: the ethnic minority businesses are located at the end of markets; entry is possible with few skills and only low income can be generated; the entrepreneur is a rather recent newcomer to the host society who arrives as an adult with no or little capital, low skills or qualifications and limited host society language abilities. Kloosterman et al (1999) acknowledge that there is a "new group" of professional migrants with high-level services who possesses good language skills and other qualifications relevant for the host society. However, they do not test whether the existing approaches and the ideas developed by them fit the practices of this group of members of minorities. Moreover, an increasing number of migrants in the global era are highly qualified, have university education and can aim for host society customers from the start of trading. Differentiation is needed between migrants from a similar socio-cultural background to the host society (e.g. religious, Christian, West-European, e.g. French, German) and those from a very different one (e.g. the Middle East or Africa)(Razin and Light 1998).

Turkish speaking people in London

The term 'Turkish-speaking people' summarises three very distinct groups: Turkish Cypriots, Kurds and Turks. Their settlement in the UK took place in distinct phases since the 1950s. Moreover, they differ in class, religious background, regional origin, socio-economic background, and motives for coming to the UK. Many Turks came from a number of villages in the same area. This can be illustrated by the names given to community centres and associations, e.g. the Anatolian Cultural Centre, named after a region in Turkey (Londra Gazete 2003).

Greek Cypriots have been studied in more detail, as they have been in the country since 1930 (Anthias 1992, Ladbury 1984). However, Turkish Cypriots have not. Most of the latter came from a rural background with little knowledge of English and little formal education. A large wave (migrated) between 1950 and 1970 in the post-war years when the British economy was prospering. Some came as political refugees as a result of the political events in Cyprus.

Many of these migrants worked in factories, particularly in the textile industry. This sector offered work opportunities where poor command of the English language was not a problem. It also provided scope for self-employment that was taken up by some. Another group came for educational purposes, intending to return to Cyprus after some years in the UK. These and the second and third generation settlers founded many community groups and organisations (Community Empowerment Unit 1999).

Turks and Kurds in the UK have not been studied or analysed in detail as the 1991 Census only offered the category "white other" for people with Turkish origin (Kücükcan 1999). For this reason, no exact numbers of immigrants are available. It has been estimated that there are between 80,000 to 120,000 Turks and Kurds, and about the same number of Turkish Cypriots, in the U.K. (Cicek 2003). Many people believe, however, that the actual number is higher. The big flow of Turkish migrants from mainland Turkey started in the mid-1970s. Following a military coup in Turkey, many came for political reasons. Another military conflict in the 1980s started a second migration wave with Germany being the primary direction. However, since 1984 some Turks and Kurds moved over from Germany to the UK. Most Kurds have come to the UK as political refugees in larger groups since the late 1980s when the conflict with the Turkish government led to severe persecution of Kurds in Turkey.

Turkish speaking people are not dispersed throughout the UK, but are concentrated in London, where over 80 % of them live (Centre of Expertise on Ethnic Minority Businesses, 1999). Their clustering in specific North London boroughs (Hackney, Haringey, Enfield, Waltham Forest, Islington) and in South London (Southwark, Lewisham) has meant that they are not a highly visible community to the majority of Londoners. This has changed for the Turkish and Kurdish newcomers and for second and third generation members of all communities (Kücükcan 1999). The Kebab shop is now a feature visible in many London boroughs. Reasons given by Turkish people for keeping to themselves include a focus on kin or social networks from villages of origin in Turkey, shyness due to language barriers, experiences of racism and the choice to remain amongst themselves. Thus, their social sphere often only includes Turkish people and their homes, community centres, and Turkish shops, restaurants, cafes and bars. Turkish Cypriots and second generation Turks and Kurds are more integrated. Every year new migrants from all these groups arrive in the UK. The size of their community and the constant influx of new migrants are important features for the development of Turkish speaking businesses, as they provide growing and continuous numbers of customers.

The following sections critically evaluate the existing literature based on aspects of human resources in the businesses, including business ownership, suppliers, customers, context and location, and illustrates the criticism with findings on Turkish speaking economies in London. Figure 1 shows the features addressed in the discussion of the literature and the following critical analysis. The perspective taken here is the view of an outsider focussing on the ethnic belonging of the individuals involved in business activities. I seek to evaluate the academic approaches and findings in order to establish to what extent policies to create jobs through supporting formation of small businesses and self-employment may be successful. In this context, understanding the business behaviour of minorities is of key significance. I take the view that the Turkish speaking economies include a co-ethnic ownership economy, a small enclave economy and not an ethnic controlled economy. This discussion is based on the analysis of business guides published by the Turkish newspaper Londra Toplum Postasi, Londra Gazete (1999 and 2003), the 2003 business guide published by London Medya Ltd. (2003), interviews with key informants and Turkish speaking business men and women in London.

