Université de Montréal

Immigrant Entrepreneurship in Quebec: A Case Study of Turkish Entrepreneurs in Montreal

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Mémoire présenté à la Faculté des études supérieures et postdoctorales en vue de l'obtention du grade de maîtrise en sociologie

Juin 2025

Université de Montréal

Faculté des études supérieures et postdoctorales

Ce mémoire intitulé

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RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude examine les expériences entrepreneuriales des immigrants turcs à Montréal, Québec, d'un point de vue sociologique. Cette recherche se focalise sur les motivations socioculturelles, les obstacles institutionnels et les contributions socioéconomiques des entrepreneurs turcs, contrairement à la littérature existante qui met l'accent sur la performance économique et les stratégies managériales. Elle étudie comment l'identité culturelle, les migrations et le contexte québécois influencent les parcours d'entrepreneuriat. Basée sur la théorie de l'ancrage mixte, soulignant l'interaction entre l'agentivité individuelle et les opportunités structurelles, cette étude utilise une approche de recherche qualitative. Les données ont été collectées lors d'entretiens approfondis avec douze entrepreneurs turcs immigrés, actifs dans des domaines comme la restauration, l'épicerie, la boulangerie et les services personnels. Une analyse thématique a été effectuée avec NVivo 15 pour repérer les motifs et thèmes.

Les résultats révèlent que l'entrepreneuriat turc est souvent motivé par la nécessité, la fierté culturelle et le désir de combler des lacunes perçues sur le marché. Les participants ont tiré parti de leur héritage culturel, notamment la langue, les traditions culinaires et les normes sociales, pour créer des niches économiques, en particulier dans les secteurs ethniques. Néanmoins, ils ont été confrontés à des obstacles importants, tels que les barrières linguistiques, les défis bureaucratiques, un accès limité au financement et des réseaux communautaires fragmentés. L'étude souligne que les entreprises turques immigrantes à Montréal ne fonctionnent pas uniquement comme des unités économiques, mais aussi comme des espaces significatifs de préservation de l'identité, de renforcement des liens sociaux et de promotion de la continuité culturelle. Insérées dans le cadre institutionnel et linguistique distinct du Québec, ces entreprises mettent en lumière l'interaction complexe entre la migration, les réseaux, l'entrepreneuriat et l'intégration dans les sociétés urbaines contemporaines.

Mots-clés : immigrants turcs, entrepreneuriat immigrant, socio-économique, entreprises ethniques, Montréal.

ABSTRACT

This study explores the entrepreneurial experiences of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal, Quebec, through a sociological lens. While much of the existing literature on immigrant entrepreneurship focuses on economic performance and managerial strategies, this research emphasizes the socio-cultural motivations, institutional barriers, and broader socio-economic contributions of Turkish entrepreneurs. It investigates how cultural identity, migration trajectories, and Quebec's institutional landscape shape entrepreneurial pathways. Grounded in Mixed Embeddedness Theory, which highlights the interaction between individual agency and structural opportunities, the study adopts a qualitative research design. Data were collected through semi-structured, in-depth interviews with twelve Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs operating in sectors such as restaurants, grocery stores, bakeries, and personal services. Thematic content analysis was conducted using NVivo 15 to identify patterns and emerging themes within the data.

Findings reveal that Turkish entrepreneurship is often driven by necessity, cultural pride, and the desire to fill perceived market gaps. Participants leveraged their cultural heritage, such as language, food traditions, and social norms, to establish economic niches, particularly within ethnic sectors. Nonetheless, they faced considerable obstacles, including language barriers, bureaucratic challenges, limited access to financing, and fragmented community networks. The study underscores that Turkish immigrant businesses in Montreal function not only as economic units but also as meaningful spaces for preserving identity, fostering social ties, and promoting cultural continuity. Situated within Quebec's distinct institutional and linguistic framework, these enterprises illuminate the complex interplay between migration, networking, entrepreneurship, and integration in contemporary urban societies.

Keywords: Turkish immigrants, immigrant entrepreneurship, socio-economic, ethnic businesses, Montreal.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the cherished memory of my beloved parents, Mr. **Falikou Konneh** and Mrs**. Madusu Konneh.**

Your love, strength, and sacrifices have shaped me in ways that words cannot fully express. Although you are no longer here to witness this significant milestone, your enduring spirit continues to guide and inspire me every day.

This accomplishment belongs as much to you as it does to me.

May your souls rest in perfect peace for all eternity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to convey my profound gratitude to everyone who has assisted me during my academic journey. This thesis could not have been accomplished without the encouragement, direction, and support of numerous individuals.

I would like to express my gratitude to my family, whose steadfast love and support have upheld me throughout this journey. I am profoundly appreciative of my brother, Mamadou Sekou Kone, whose ethical and financial assistance was vital in enabling me to undertake and finalize my graduate studies.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Ahmed Hamila, for his priceless mentorship, unwavering support, and intellectual guidance. His dedication to scholarly excellence and critical thinking has profoundly shaped the trajectory and depth of this research.

I am also deeply indebted to Haji Ali, a respected Turkish businessman and humanitarian who has spent nearly 30 years in Montreal helping Turkish immigrants to settle. Despite his demanding schedule, he graciously dedicated an entire week to accompany me through various Turkish-owned enterprises, including restaurants, grocery stores, and pastry shops—encouraging business owners to participate in my study. His generosity, community leadership, and unwavering support were instrumental in the success of my fieldwork.

My heartfelt thanks also go to my friend Burak Sahin, whom I met during my preliminary data collection. Burak played a critical role in facilitating introductions, building trust with potential participants, and supporting my data collection efforts, much like Haji Ali. His friendship and commitment were invaluable to the success of this research.

I extend my sincere gratitude to Clinic Mauve for affording me the opportunity to engage in an environment that enhanced both my academic and research experience. The exposure and assistance I obtained from this opportunity significantly enhanced the practical aspect of my research.

Finally, I extend my gratitude to everyone who believed in, encouraged, and supported me throughout this journey.

PREFACE

This thesis represents the culmination of an intellectual and personal journey that began well before my arrival in Montreal. Having lived and studied in Turkey for six years, where I attained fluency in the Turkish language, I developed a profound understanding of its people, culture, and complex socio-political dynamics. These experiences laid the foundation for my enduring interest in the entrepreneurial endeavors of Turkish immigrants in Quebec, ultimately shaping the research questions and methodological approach of this study.

Upon arriving in Montreal as a graduate student, I quickly noticed the vibrant presence of Turkish-owned enterprises throughout the city—restaurants, grocery stores, bakeries, pastries, and barbershops—many bearing names of well-known cities such as Adana, Ankara, and Istanbul. Yet despite their visible presence, I discovered a surprising lack of academic research on their experiences within the Canadian and Quebecois context. This absence in the scholarly literature motivated me to investigate their narratives, not merely as economic actors, but as cultural custodians, community leaders, and social navigators in a province defined by a distinct linguistic and political identity.

This research involved much more than conducting interviews; it required building trust, navigating cultural and political sensitivities, and engaging with the complexities of ethnic and national identity, particularly among Turkish and Kurdish participants. Despite the challenges of participant recruitment, especially due to inter-ethnic tensions, I was fortunate to engage twelve entrepreneurs who generously shared their experiences, struggles, and aspirations.

This thesis reflects both their lived realities and my evolving understanding of immigrant agency, cultural identity, and the systemic forces shaping entrepreneurship within a multicultural context. I hope that this work contributes to academic knowledge, informs policy, supports community advocacy, and promotes greater intercultural understanding.

I express my profound gratitude to the participants who made this research possible, to my supervisor, Professor Ahmed Hamila, for his steadfast guidance, and to the Turkish community in Montreal for their warmth and openness throughout this journey.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAQ - Coalition Avenir Québec

EU - European Union

IRCC - Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada

MIFI - Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Francisation et de l'Intégration

NGO - Non-Governmental Organization

NVivo - Qualitative Data Analysis Software (by QSR International)

OECD - Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

PNP - Provincial Nominee Program

QSR - Qualitative Software Research

RQ - Research Question

SME - Small and Medium-sized Enterprise

UdeM - Université de Montréal

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNDP - United Nations Development Program

CHAPTER I – INTRODUCTION

1.1 Contextualization

The terms migrant entrepreneurship, immigrant entrepreneurship, and ethnic entrepreneurship are frequently used interchangeably in the literature (Basu, 2006). While these concepts are closely related, important distinctions exist. Migrant entrepreneurship broadly refers to entrepreneurial activity initiated by individuals who have relocated from one geographic region to another, either across or within national borders (Kloosterman & Rath, 2003). Immigrant entrepreneurship, by contrast, specifically refers to business activities undertaken by foreign-born individuals residing in a host country. Ethnic entrepreneurship, meanwhile, focuses on entrepreneurs whose activities are embedded within a distinct ethnic community, regardless of whether they are immigrants or native-born (Rahman et al., 2021).

These distinctions are particularly relevant to this study, which focuses on Turkish entrepreneurs in Montreal, including individuals of both Turkish and Kurdish ethnic backgrounds. While they may differ ethnically, participants in this study share the broader experience of immigration from Turkey to Quebec, making “immigrant entrepreneurship” the most appropriate overarching category for conceptual framing.

Immigrant entrepreneurship constitutes a significant advantage for Quebec's economy, as seen by the elevated rate of entrepreneurial intention among immigrants relative to native-born citizens. This is particularly visible in Canada, where immigrants significantly contribute to the establishment of enterprises, employment opportunities, and wealth development. According to Statistics Canada (2021), immigrants accounted for over 25% of business owners in major Canadian cities like Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver, with sectors such as retail, food services, and transportation showing high immigrant ownership (StatsCan, 2021). In Quebec, the Ministère de l’Immigration, de la Francisation et de l’Intégration (MIFI) reports that approximately 4,000 entrepreneurs, investors, and self-employed individuals immigrated annually between 2008 and 2017, contributing nearly 20% of economic immigrants and bolstering Montreal’s economic diversity (MIFI, 2019).

Montreal, as Quebec's largest city, serves as a hub for immigrant entrepreneurship due to its multicultural population and vibrant economic ecosystem. The city's diversity, with over 34% of its population born outside Canada (Statistics Canada, 2022), fosters a dynamic environment where immigrant businesses thrive, particularly in ethnic niches like food services and retail. In Montreal, the Turkish community, although smaller than the Chinese or Indian populations, consists of approximately 13,500 individuals (Statistics Canada, 2022) and is particularly active in entrepreneurship by operating businesses such as restaurants, bakeries, and grocery stores that reflect their cultural heritage and meet community needs (Cisneros et al., 2021). This study focuses on Turkish immigrants in Montreal because their entrepreneurial activities, while visible in the city's commercial landscape, remain under-researched compared to larger immigrant groups, offering a unique opportunity to explore how a smaller community navigates Quebec's distinct socio-political context (Bilge, 2010).

Despite extensive academic interest, there is no universally accepted definition of immigrant entrepreneurship (Malerba & Ferreira, 2021). Some definitions, such as that of Aliaga-Isla and Rialp (2013), emphasize entrepreneurship as an immediate survival strategy upon arrival. Others view it as a long-term pathway to economic mobility. Definitions vary, ranging from initiating and managing a business (Farandos et al., 2015) to creating value under uncertainty (Katila et al., 2012).

Aldrich and Waldinger (1990) define entrepreneurship as the process of creating and commercializing an idea or product, assuming associated risks and rewards. An entrepreneur is an individual who creates a new business, bearing most of the risks and enjoying most of the rewards. Entrepreneurs play a key role in any economy, using the skills and initiative necessary to anticipate needs and bring new ideas to market (Hiebert, 2008; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Light & Gold, 2000).

The academic study of entrepreneurship is interdisciplinary, encompassing economics, sociology, management, urban studies, and migration studies (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001; Magnus & Chunbei, 2019). Some approaches emphasize personal traits and behaviors (Brzozowski et al., 2014; Vinogradov, 2008), while others adopt a structural lens, examining how entrepreneurs are shaped by their institutional and cultural environments. Olaison (2014) refers to this as a processual or contextual approach, focusing on the interplay between the entrepreneur and their surroundings.

Further debates exist about what defines an entrepreneur. Stevenson and Jarillo (1990), Kauffman (2020), and Dabic et al. (2020) argue that entrepreneurship should not be confined to founding a business but can include individuals who transform or scale existing enterprises. Sociologically, Krackhardt (1995) suggests entrepreneurship can emerge from within organizations through the actions of employees and managers. Others, like Zahra et al. (2014), highlight the role of upbringing and cultural background in fostering entrepreneurial behavior. Hessels et al. (2011) add that societies with high achievement orientation tend to produce more entrepreneurs.

Additional perspectives focus on the entrepreneur's vision and ability to act under constraint. Keogh and Plonsky (1998), along with Feix et al. (2020), describe entrepreneurs as individuals who recognize and pursue opportunities with limited resources. Sim (2015) similarly emphasizes courage and risk-taking as essential characteristics.

While definitions may vary, most agree that entrepreneurship involves establishing and sustaining a business to provide goods or services. The debate lies in whether to focus on the enterprise or the individuals driving it. For this study, I adopt a working definition in line with Welter (2011) and Stevenson and Jarillo (1990): entrepreneurship is the systematic pursuit of creating and sustaining a business, led by individuals or groups aiming to offer value. I define an entrepreneur as someone who independently establishes their own business whether out of opportunity or necessity.

This definition suits the focus of this study, which explores the lived experiences of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal, most of whom operate small or mid-sized businesses. The research is not centered on innovation-led startups but rather on individuals navigating economic survival, community engagement, and cultural expression.