Guides for Turkish speaking businesses

There are currently three guides listing Turkish-speaking businesses (TSBs) in London and the UK. One is published by the Turkish-British-Chamber of Commerce that only contains a small number of entries for its members. For London, it contains less than 100 businesses. London Medya Ltd., a private media company, has published a business guide this year for the second time. This guide lists companies free of charge, charging advertisers for colour - adverts, and includes all the companies the owner-manager of the company knows as a former president of a large community centre.

The guide published by Londra Gazete (1999-2003) has been written in both English and Turkish since 2000. The 2003 edition has 101 pages in A4 format with listings and full-colour one-page advertisements. The guide has several parts, which inform the reader about London and events in the community life during the past year. In the part entitled “London Guide” it lists businesses by all Turkish speaking communities that asked to be included in it. The entries are sorted alphabetically following the Turkish alphabet. It is important to note for the discussion and the analysis that this guide not only lists companies wholly owned by a Turkish speaker, but also companies with at least one Turkish speaking employee which are owned and managed by a non-community member. The entries only very rarely indicate the gender of the owner through the company name listed. Many businesses indicate a Turkish-speaking background in their company name.

This analysis is based only upon estimates of the existing number of businesses, as the guides are not fully representative of all companies managed or owned by Turkish speakers in London. The reasons for this are that some businesses are unaware of the guide, some have sufficient numbers of customers and do not want to be listed, others do not feel part of Turkish speaking communities, and a few particularly do not want any Turkish speaking customers. However, the listings give an indication of the variation in trades and specialisation in stages of the production chain. This is sufficient evidence for the purpose of the analysis in this paper, to show that the concept of "ethnic economy" needs some thinking through and readjustment to map the existing realities of minority businesses. For one trade in particular, dry cleaners, the numbers are very misleading. The Londra Gazete Guide (2003) does not list any dry cleaners; the London Medya Guide lists six. However, it is widely known by insiders and community members that many of the dry-cleaning establishments in parts of North and South London are owned and/or managed by Turkish speakers.

General criticism

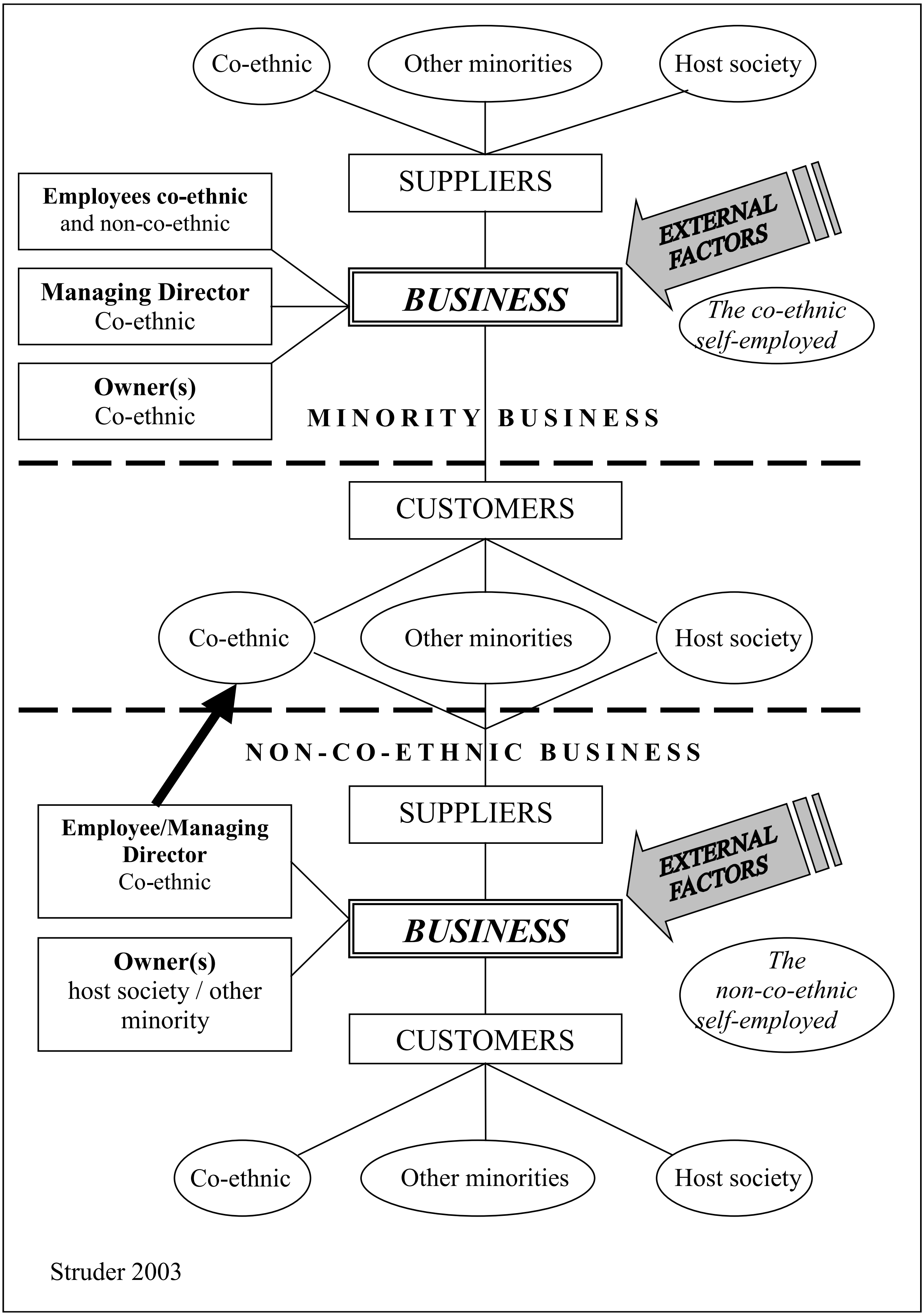
The first model of the ethnic ownership economy developed by Bonacich and Modell (1980) had a clear aim: to differentiate where jobs are created for co-ethnics in the general labour market - by non-co-ethnics or by co-ethnics in so-called ethnic economies. For the other approaches, the rationale is not clear. Is it still to explain and show where jobs are created for co-ethnics? Alternatively, is the aim to show whether small businesses are created to provide jobs for co-ethnics? The ethnic ownership economy model seems to take for granted that co-ethnic employers create jobs for members of their ethnic groups. Similarly, the question arises whether the aim of these models is to show to what extent minorities are integrated into the host society. In this paper, I seek to evaluate how far the aim of policies to create jobs through supporting formation of small businesses and self-employment may be valuable. In this sense, understanding the business behaviour of minorities is of key significance. Figure 2 illustrates the relationships between minority businesses and the so-called general labour market, entitled non-co-ethnic businesses, viewed by a non-co-ethnic observer.

Most empirical studies in recent years have not questioned the concepts they use sufficiently. For example, they refer to a community of people sharing one or two specific features, either ethnicity or religion or both. Thus, ethnicity is reiterated (Anthias 1992) as the main differentiating feature of individuals that seems to predetermine behaviour, resources and beliefs relevant for business development and performance. Ethnic belonging alone would then imply distinct business behaviour different from that of members of the host society. Similarly, the binary opposition between the mainstream economy and the so-called ethnic ownership economy assumes that there is always a difference in business performance and behaviour due to membership of a minority.

General labour market versus ethnic (controlled) economies

The two business guides published by community members also list businesses, which employ Turkish speakers and are owned by non-co-ethnics (Londra Gazete 2003, London Medya 2003). For an outsider it is not clear which of the entries is a company owned by a Turkish speaker or a non-co-ethnic. This provides strong evidence for the relevance of co-ethnic employees in non-co-ethnic companies for Turkish speaking economies. Reasons are that these employees offer advice and services for other community members and businesses. Additionally, as described in other studies (Waldinger 1993), Turkish speakers have influence on recruitment and can hire co-ethnics. The most striking example is that of a Turkish-speaking business adviser, who is employed by Business Link, a governmental business support organisation. The concept of the ethnic ownership economy does not view him as part of the "ethnic economy," even though for many businesses he is a focal point for advice and help and has contributed to business generation and job creation. Therefore, viewing him as part of the general labour market and thereby separating his contributions to the Turkish speaking businesses is impossible, and leaves out a substantial part of job generation sources.

Figure 2: The relationship between co-ethnic business and "the general labour market"



The focus of academic approaches has been on the direct effect of ethnic businesses on employment for co-ethnics. The indirect effect of employees in non-co-ethnic owned businesses on creating work and employment for new and existing co-ethnic businesses or the self-employed has been neglected. Similarly, the indirect effect of co-ethnic businesses on co-ethnic self-employment has not been appreciated sufficiently. Additionally, these employees can offer advice about business in the sector and trade, select suppliers of the same ethnicity and choose co-ethnic customers/clients. The following example of a woman in the position of managing director in a non-co-ethnic owned company illustrates these effects. Fatima Mohammed is managing director in a clothing factory owned by a Jewish couple in London. Since she has started working in the company, she has employed four Turks. All of the companies to which work has been out-sourced are Turkish speaking, 25 per cent are owned by Turks and 75 per cent by Turkish Cypriots. She also has the power to decide on suppliers. In this area price, quality and service guide her, and only some of the suppliers are Turks in Turkey. Fatima's employment policy shows that even though she does not own a company she is in a position to decide on hiring personnel and on which company produces the garments they wish to manufacture.