Immigration has long played a vital role in shaping Canada's multicultural identity and economic progress (IRCC, 2020). Across Canada, immigrants significantly contribute to enterprise establishment, job creation, innovation, and community development, with studies showing they start businesses at higher rates than native-born populations (Fairlie & Lofstrom, 2013). In Quebec, immigrant entrepreneurship is a vital economic force, particularly in urban centers like Montreal, where immigrant-owned firms enhance job growth and economic diversity (Cisneros et al., 2021).

Within the broader Canadian context, Quebec presents a unique setting for immigrant entrepreneurship. Quebec's distinct socio-political environment shapes the entrepreneurial landscape for immigrants in unique ways. Unlike other Canadian provinces, Quebec operates under an interculturalism model, which emphasizes integration into a shared civic culture centered on the French language and Quebecois values, contrasting with Canada's broader multiculturalism policy (Bouchard, 2011). This model influences how immigrant entrepreneurs engage with local institutions and markets.

Additionally, Quebec's language laws, such as "Bill 101" (which requires the use of French in business and public life), "Bill 96" (which reinforces French as the main language), and secularism policies like "Bill 21" (which bans religious symbols for some public workers), create unique challenges for entrepreneurs who do not speak French or belong to visible minority groups. Bill 101 mandates French in business operations, signage, and public interactions, while Bill 96 strengthens these requirements, impacting business compliance and market access. Bill 21, which prohibits religious symbols for certain public employees, indirectly affects entrepreneurs by shaping perceptions of cultural and religious expression in the public sphere (Ibanescu et al., 2018). These policies create a complex institutional framework that Turkish entrepreneurs must navigate, balancing cultural identity with regulatory compliance.

Immigrants bring unique skills, perspectives, and networks that support local economies. However, immigrant entrepreneurs often face systemic barriers, including language challenges, limited access to financing, unfamiliarity with regulatory environments, and cultural adjustment difficulties (Luis & Rahman, 2021). Those who succeed frequently rely on adaptability, resourcefulness, and informal support networks (Golob et al., 2016).

Self-employment is becoming a feasible avenue to economic and social integration for immigrants. It allows mainstream and co-ethnic market involvement (Kushnirovich, 2015). Statistics show that immigrants own more enterprises than native-born people (Brzozowski, 2017). Small immigrant businesses create jobs, pay taxes, and provide family income. Thus, Canada, the US, Australia, and numerous EU nations have adopted immigration and integration policies to encourage entrepreneurship (Rath & Swagerman, 2016).

Nonetheless, the literature also highlights the limitations and vulnerabilities inherent in immigrant entrepreneurship. Many immigrant-owned businesses operate on the economic periphery, often facing instability, long working hours, and limited security (Pécoud, 2002; Caparrós Ruiz, 2010). Overreliance on co-ethnic marketplaces and the potential for labor exploitation within family businesses further complicate the sustainability of immigrant enterprises.

In the context of Quebec, recent statistics from the Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Francisation et de l'Intégration (MIFI) report that over 36,500 entrepreneurs, investors, and self-employed individuals immigrated to Quebec between 2008 and 2017, averaging about 4,000 per year and accounting for nearly 20% of all economic immigrants (MIFI, 2019). These figures do not account for temporary residents on work or study permits who also aspire to launch businesses. Despite their substantial contributions, immigrant entrepreneurs continue to encounter disproportionate challenges in accessing Quebec's entrepreneurial ecosystem, particularly in a post-pandemic context (Ibanescu et al., 2018; Azoulay & Marchand, 2022; MIFI, 2021).

Despite many studies explore immigrant entrepreneurship in Canada, they often treat immigrant groups as a monolith without distinguishing between racial, ethnic, or national backgrounds (Lo & Teixeira, 2015). This study addresses that gap by focusing specifically on Turkish immigrants in Montreal, a growing yet under-researched community in the Canadian context.

Although the Turkish community in Montreal is smaller than larger immigrant groups such as Chinese, Indian, or Italian populations, it demonstrates significant entrepreneurial activity, with businesses spanning sectors like hospitality, construction, and retail, indicative of their cultural and economic adaptability (Cisneros et al., 2021). Exploring the motivations, challenges, and strategies of these entrepreneurs offers valuable insights into the dynamics of immigrant entrepreneurship in Quebec, contributing to broader discussions on inclusion, policy, and economic development in diverse urban settings (Hiebert, 2008).

This study seeks to investigate the entrepreneurial experiences of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal, a demographic that is underrepresented in current research, within Quebec's unique socio-cultural and economic context (Cisneros et al., 2021). Utilizing a qualitative case study approach, it examines the personal, cultural, and historical motivations driving Turkish

immigrants to pursue entrepreneurship, alongside challenges such as bureaucratic obstacles, limited access to capital, language barriers, and social exclusion, which align with broader immigrant entrepreneurship obstacles in Canada (Chrysostome & Arcand, 2009).

The study also seeks to evaluate the role of social networks, both ethnic and cross-cultural, in providing resources, mentorship, and emotional support. Furthermore, it examines how Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs interact with governmental institutions, including immigration policies and business support programs, and how their socio-economic backgrounds influence their industry choices and business strategies.

A key objective of the research is to explore the adaptation strategies these entrepreneurs employ to succeed in Quebec's complex landscape such as branding decisions, customer engagement practices, and the incorporation of cultural identity into their enterprises. In addition, the study analyzes the contributions of Turkish-owned businesses to Quebec society, including job creation, cultural representation, economic integration, and social cohesion.

For the purposes of this study, 'Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs' are individuals of Turkish nationality who own and operate enterprises in Montreal, including both ethnic Turks and Kurds, unless otherwise noted. This broad term reflects the study's emphasis on shared nationality and migratory experiences in Quebec's distinctive environment.

By addressing these issues, the research aims to contribute to the broader discourse on immigrant entrepreneurship through the lens of Mixed Embeddedness Theory (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001). It provides insight into how entrepreneurial activity is shaped not only by individual ambition but also by the institutional, economic, and cultural structures of the host society. In doing so, the study enhances understanding of the unique realities faced by Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs and offers valuable implications for both academic research and public policy.

1.2 Problem Statement

Immigrant entrepreneurship is widely recognized as a key driver of innovation, job creation, and economic growth in host countries (Dabic et al., 2020). However, immigrant entrepreneurs often face significant barriers that hinder their full integration into the local economy. These include limited access to financial capital, unfamiliarity with legal and regulatory systems, and cultural or language barriers (Agyekum et al., 2020). In Quebec, where the business environment

is shaped by a distinct French-speaking and culturally unique identity, such challenges are further amplified, particularly for non-Francophone immigrants (Ibanescu et al., 2019).