Intragroup differences

Even though the term used by many Turkish speakers treats all Turkish speakers as one group, there are significant differences between Turkish speaking people. Key informants and some business people have pointed out that Turkish and Kurdish people have well established wide ranging family networks which are very supportive and provide sources of finance, advice and unpaid labour. Turkish Cypriots show less social family cohesion and are less supportive of each other as pointed out by two Turkish Cypriot key informants and one businesswoman. Furthermore, the relations amongst the Turkish speakers differ by ethnic belonging. From an interview with two Turkish businessmen, I learned that some Turks only socialise and do business with Turkish Cypriots for practical reasons. They know the host society better and are better established in institutions, such as councils, or as teachers in schools. However, as soon as they become established themselves, they prefer to choose their co-ethnics from Turkey. Some Turkish men marry Turkish Cypriot women for these practical reasons, and the advantage that their British citizenship offers to them. Similarly, religious orientation makes a difference. It creates a strong basis for networking and business for some. Allevis, for example, are an Islamic subgroup Kurdish and Turkish people belong to. In addition, there are also significant political differences between Turks, notably between conservative and left-wing supporters. Some of them choose not to do business with each other. This finding is similar to that in a study of Iranians in Los Angeles who were grouped in four only slightly connected Iranian economies based on religious differences (Light and Gold 2000). There are many Turkish speaking economies whose members may not have any contact at all.

The literature discussed here describes an ethnic economy as something clearly definable with boundaries based on ethnic origin. However, not all individuals with the same ethnic origin actually mingle with others of the same origin socially and in business. These individuals are described in the literature as pursuing personal gain and profit (Light and Gold 2000) instead of serving and assisting the community. Moreover, these definitions assume that there is homogeneity amongst people with the same ethnic origin and thus disregard the existence of group differences and individual preferences such as those outlined above. Differences along the lines of gender, age, class, religion, first or second generation immigrants shape business behaviour significantly (Dallafar 1994, Light and Gold 2000, Struder 2002).

Those co-ethnic individuals who neither socialise with co-ethnics nor create jobs for them are described in the literature as pursuing personal gain and profit (Light and Gold 2000). This statement implies a moral imperative for immigrants to support fellow ethnics. Moreover, these definitions assume that there is homogeneity amongst people with the same ethnic origin, thus disregarding the existence of group differences and individual preferences such as those outlined above. In the London case, some men and women do not want to do business with co-ethnics. One female business start-up explicitly rejects dealing with Turkish customers as she sees them as unreliable. Even though her business premises are in the territorial core of residences and businesses of Turkish speaking people, she does not want to do business with them (Strüder 2003). Similarly, a Turkish self-employed male finance adviser who also assists clients to get mortgages refuses to work with his co-ethnics. He has had bad experiences with co-ethnics regarding bill payments and reliability. However, both advise co-ethnics on business issues outside a formal business relationship.

Human Resources, business support

My criticism starts with some of the underlying assumptions taken for granted in discussing ethnic economies. The binary opposition between the mainstream economy and the so-called ethnic ownership economy assumes that there is always a difference in business performance and behaviour due to membership of a minority. The basis referred to implicitly is ethnic belonging, and not business behaviour and performance. Even if the rationale for constructing the concept of the ethnic economy is differentiating between jobs created within or outside of the general labour market, this does not justify the conclusions drawn from this difference on business behaviour and performance.

Furthermore, belonging to the ethnic economy is based on the ethnic belonging of the individual. This underlines the process of socially constructing businesses owned and/or run by individuals as "other." Light and Karageorgis (1994) explain that "the ethnic economy" is dependent on ethnicity for its boundaries. The explanation underlines that the "ethnic economy is ethnic because its personnel is ethnic" (1994, p. 649, Light and Gold 2000, p. 10). This belief turns ethnic background into an essential necessary criterion for membership of the ethnic economy. Later explanations refer to ethnic economies as different in behaviour, although the aim of the concept has been to differentiate the source of job generation for members of minorities.

Based on these insights on differences, it is then even less understandable why a similarity of networks for every member of the minority ethnic group and solidarity amongst people of same ethnic origin is implicit in many studies (Ram and Jones 1998). Other studies point out that women often have different access or no access to ethnic networks which are based on the dominance of men (Hillmann 1998, Strüder 2002 and 2003) or create their own gender specific networks (Dallafar 1994). Studies have shown that most women have different networks for start-up and growth than men (Dallafar 1994, Moallem 1991, Hillmann 1998, Strüder 2002 and 2003). Some women turn to mainstream business support institutions and seek advice and support from non-community members. In my work on the London case, Sadiya, a divorced woman, preferred to contact a mainstream non-co-ethnic business adviser in a mainstream agency, as she did not feel she received the adequate necessary support from a Turkish speaking business advisor.

Location and clustering, suppliers and customers

Traditionally, three sectors of economies are differentiated: the formal, the informal and the criminal or illegal. The formal encompasses firms and the self-employed that work within the legal framework and pay taxes on all generated income. The informal sector summarises all legal commodities and production processes, which are not registered officially and for which no taxes are paid. In contrast, the illegal sector stands for unregistered business activities that produce and/or distribute illegal commodities or services, e.g. drugs, prostitution.

When considering the location of businesses a good starting point is to address business premises that can be found in business directories, business pages and the yellow pages. These list establishments in the formal economy. However, as ethnic economies are well known to have an informal economy and "criminal economy," other locations need to be considered as well. The location and possible clustering of businesses may give an indication if Turkish-speaking economies in London have an enclave economy.