Although there is a growing body of literature on immigrant entrepreneurship in Canada, much of the existing research tends to focus on dominant ethnic groups or broader economic analyses. The specific entrepreneurial experiences of Turkish immigrants remain largely underexplored within Quebec's distinctive socio-political and linguistic landscape.

The Turkish immigrant community in Montreal has steadily expanded over the past few decades, yet it remains underrepresented in academic studies. Compared to groups such as Chinese, Indian, Italian, or Mexican entrepreneurs, Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs have received comparatively little scholarly attention, despite their increasing visibility within Montreal's commercial sectors. Similarly, while Turkish migration patterns have been extensively studied in broader international contexts, their presence in North America and Canada remains insufficiently documented.

This gap underscores a pressing need for research that investigates the sociological dimensions of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship in Quebec. Such research is crucial not only for advancing academic knowledge but also for informing public policy and integration strategies. This thesis seeks to fill that gap by examining the lived experiences of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal. It focuses on the motivations that drive their entrepreneurial journeys, the barriers they encounter, and the strategies they adopt in navigating Quebec's institutional, cultural, and linguistic environment.

Furthermore, while existing literature on immigrant entrepreneurship often focuses on managerial, economic, or policy frameworks rather than lived socio-cultural experiences (Cisneros et al., 2021), this study makes a timely and meaningful contribution to literature in several ways.

As no sociological studies have researched Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal, it addresses an understudied topic. Second, it emphasizes immigrant entrepreneurship's significance in Quebec's multicultural society's economic development, job creation, and innovation (Hiebert, 2008). Finally, Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs and their native-born counterparts help Montreal's socio-economic settings become diversified, vibrant, and competitive, improving social integration and cohesion (Chrysostome & Arcand, 2009).

1.3 Aims of the Study and Research Questions

The primary aim of this study is to examine the entrepreneurial experiences of Turkish immigrants in Montreal within the broader context of Quebec's distinct socio-political and linguistic environment. Grounded in a qualitative approach, the research investigates not only the economic activities of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs but also the sociocultural dynamics that influence their entrepreneurial and integration trajectories. The study aims to understand why Turkish immigrants in Montreal start businesses, what challenges and opportunities they encounter in the local market, how their social connections affect their business growth, and how Quebec's rules about language and secularism influence their business plans and ability to fit in.

This study is guided by three primary research questions, the purpose of which is to explore the multifaceted experiences of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal. These questions are framed to capture the dynamic relationship that exists between individual agency, cultural identity, and institutional frameworks, all within the unique socio-political environment of Quebec. Each question is grounded in the sociological inquiry and structured to reflect the thematic pillars of this research: motivation, barriers, and adaptation strategies.

The first research question asks, *"What sociocultural motives influence the entrepreneurial activities of Turkish immigrants in Montreal?"* This question is designed to explore the underlying motivations that go beyond pure economic interests, which lead Turkish immigrants to pursue entrepreneurship. It seeks to uncover how cultural identity, personal aspirations, community expectations, and migration histories shape their decision to become self-employed or start businesses. The structure of this question is explanatory and inductive, aiming to generate a nuanced understanding of the socio-cultural drivers of immigrant entrepreneurship.

The second question investigates, *"What structural, institutional, and sociocultural barriers influence the entrepreneurial experiences of Turkish immigrants in Montreal?"* This question targets the constraints and obstacles that Turkish entrepreneurs face, such as language barriers, bureaucratic challenges, discriminatory practices, and limited access to resources or support systems. It is structured to highlight both systemic challenges rooted in Quebec's institutional framework and more informal, culturally embedded difficulties. The objective is to examine how these barriers interact and affect entrepreneurial outcomes.

The third and final research question investigates, *"How do Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs adapt to the social, economic, and institutional challenges they encounter in Quebec?"* This question focuses on the agency of Turkish entrepreneurs by exploring their coping mechanisms, strategic responses, and resilience. It is designed to identify adaptation techniques, ranging from informal networks and community solidarity to bilingualism and compliance with local regulations, that help sustain and grow their businesses in a complex environment. The structure of this question is process-oriented, emphasizing how action is shaped in response to constraint.

The analytical framework of the study is structured by these three questions, which together make it possible to conduct an in-depth investigation of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship as a phenomenon that exists at the intersection of culture, structure, and strategy.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study holds significant academic, social, and policy relevance as it investigates the entrepreneurial experiences of Turkish immigrants in Montreal, an area that remains underexplored in existing scholarship.

Adopting a sociological perspective, the study emphasizes the lived experiences, cultural adaptation, and institutional navigation of Turkish entrepreneurs within Quebec's distinct socio-political environment. In contrast to predominant approaches that focus primarily on economic outcomes or macro-level policy analysis, this research highlights entrepreneurship as a socially embedded phenomenon influenced by market pressures, cultural identity, community dynamics, and institutional structures. In doing so, it deepens the understanding of immigrant entrepreneurship as a complex and socially rooted process.

The study adds to the literature on immigrant entrepreneurship in Canada by examining Turkish entrepreneurs in Quebec, a province with unique language laws, a civil code, and strong cultural preservation policies. Quebec's regulatory and socio-cultural climate poses unique obstacles and opportunities for immigrant entrepreneurs. Using the Mixed Embeddedness Theory framework, the study examines how Turkish entrepreneurs in Quebec use government regulations and support programs and informal connections like ethnic networks and personal relationships to influence their business paths (Kloosterman et al., 1999).

The decision to select Quebec, especially Montreal, as the research setting is grounded in its distinctive socio-political, legal, and cultural context compared to other Canadian provinces. The focus of Quebec on interculturalism, the preservation of the French language, and secularism creates a multifaceted landscape for immigrant enterprise. Montreal is the most ethnically diverse city in Quebec and a significant economic center, drawing immigrants worldwide, including an increasing Turkish demographic, which is highlighted in the introduction.

Montreal's multicultural districts, including Côte-des-Neiges, Parc-Extension, Saint-Laurent, and Jean-Talon, foster a conducive environment for ethnic enterprises; nonetheless, local entrepreneurs must concurrently contend with state rules entrenched in Quebecois identity politics. This dual dynamic renders Montreal a distinctive case for examining how immigrant businesses balance cultural preservation with institutional compliance. Moreover, despite the relatively small size of the Turkish community in Montreal, it exhibits a notable entrepreneurial presence that is predominantly unrecorded in academic literature, rendering this city an optimal setting for exploring the experiences of its members.

The research highlights how Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs boost the local economy through job creation, service providing, cultural exchange, and community cohesion. Turkish-owned enterprises foster multiculturalism, social connection, and community engagement in urban areas. These enterprises combine economic survival and creative expression, establishing venues for economic involvement and cultural preservation. The study illuminates immigrant entrepreneurs' legal, financial, and regulatory constraints, which informs policy. Recognizing immigrant business owners' needs, contributions, and challenges can inform federal, provincial, and municipal entrepreneurial ecosystem activities.

In conclusion, this study is significant because it moves beyond purely economic measurements to conceptualize immigrant entrepreneurship as a dynamic, multifaceted, and fundamentally social activity. By focusing on the Turkish community in Montreal, the research not only fills a critical gap in academic literature but also offers practical implications for promoting more inclusive, equitable, and culturally sensitive entrepreneurship ecosystems in Quebec and other diverse societies.

1.6 Scope and Limitations

This study focuses on the entrepreneurial experiences of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs residing in Montreal, Quebec. It adopts a qualitative case study approach, based primarily on twelve in-depth interviews with first-generation immigrants of Turkish nationality, including both ethnic Turks and Kurds. The study seeks to investigate the socio-cultural motives, structural impediments, support frameworks, and adaptation techniques that influence entrepreneurial trajectories within the unique socio-political and linguistic context of Quebec.

The geographical scope of the study is confined to the Montreal metropolitan area and excludes Turkish entrepreneurs in other provinces or rural areas of Canada. The research focuses predominantly on small and medium-sized businesses, as opposed to high-tech startups or major corporations. Due to the qualitative character of the study and the limited sample size, the findings are not meant to be statistically generalized. They pursue analytical generalization by providing context-specific conceptual insights that may be relevant to analogous immigrant groups or similar sociopolitical contexts.

The study did not conduct a systematic comparison analysis between Turkish and other immigrant business communities; however future research may explore this avenue. The study is constrained by the availability and willingness of participants, despite efforts to assure varied representation of backgrounds. The researcher's identity as an African graduate student proficient in Turkish may have affected rapport-building and interpretation, despite deliberate attempts to uphold reflexivity and reduce bias during the research process.

1.7 The Structure of the Study

This thesis is organized into eight chapters, each building upon the previous to provide a comprehensive analysis of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship in Montreal. Chapter One introduces the study and provides the necessary context. It outlines the background of the research, the statement of the problem, the aims and objectives, the research questions, and the significance of the study. It also presents the theoretical orientation, defines the scope and limitations, and briefly describes the overall structure of the thesis.

Chapter Two offers a comprehensive review of the scholarly literature on immigrant entrepreneurship. It examines key debates and findings, including variations across ethnic groups,

gender dynamics, structural barriers, and specific challenges within the Quebec context. Chapter Three presents the methodological and theoretical framework of the study. It details the qualitative research design, data collection methods, and analytical procedures, while also discussing the relevance of the Mixed Embeddedness Theory for understanding the intersection of individual agency and institutional context in immigrant entrepreneurship.

Chapter Four addresses the first research question (RQ1) by exploring the socio-cultural motivations that drive Turkish immigrants in Montreal to pursue entrepreneurship. It examines the personal, familial, and cultural factors that shape their business decisions. Chapter Five responds to the second research question (RQ2) by analyzing the structural, institutional, and cultural barriers these entrepreneurs encounter, including challenges related to legal frameworks, language policies, and bureaucratic complexity within the Quebec context.

Chapter Six examines the support systems and policy interactions that shape the entrepreneurial trajectories of Turkish immigrants in Montreal. It analyzes how government initiatives, organizational programs, community-based structures, and ethnic networks either facilitate or constrain business development and integration. Chapter Seven shifts focus on adaptation strategies and individual agency, exploring the coping mechanisms and strategic decisions entrepreneurs adopt to navigate and overcome systemic challenges. Together, Chapters Six and Seven address the third research question (RQ3). While Chapter Six centers on external support systems and institutional influences, Chapter Seven emphasizes internal responses, including personal resilience and entrepreneurial flexibility. This division reflects the multi-layered nature of adaptation and aligns with the analytical levels proposed by the Mixed Embeddedness framework.

Finally, Chapter Eight synthesizes the key findings of the study, offers theoretical reflections, discusses the research contributions, and outlines its limitations. It also incorporates participants' reflections on institutional challenges and integration experiences, proposes directions for future research, and concludes with broader reflections on the implications of immigrant entrepreneurship in Quebec's socio-political landscape.

CHAPTER II - LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Literature Review Strategy

The purpose of this literature review is to critically examine the existing body of research related to immigrant entrepreneurship, with a focus on sociological theories, regional contexts in Canada and Quebec, and specific insights into Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs. The review aims to identify conceptual frameworks, policy debates, and empirical findings that inform and contextualize this study. It also seeks to highlight existing research gaps and justify the relevance of focusing on Turkish entrepreneurs within the distinctive socio-political landscape of Quebec.

To ensure a comprehensive and relevant review, scholarly literature was sourced primarily from peer-reviewed journal articles, academic books, master's and doctoral dissertations, and government and institutional reports. Key databases such as JSTOR, Google Scholar, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses, and the Université de Montréal library system were used to gather materials. Keywords included, but were not limited to, immigrant entrepreneurship, ethnic entrepreneurship, Turkish immigrants in Canada, mixed embeddedness theory, Quebec immigration policy, sociocultural integration, and minority-owned businesses in Montreal.

The review prioritizes literature published between 2000 and 2024, with seminal works from earlier years included, providing theoretical and historical grounding (e.g., Kloosterman & Rath, 2001; Waldinger et al., 1990). Studies specific to the Canadian and Quebecois contexts were emphasized to ensure regional relevance. Special attention was paid to literature that adopts a sociological or intersectional perspective, rather than strict managerial or economic analyses.

The chapter is structured thematically, beginning with foundational theories of immigrant entrepreneurship, followed by regional discussions on immigrant entrepreneurship in Canada and Quebec, and finally narrowing in on the experiences of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs. This structure allows for a layered understanding of how micro-level agency intersects with macro-level opportunity structures in shaping entrepreneurial practices among immigrants.

2.2 Theoretical Approaches to Immigrant Entrepreneurship

Immigrant entrepreneurship has been studied through a wide range of theoretical lenses across disciplines such as economics, management, sociology, and migration studies. Over time, these approaches have evolved from emphasizing individual traits and cultural behaviors to

focusing on structural conditions and the broader institutional environment in which immigrant entrepreneurs operate. This section traces the main schools of thought, focusing particularly on theories relevant to the sociological analysis of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship in Quebec.

Early studies on immigrant entrepreneurship drew heavily on neoclassical economics, which emphasized individual motivations such as risk-taking, innovation, and profit maximization. Entrepreneurs were often portrayed as rational actors who recognize and seize market opportunities (Schumpeter, 1934). However, these models offered limited insight into the specific barriers faced by immigrants and often failed to address structural inequalities.

The culturalist approach, by contrast, attributed entrepreneurial behavior to cultural values and group characteristics. Scholars argued that certain ethnic groups possess traits such as thrift, familial cohesion, and a strong work ethic, which predispose them to business success (Light & Bonacich, 1988). While influential, this perspective has been criticized for essentializing culture and downplaying the impact of institutional discrimination, systemic racism, and structural exclusion.