The informal economy has some significance for each ethnic economy. However, it is hard to estimate its size. One reason for difficulties in estimating the size lies in its temporary nature. Formal businesses can in some situations carry out business activities that are not registered. Literally, cutting hair for a friend of a friend at a lower price paid in cash that is not registered as an earning is an informal business activity. The same is true for exchanging unrecorded services and goods. Light and Gold (2000) offer interesting percentages to add to the formal economy in order to estimate its size. Based on a review of the existing literature in the US, they suggest that on average 21 per cent of an ethno-racial group work in the informal sector; 11 per cent of an ethnic group's labour force work in the informal ethnic ownership economy; 10 per cent of an ethnic group work as employees and 1 per cent in the illegal sector.

Table 2 illustrates the main locations of businesses listed in the Londra Gazete Guide for 2003. There are clearly identifiable areas in which a majority of business premises are based, mainly N16, N17, and E8. Green Lanes and Stoke Newington High Road with adjacent side streets are known in North London as the "Turkish High Roads." A visitor in these streets can identify many businesses with Turkish names. It seems that most businesses cluster in the same area. However, these are not the only minority businesses in the area. These "Turkish High Roads" also host African-Caribbean as well as Greek businesses, specifically restaurants and groceries.

Trades in which Turkish speaking businesses are clustered are supermarkets, catering (restaurants, Kebab shops and cafes, bars) and wholesale. The estimate for the number of supermarkets/groceries is 111, based on the listings in the Londra Gazete Guide (2003). However, there are lots more. Only 11 are in South London, whereas at least 55 are in North

London, including Enfield. The actual number of listings is higher, as not all supermarkets are listed with an address in the guide. The majority of establishments are in postcode districts N16 and N17 (see Table 2). Similarly, even though the location of restaurants and take-aways is spread out throughout London in more than 45 postcode districts, the maximum number of establishments is in N16, N17, E8 and N4. Interview partners explained that the suppliers for most of these restaurants, take-away and groceries are Turkish speaking. The distribution of food and meat wholesalers is uneven in London, nine are in N17 and three in EN3, Enfield in North London, north of N17. This large number of food and meat wholesale establishments in the same or adjacent postcode districts gives an indication of a possible vertical integration of these businesses. This has been confirmed by two key informants. As many business transactions are carried out in a face-to-face manner with cash changing hands, even in many established TSBs, distance matters. The table also shows numbers for postcode district E17 that borders N17 and N15. It can be concluded from the evidence here that there is some vertical integration in the food and meat sector that may indicate an “ethnic enclave” for TSBs.

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Table 2: Main locations of Turkish speaking businesses in London

2003 / postal districts	**E 8**	**EN 3**	**E 17**	**N 13**	**N 15**	**N 16**	**N 17**	**N 4**
All establishments in all trades	**75**	26	22	45	50	**128**	**55**	60
Supermarkets	**8**	4	5	4	6	**12**	**11**	9
Restaurants	**9**	3	-	9	3	**26**	**3**	13
Meat and food wholesale	**-**	3	5	-	-	**1**	**9**	-

Source: Londra Gazete 2003

There are no statistics or studies on suppliers, customers and employees in these trades and businesses in these areas. Interview partners claim that customers in these core areas for the above mentioned trades are only partly Turkish speaking, and partly of other minorities. Similarly, employees in many and not all of these establishments are Turkish speaking. Some restaurants employ East European women as waitresses and in the kitchen, as they are “green workers”: they do not demand a high wage, and are willing to work evenings and nights in order to gain a living. Some have a work-permit; others do not, and accept even lower wages, for example £3 per hour. Other restaurants and groceries intentionally employ men and women from those other minorities and/or the host society from which they hope to derive customers. This is also a reason why some Turkish establishments employ British men and women. They expect their friends and peers to come along to try the services and goods and remain customers. There is no absolute dependence of Turkish speaking retailers and restaurants on Turkish speaking meat and food wholesalers, as there are many Greek and other wholesalers that can offer similar goods at similar prices.

Box 1

Locations for informal business
Business premises
Home
Mosque
Community centres
Café houses
Street markets
Business Fairs

Locations for *informal business* activities are numerous (see Box 1). The most significant differentiating feature of these locations is their temporary, unbound, irregular nature. Business premises have fixed opening hours and areas for carrying out business, whereas these locations are based on people with social relations coming together in a planned or unplanned way for a limited period of time. Business premises have an additional function for informal business. Restaurants, shops, cafes and bars are also meeting points for community members while pursuing their daily activities or just for socialising. Business activities are often created while chatting with co-ethnics.

The most common location is the private house. This is the location in which many formal and informal businesses start. For religious men the mosque is an informal temporary place for networking, preparing and doing business. Similarly, the café house is a typical men's place in which they meet to watch television, gamble, play cards and have tea. Business discussions happen on the side, and the café can be a meeting place for these activities. The street markets, specifically in Hackney and Haringey, are important locations for formal and informal (including criminal) businesses. More men than women pursue their business in these streets. Furthermore, community centres are more a man's than a woman's place for carrying out business. Even though they are open for both genders, not many women can be seen there on a regular basis. Finally, business fairs across London are locations for men and women pursuing formal and informal business activities. However, with the exception of the business fairs, all these locations are within the cluster areas in which many formal businesses are trading.