In response to the limitations of culturalist models, disadvantage theory, or reactive ethnicity theory, emerged, emphasizing that immigrants often turn to entrepreneurship not out of choice but as a response to barriers in the formal labor market. Factors such as language barriers, credential recognition issues, and labor market discrimination result in "blocked mobility," pushing many immigrants toward self-employment as a survival strategy (Waldinger et al., 1990).

This theoretical perspective shifted attention toward the structural inequalities faced by immigrants and reframed entrepreneurship as a necessity-driven, rather than opportunity-driven, endeavor, particularly for those navigating restrictive economic and social environments (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). However, disadvantage theory has been critiqued for portraying immigrant entrepreneurs primarily as passive victims of exclusion, often neglecting the role of individual agency, resilience, and strategic adaptation, which are evident in the adaptive strategies of entrepreneurs like Turkish immigrants in Montreal (Chrysostome & Arcand, 2009; Kloosterman & Rath, 2001).

Later theoretical approaches emphasized the critical role of social capital and ethnic networks in facilitating immigrant entrepreneurship. Portes (1998) and others argued that co-ethnic networks provide access to labor, clients, information, and financial resources, which are often referred to as “ethnic resources.” These networks serve as important platforms for resource mobilization, particularly in the early stages of business establishment.

In the context of Turkish entrepreneurship, where community ties, shared language, and cultural familiarity play a significant role in business formation, the social capital perspective offers valuable insights. However, heavy reliance on ethnic resources can also result in economic segregation and limited opportunities for expansion beyond ethnically concentrated markets, thereby restricting broader economic mobility.

The Mixed Embeddedness Theory, developed by Kloosterman and Rath (2001), represents a pivotal shift in the study of immigrant entrepreneurship. It moves beyond earlier models that focus solely on either individual agency or structural constraints by emphasizing the interplay between the two. According to this framework, entrepreneurial activities are shaped by the dynamic interaction of three interconnected dimensions. At the micro-level, the focus is on the individual entrepreneur’s skills, motivations, and social capital, which influence their capacity to initiate and sustain a business. The meso-level encompasses the regulatory, political, and cultural framework of the host society, including language requirements, institutional norms, and prevailing attitudes toward immigrants. Finally, the macro-level refers to the broader market and institutional opportunity structures, such as economic conditions, sectoral demand, and the accessibility of financial or legal support. Together, these levels provide a holistic perspective on how immigrant entrepreneurs navigate both their internal resources and the external environment in which they operate.

By emphasizing that entrepreneurs are embedded within multiple layers of opportunity and constraint, this framework avoids both the cultural determinism associated with earlier culturalist models and the structural reductionism inherent in disadvantage theories. It provides a dynamic perspective that captures the interplay between agency and structure.

This framework is particularly pertinent to the Quebec context, where political and linguistic factors play a crucial role in shaping immigrants' access to resources, networks, and markets. For this study, the Mixed Embeddedness Theory serves as the primary analytical lens,

offering a nuanced understanding of how Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal navigate institutional barriers, leverage cultural and community resources, and respond strategically to the socio-economic conditions of their environment. By integrating both individual-level agency and systemic-level structures, the framework enables a holistic examination of entrepreneurial trajectories among immigrant populations.

More recent scholarship has incorporated the concept of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) into entrepreneurship research, focusing on how gender, race, legal status, and religion intersect to shape entrepreneurial experiences. Scholars such as Essers and Benschop (2007) have examined how Muslim women entrepreneurs, for example, negotiate multiple, and sometimes conflicting, identities within business environments shaped by both racism and patriarchy.

Intersectional approaches also illuminate how legal and socioeconomic factors interact with personal identity to influence entrepreneurial trajectories. Turkish immigrants, often navigating precarious migration statuses or experiences of economic marginalization, may leverage entrepreneurship as a pathway to stability while simultaneously encountering distinctive challenges. Studies such as Verduijn and Essers (2013) demonstrate how immigrant entrepreneurs face exclusionary policies or stereotypes that cast them as "outsiders" within business networks. For Turkish entrepreneurs in Montreal, factors such as language barriers, particularly limited French proficiency, and unfamiliarity with local business norms can amplify these obstacles, necessitating the development of creative strategies to build trust, access resources, and establish legitimacy.

Complementing intersectionality, contextual and processual approaches emphasize that entrepreneurship is not a static state but rather a dynamic, socially embedded process (Welter, 2011; Olaison, 2014). For Turkish immigrants, context is critical: their entrepreneurial ventures are shaped by both their experiences in Turkey, including socio-political dynamics such as secularism debates and diaspora networks, and the institutional frameworks of their host country, such as Canada's multiculturalism policies. Welter (2011) argues that entrepreneurial identities evolve through continuous interactions with institutions, communities, and markets, a phenomenon vividly illustrated by Turkish entrepreneurs who adapt traditional practices (such as family-run businesses) to new environments while forging hybrid identities.

While Olaison's (2014) processual lens offers valuable insights into how immigrant entrepreneurs construct legitimacy through storytelling, relational networking, and identity work, its focus is primarily on micro-level narrative processes. Although this perspective highlights the fluid and socially embedded nature of entrepreneurial identity, it does not sufficiently account for the structural and institutional constraints that shape immigrant entrepreneurship in Quebec, such as language policies, regulatory complexity, and market limitations. Given the emphasis of this study on both individual agency and the broader socio-political environment, the Mixed Embeddedness Theory is more suitable. Developed by Kloosterman and Rath (2001), this framework integrates micro-level entrepreneurial strategies with meso- and macro-level institutional and market structures, providing a more comprehensive tool for analyzing how Turkish immigrants in Montreal navigate their entrepreneurial trajectories.

2.3 Immigrant Entrepreneurship in Canada - Quebec

Immigrant entrepreneurship has become an increasingly vital component of Canada's economic landscape. Immigrants are significantly more likely than the native-born population to pursue self-employment, and they contribute substantially to the diversification and revitalization of urban economies (Hiebert, 2008; Li, 2018). According to Statistics Canada, immigrants accounted for over 25% of all business owners in major cities such as Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal (StatsCan, 2021). Their involvement spans a range of sectors, from small family-run businesses to high-growth ventures, with concentrations in retail trade, accommodation and food services, transportation, and personal care industries.

Canada has implemented several immigration programs to attract and promote entrepreneurs. Programs such as the Start-Up Visa, the Self-Employed Persons Program, and the Provincial Nominee Programs (PNPs) provide pathways for immigrant entrepreneurs to establish businesses (IRCC, 2023). Nevertheless, research by Chrysostome et al. (2010) and Schuch et al. (2015) demonstrates that immigrant entrepreneurs typically encounter structural constraints such as insufficient access to credit, limited social capital, challenges with credential recognition, and language barriers.