Diversification and variation in sectors and trades – break-out or break-in?

Since 1999 there has been evidence for a noticeable diversification in trades. Some trades have seen a large increase in numbers and opening up of establishments in new areas (Londra Postum Toplasi 1999, Londra Gazete 2003). Key informants confirm this has continuously happened since the collapse of the textile industry. Even though the numbers are not exact, and some increase may be caused partly by an increased wish to be listed in the guide, the changes indicate a significant development. The Appendix lists all trades in the business guide for 2003 (Londra Gazete 2003).

There are 88 different trades listed in the 2003 guide whereas the 1999 guide has 68 different headings. The changes concerning the textile industry are most significant. The 1999 and 2000 guides alone had three different categories concerning the "textile industry", "textile manufacturers and wholesale", "textile shops" and "textile wholesale", whereas the 2003 guide has only one. In 1999, there were 229 establishments in comparison to 40 in 2003. Many Turks from mainland Turkey came to the UK, particularly London, in the 1970s and 1980s with textile skills, such as tailors, trimmers, in order to work in the textile industry. At that time, the establishments in the textile industry employed over 90 per cent of Turkish speaking people.

It is mainly the collapse of the textile industry in western industrialised countries that pushed many Turkish speakers into pursuing self-employment. In the 1990s, many companies moved their production to Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey, as the collapse of the former Soviet Union opened up labour markets with cheap skilled labourers in the textile industry in Eastern Europe. This is clearly an induced change which deeply affected the Turkish speaking communities and is neither covered by the concepts of the ethnic economy nor by Jones' et al. (1990) nor Waldinger's et al. (2000) sequential strategies for development of ethnic economies (see Raes 2000 for the Turkish clothing industry in the Netherlands). The mixed embeddedness approach can address this external influence. However, it does not explain sufficiently why some men and women decide to pursue self-employment and others do not. The following quotation illustrates the significance of the collapse of the textile industry:

"Until the beginning of the 1990s, the textile industry was the third largest in the sector, 95 % of the combined Turkish population were employed in this trade. The remaining 5 % were involved in the food/catering industry. (…) Towards the end of the 1990s, 99 % of the textile trade collapsed. In the mid 90s there were around 1500 –1600 Turkish clothing factories in operation; to date only 20-30 of these factories remains standing. (…) Following the end of the textile trade various other trades have taken over, such as restaurants, fish & chips shops, kebab shops, cafes, supermarkets, minicab offices, off licenses, import – export and various other trades. Some companies have achieved a great deal in a short space of time." (Introduction to the London Medya Guide 2003).

The economic necessity to survive in the UK and earn a living pushed many Turkish-speaking men and some women into self-employment who were inexperienced in business. Others became unemployed, and one key informant indicated that some still remain unemployed. A large informal economy developed, and as the employment situation in the factories had only required limited English language skills, many workers had not made the effort to develop proficiency in the host society language. This fact, in combination with the limited amount of skills outside the textile trade, made many other trades inaccessible for them. Employment in the main labour market was difficult to get as many lacked the necessary English language skills.

The Appendix shows a large number of professional and business services. Mainly second and third generation Turkish Cypriots, Turks and Kurds and highly qualified first generation migrants, often refugees, are going into professional services (own findings, Community Empowerment Unit 1999). This picture of ethnic businesses is not matched by the mixed embeddedness approach with its implicit image of the low skilled and educated migrant. Neither do they pay particular attention to highly qualified professionals who pursue self-employment, in accountancy, psychotherapy, or as solicitors and consultants. These trades cannot be addressed sufficiently by the sequential strategies offered by Waldinger et al. (1990) and Jones et al. (2000).

It is important to note that some men and women directly target non-co-ethnics with business activities from start-up. An ethnographic study of Turkish speaking women in North London found that more than half of the interview partners clearly intended to serve either the host society only or a mixed customer group of other community members and the host society. Intention to choose non-co-ethnic customers was selected as the differentiating feature (Struder 2003). These women are first generation migrants of middle-class background with a university education. They do not "break-out" of the ethnic economy, as they were never part of it in the first place. Similarly, "break-in" would suggest that they have been outside of the general labour market before pursuing self-employment (see table 3). This only applies to a few, who have been working in a Turkish-speaking business before.