In Quebec, the situation presents both shared and unique features. While Quebec benefits from federal programs, it also operates with distinct immigration policies under its own immigration and integration ministry, the Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Francisation et de

l'Intégration (MIFI). Immigrant entrepreneurs in Quebec often face additional hurdles, including linguistic expectations tied to the predominance of French in business and public life, as mandated by Bill 101 (Charte de la langue française).

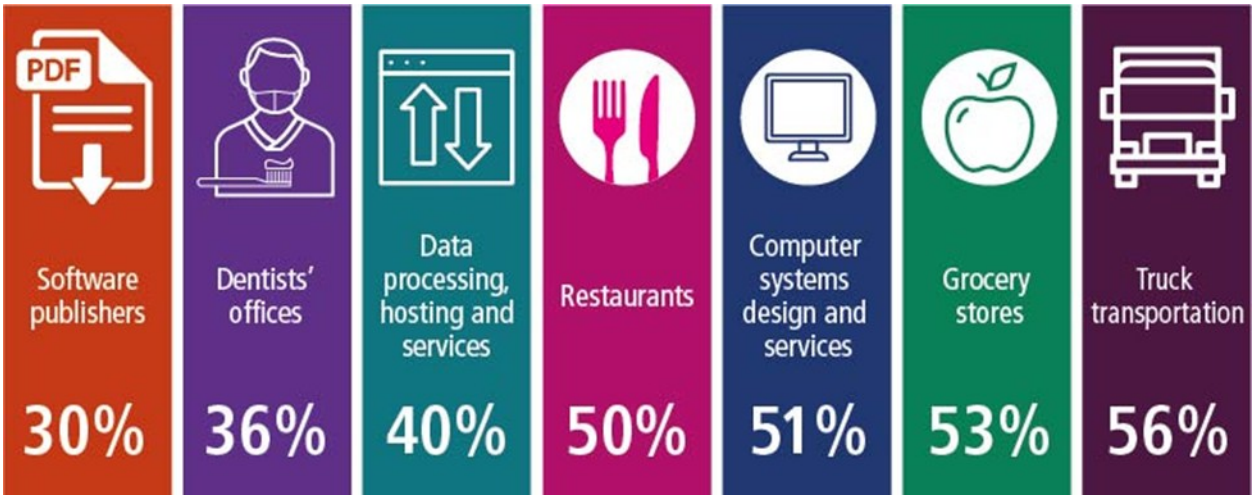
Despite these challenges, Quebec remains an attractive destination for immigrants, including those with entrepreneurial aspirations. Montreal, in particular, is home to a culturally diverse and economically dynamic immigrant population. According to MIFI (2019), more than 4,000 businesspeople, self-employed individuals, and investors immigrate to Quebec annually. However, immigrant entrepreneurs in Quebec frequently experience a "double integration" challenge navigating both economic incorporation and adaptation to the province's distinct cultural and linguistic environment (Ibanescu et al., 2018).

Research by Lo and Teixeira (2015) and Golob et al. (2016) highlights that immigrant entrepreneurs in Quebec often respond to systemic barriers through creative strategies. These strategies include focusing on ethnic market niches, drawing on co-ethnic networks, and leveraging cultural resources to meet community-specific needs. While these approaches can foster economic resilience and cultural visibility, they may also contribute to segmented markets, where immigrant entrepreneurs remain somewhat isolated from the broader mainstream economy.

Overall, although immigrant entrepreneurship in Canada and Quebec is widely acknowledged as a driver of innovation and employment, ongoing policy and institutional support are necessary to address the structural inequalities faced by newcomers. These regional and national dynamics provide an essential contextual backdrop for understanding the experiences of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal, who must navigate a complex intersection of opportunity structures, cultural identity, and regulatory environments.

Listed below is an infographic that illustrates the percentage of immigrant ownership in various industries in Canada. The truck transportation industry accounts for 56% of all immigrant ownership, followed by grocery stores (53%), computer systems design (51%), and restaurants (50%). This highlights the significant role that immigrants play in the establishment of small enterprises.

Figure 2.1 Immigrant Ownership in Selected Canadian Industries



Source: Government of Canada (2021). Immigrant ownership in selected Canadian industries. Adapted from a public infographic, retrieved from https://www.canada.ca or corresponding Statistics Canada publication.

2.4 The Quebec Context: Language, Policy, and Identity

Quebec presents a distinct environment for immigrant entrepreneurship, shaped by its linguistic policies, cultural identity, and provincial autonomy in immigration and integration matters. Unlike other Canadian provinces, Quebec maintains a unique socio-political landscape that emphasizes the preservation of French language and culture. These elements influence not only the settlement and integration of immigrants but also their opportunities and constraints in entrepreneurial activity.

One of Quebec's most significant socio-economic factors is Bill 101 (the Charter of the French Language), which mandates the use of French in public signage, commercial advertising, corporate communications, and employment. Immigrant entrepreneurs, particularly those not fluent in French, often find it challenging to navigate regulatory procedures, engage clients, and access business support services (Ibanescu et al., 2018; MIFI, 2021). As a result, many immigrant entrepreneurs are excluded from mainstream networks and instead rely heavily on ethnic communities for clientele, labor, and resources.

Another key factor shaping the entrepreneurial environment is the role of provincial immigration policy, administered by the Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Francisation et de l'Intégration (MIFI). Quebec employs a selection grid that prioritizes French-language proficiency and adaptability to Quebecois culture. Although economic immigrants such as entrepreneurs, self-employed individuals, and investors can qualify through specialized pathways, the integration process is heavily centered on francization (language training) and cultural immersion, often at the cost of immediate economic participation.

Furthermore, research indicates that immigrants in Quebec face a "double burden" of integration: one tied to economic participation, and another associated with sociocultural conformity (Lo & Teixeira, 2015; Ibanescu et al., 2019). Unlike the multicultural integration models common in other provinces, Quebec's integration strategy is based on the concept of interculturalism, which emphasizes the integration of immigrants into a shared civic culture centered around the French language and Quebecois values. This cultural framing influences how immigrant entrepreneurs are received by local institutions and how they, in turn, brand their businesses.

For many immigrants, including those from Turkey, the interplay between language requirements, institutional frameworks, and ethnic identity creates a complex set of constraints. Entrepreneurs must carefully negotiate whether to prioritize linguistic and cultural conformity to gain broader market access and institutional support, or to maintain ethnic authenticity and serve co-ethnic communities, even at the risk of broader marginalization.

Understanding Quebec's distinct integration regime is thus essential for analyzing immigrant entrepreneurship in Montreal. It provides the institutional and sociolinguistic context within which Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs make business decisions, construct their identities, and interact with both state and market structures.