Table 3: Characteristics of interview partners

Name	**Age**	**Marital status**	**Number of children**	**Trade**	**Years in business***	**Intended target customers +**
Gönül	37	Single	-	Consultant	5	1
Sadiya	33	Divorced	2	Wholesale	0	1
Munever	27	single	-	Journalist	2	2
Konce	39	Married	2	Journalist	4	2
Fatima	34	Divorced	-	Bar owner	3	2
Eleni	34	Married	-	Wholesale	2	3
Gülay	34	Married	1	Estate agent	1	3
Emel	38	Married	2	Accountant	2	2
Ilkay	35	Single	-	Lawyer	6	3
Muge	37	Married	-	Café bistro owner	1,5	3
Semra	50	Married	1	Tailor	20	3

*at the time of the interview Source: Strüder 2003

+ target customers

1 host society business activities
2 community business activities
3 mixed customer businesses

"New" trades and future trends

In recent years, Turkish speakers have taken up a number of trades. Most recently, wholesalers and shops in footwear, window consultants, window and door repair and retail firms have been established. Two companies have several establishments for footwear with which they serve the wider society in London. Similarly, a number of minicab offices in North London are now owned/managed by Turkish speakers, very often Turks from Turkey. After having worked as cab drivers for a few years after the collapse of the textile industry, several Turks and Kurds took a minicab office over or opened their own. The entry level of skills is low for minicab drivers, and work can be organised on a flexible basis. This enables the cab drivers to have other jobs and work as drivers in the evenings, at night and over weekends. Similarly, it also allows a degree of ethnic networking in that they can employ other Turkish speakers. Selling of tiles and cutting and selling timber are two very recent business activities taken up by Turkish speakers. The following box summarises the way the diversification developed in the case of one business selling tiles from Turkey.

Box 2

Anatolian Tiles (source of the development: interview with key informant)
A funeral director in London has been importing gravestones and other materials for funerals in London from Turkey. His business partner in Turkey who has been producing tiles asked him if he wanted to take over selling these tiles in the UK. After exploring the business opportunities in London, the funeral director established this business. This summer (2003) he has opened a second branch in South - London, as the business has grown rapidly.

The future trends of TSB activities are growth for some small businesses and rapid diversification. As for the wider business population, only some businesses actually seek growth. Nearly every month new businesses in trades previously not pursued by Turkish speakers are taken up. Additionally, an increase in the numbers of establishments in already established trades in other areas of London is noticeable. This may be called a spatial "out-break," as these businesses are being established outside of the core areas in which Turkish people are resident. Furthermore, variation in products and services is constantly developed in some businesses.

Discussion and conclusions

The last section has shown that existing concepts do not fully explain the existing realities of business practices of Turkish speakers in London. The brief discussion of the business guide data has shown that there clearly is an ethnic ownership economy of Turkish speakers, more precisely ethnic ownership economies of Turks, Turkish Cypriots and Kurds who employ co-ethnics. In addition, there are large and increasing numbers of Turkish speaking employees in non-co-ethnic owned companies that generate labour for co-ethnic business owners and self-employed men and women. These include many professions and trades. However, this study did not find sufficient evidence for the ethnic-controlled economy. Similarly, "ethnic advantage" is not a phenomenon that applies to all Turkish speakers. The examples of intragroup differences for Turkish speakers and the experiences of women showed clearly that ethnic belonging is not always an advantage for business start-up or growth.

Turkish-speaking businesses cluster significantly in North London in the adjacent postcode districts N17, N16, N4 and E8. In addition, they cluster in a few trades such as supermarkets, restaurants, kebab shops and dry cleaning. These facts indicate that an enclave economy may exist, supported by the evidence that many meat- and food wholesalers are based in the same locations as the majority of businesses in catering and supermarkets. Rather, the large number of 24-hour / 7-day establishments with their suppliers seems to be a combination of an "ethnic niche" territorialised in an area. In addition, however, there are a number of Turkish-speaking employers and self-employed who choose not to do business with co-ethnics, neither as suppliers nor customers.

The focus of this analysis has been centred on evaluating the ability of different concepts to map the capabilities of Turkish-speaking people for job generation. The question now is for whom these jobs should be generated. The way the discussion of concepts for mapping and analysing minority businesses was organised suggests that the intention was to evaluate if jobs were created for co-ethnics. The analysis in this paper has clearly shown that this is the case through the business activities of some Turkish employers and Turkish-speaking employees in non-co-ethnic companies. However, the discussion also gave evidence that jobs are generated for members of other minorities and the host society. The conclusion is that Turkish-speaking businesses have a high capability of creating jobs for various groups in society, as Figure Two illustrates. This may apply to other minority ethnic businesses as well. The future trends of Turkish-speaking business activities are business growth for some, an increase of numbers of establishments in more areas in London and new businesses in trades previously not pursued by Turkish speakers.

Globalisation has had an impact on many people across the world. In less economically prosperous countries it has facilitated emigration to western industrial countries. Additionally, conflicts in many countries have forced highly qualified, educated and skilled men and women to migrate to industrialised countries. These people are a huge resource for innovation, and when engaging in self-employment and company formation can have a great capacity to create jobs for co-ethnics and the general society. This also applies to second generation immigrants. The analysis presented here has illustrated the enormous asset of minority ethnic businesses for the host society.

One point remains open. Is, as suggested by some authors (Waldinger et al. 1990a, Jones et al. 2000), assimilation the aim of ethnic businesses? The analysis of the business guide advertisements, discussion with key informants and businessmen and women has shown that adaptation is clearly an aim in order to be successful and survive in the global city. Assimilation, however, is a different issue. On the contrary, the large number of community associations and Turkish speaking Saturday schools which teach Kurdish and Turkish to children and offer religious and cultural classes shows clear strategies of some Turkish speakers to maintain difference and keep up some practices, specifically speaking Turkish. In my view, this has to be seen in the context of diversification and enriching British society. Even though many first generation Turkish speakers talk about going back to Turkey after some years when they have earned enough money, only a few actually do. Most Turkish speaking people want to stay in the UK. In addition, some of those who do leave return to the UK after some time. Many second, third and fourth generation Turks continue to reside in Germany, called by some 'Türkei-Deutsche', translated as Turkish Germans (Argun 2003). The terms British-Turks and British-Kurds are also applicable. As in the German case, these terms indicate both ethnic origin and national belonging. I know several British-Turks in London who willingly gave up their citizenship to become British citizens without a refugee experience, not only for practical reasons concerning travelling in Europe. They are at the same time actively engaged in building "difference" through engaging in community life and performing and changing Turkish practices. This creates a future for positive cultural diversity and co-existence in society and business.

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Appendix:

Trades of Turkish speaking businesses in 2003 in London Source: Londra Gazete 2003

Sector / Trade [1]	**Establishments in 2003#**
Service sector	
Professional and business services	
Accountants	63
Architects /Engineers	3
Banks	11
Dentists	3
Doctors	14
Finance	17
Hygiene Certificates	2
Import/Export	6
Insurance Agencies	15
Internet Services	4
Language Schools	2
Media: Radio TV Newspapers	2 6
Opticians	2
Promotions	2
Property	25
Psychotherapy	2
Recruitment Agencies	3
Solicitors	33
Translation & Advice	9
Transport & Shipping	15
Catering	
Bars and Pubs**	24
Café Shops**	6
Hotels**	4
Kebab Shops**	40
Pizza Shops**	14
Restaurants and Bars**	157
Tavern & Night Clubs**	14
Other services	
Airlines	3
Auto Repairs and Insurance	28
Bakeries and Patisseries*	12
Beauty Salons	11
Bedrooms/Bedding	6
Building and Decoration*	23
Car Dealers and Hire	5
Car Wash and Valeting	1
Carpets and Carpet Cleaners*	3
Cinemas	2
Driving Schools	11
Dry Cleaners	6

Gymnasiums	1
Hair Stylists*	46
ICT lessons	1
Limousine Services	3
Massage & Sauna*	13
Mini Cab Offices	19
Music Groups	17
Nurseries	1
Packaging	6
Photo and Video*	19
Recording Studio	1
Self-Storage**	2
Sports Schools	4
Transport	4
Travel Agents	8
Weddings	18
Window consultants	1
Retail	
Bookshops (& Libraries)	4
Car Spares and Acessories	3
Carpets and Carpet Cleaners*	3
Catering Equipment	3
Chemists	5
Computer	10
Curtains & Fabrics	7
Design and Print	13
Drinks Cash and Carry	3
Electrical Goods	14
Fashion Shops*	11
Fisheries*	2
Footwear, wholesale and shops **	6
Jewellers*	19
Marble and Tiles*	3
Music Shops	4
Photo and Video*	19
Restaurant Equipment	3
Satellite Systems	14
Serviettes	1
Shop Equipment	2
Shutters	1
Signs	4
Supermarkets	111
Telephone Systems	9
Timber (incl. cutting)	1
Wholesale	
Drinks Cash and Carry	11

Fashion Shops*	11
Fisheries*	2
Footwear, wholesale and shops**	6
Meat & Food Wholesale	49
Vegetable Wholesalers	2
Crafts	
Bridal Wear	5
Building and Decoration*	23
Butchers	7
Florists	12
Funeral Services	5
Glass Works	1
Hair Stylists*	46
Jewellers* (a few)	19
Massage & Sauna*	13
Memorial Services	2
Metal Works	8
Patisseries	6
Photo and Video*	19
Plumbing	7
Upholstery	19
Windows and Doors	1
Textile Industry (incl. Manufacturers, wholesale, textile shops)	40
Community facilities	
Associations	88
Social Clubs**	10
Turkish Schools	21
Mosques	4
Host society	
Airports	5
Colleges and Universities	14
Consulates and Embassies	23
Councils	17
Government Offices	6
Hospitals	20
Police Stations	54

** These numbers for 2003 are based on the two business guides published by Londra Gazete and London Medya Ltd.
* Listed also under another category # Actual numbers of businesses in these sectors are estimated to be higher.
1 The table also includes institutions of the British host society, such as airlines and hospitals. These have been included for the purpose of giving some evidence about the the wish for, and possible degree of, integration into the society of settlement.
The section "crafts" was taken up in order to illustrate the skills variety of TSBs.