2.5 Turkish Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Montreal

Turkish immigrants in Canada, though a relatively smaller ethnic group, have grown to approximately 69,945 individuals as of the 2021 Canadian Census, with the majority residing in Ontario and Quebec, particularly in Toronto (around 26,500) and Montreal (around 13,500) (Statistics Canada, 2022). Montreal hosts a notable Turkish and Kurdish minority, many of whom

engage in entrepreneurship, operating restaurants, bakeries, grocery stores, and personal care businesses as pathways to socioeconomic integration within Quebec's diverse economic landscape.

Turkish immigrants to Canada have historically arrived both as skilled and unskilled workers. Since the early 1990s, an increasing number of newcomers from rural and eastern Turkey have entered the entrepreneurial sector, particularly in ethnic niches such as food services, bakeries, ethnic grocery stores, and barbershops (Erdoğan, 2006).

Scholars such as Dana (2013), Sithas et al. (2021), and Allali (2010) argue that minority immigrant entrepreneurs significantly contribute to Montreal's socioeconomic fabric, leveraging emerging opportunities despite facing persistent labor market challenges. Faced with both opportunities and barriers, immigrants in Quebec often exhibit higher entrepreneurial intentions than native-born residents. Robichaud (2002) found that two-thirds of Portuguese entrepreneurs in Greater Montreal had no prior business plans before immigrating to Quebec, highlighting how many immigrants, including Turkish and Kurdish minorities, enter entrepreneurship spontaneously as an adaptive response to local market realities.

Menzies et al. (2007) report similar findings regarding other ethnic groups. Research by Giguere (2007) further emphasizes that the primary impetus for immigrant entrepreneurship is often difficulty securing employment in the host country, rather than pre-existing entrepreneurial aspirations. Turkish entrepreneurship in Montreal is shaped by a combination of cultural, linguistic, and structural factors. Many Turkish immigrants leverage their cultural heritage, culinary traditions, and religious values (such as halal practices) to carve out niches within the local market. Businesses such as Cuisine Istanbul, Adana Kebab, and Antep Kunefe not only showcase entrepreneurial creativity but also function as important spaces for cultural preservation, community engagement, and economic activity.

However, Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs face significant systemic challenges. These include linguistic barriers, particularly in a province that prioritizes French language use; limited access to financial capital; and bureaucratic complexities related to business registration, taxation,

and regulatory compliance in Quebec. Moreover, intra-community dynamics, such as ethnic tensions between Turks and Kurds, can impact trust, collaboration, and participation in joint economic initiatives (Bilge, 2010).

Despite these obstacles, Turkish entrepreneurs have demonstrated resilience and adaptability. Many rely on informal networks, ethnic community ties, and shared cultural capital to sustain their businesses. The prevalence of culturally labeled enterprises, often bearing the names of Turkish cities or traditional dishes, illustrates the dual function of these businesses as economic enterprises and as symbolic representations of collective identity. Nevertheless, academic attention to Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs remains limited. Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs, unlike their Chinese, Indian, or Italian counterparts, receive relatively less attention in Canadian scholarly literature, especially in the Quebec context. This research seeks to fill that gap by offering a nuanced understanding of the entrepreneurial experiences of Turkish immigrants in Montreal, specifically examining how they navigate socio-political boundaries while contributing to Quebec's economic and cultural landscape.

2.6 Challenges Facing Immigrant Entrepreneurs

Despite their growing presence and contributions to the host economy, immigrant entrepreneurs frequently encounter significant challenges that affect the sustainability, growth, and profitability of their businesses. These challenges arise not only from economic factors but also from sociocultural, institutional, and political structures that are especially salient in regions with distinct linguistic and policy environments, such as Quebec. For Turkish and Kurdish entrepreneurs in Montreal, navigating Quebec's French-language requirements and accessing institutional support often compounds these barriers, necessitating resilient and adaptive strategies to succeed in a competitive market.

One of the most pervasive challenges is limited access to financial capital. Many immigrants arrive with little personal savings, limited credit history, or lack of collateral, making it difficult to secure loans from traditional banking institutions (Ram et al., 2002; Chrysostome et al., 2010). This challenge is further complicated by experiences of discrimination and unfamiliarity with Canadian financial systems, forcing many entrepreneurs to rely on informal networks or family contributions to fund their businesses.

Language barriers also remain a significant obstacle, particularly in Quebec, where proficiency in French is not only a social expectation but a legal requirement under Bill 101. Non-Francophone immigrant entrepreneurs may encounter difficulties understanding legal documents, business permits, and taxation systems, leading to delays or miscommunications with government institutions and suppliers (Ibanescu et al., 2019). For Turkish immigrants who primarily speak Turkish or English, the lack of fluency in French can be a major hurdle to full market integration and institutional engagement.

In addition, bureaucratic and regulatory complexity, including inconsistent licensing procedures, lengthy administrative processes, and unfamiliar municipal codes, can overwhelm first-time immigrant business owners (Schuch et al., 2015). These administrative burdens are often magnified in Quebec due to its dual-layer governance structure, where provincial and municipal regulations operate alongside federal policies. For Turkish and Kurdish entrepreneurs in Montreal, the combination of regulatory complexity, language barriers, and limited access to legal guidance frequently delays business launches and strains resources critical for long-term success.

Social exclusion and limited access to institutional support present further challenges. Immigrant entrepreneurs often operate on the margins of policy frameworks designed to assist local businesses. They may lack awareness of available resources, or their businesses may not qualify for support due to informal operations, language limitations, or documentation issues (Kushnirovich, 2015). Additionally, exclusion from mainstream business networks can restrict access to new markets, partnerships, or mentorship opportunities, further isolating immigrant entrepreneurs from broader economic ecosystems.

Internal fragmentation within ethnic communities adds another layer of complexity. Intra-ethnic tensions, such as those between Turkish and Kurdish communities, can lead to divisions, mistrust, and reluctance to collaborate economically. These dynamics diminish the potential for mutual support and can weaken the effectiveness of ethnic business networks (Bilge, 2010).

Finally, gender, race, and religious identity intersect to create unique disadvantages for certain immigrant entrepreneurs. Muslim entrepreneurs, for example, may face Islamophobia,

while women entrepreneurs encounter gendered expectations, limited access to funding, or barriers related to property rights (Essers & Benschop, 2007; Joseph, 2014; Hajjar, 2018). These intersectional challenges highlight the importance of moving beyond purely economic analyses to examine how identity and power relations shape entrepreneurial experiences.

In summary, while immigrant entrepreneurship offers a powerful pathway to economic participation and cultural representation, these challenges underscore the necessity of adopting structural and sociological lenses in research and policymaking. Understanding the barriers faced by immigrant entrepreneurs, particularly in culturally distinct settings like Quebec, is essential for developing inclusive policies and support systems that address the deeper, systemic obstacles to integration and success.

2.7 Analytical Framework: Mixed Embeddedness Theory

This research is guided by the Mixed Embeddedness Theory, developed by Kloosterman, van der Leun, and Rath (1999). This framework provides a comprehensive perspective on immigrant entrepreneurship by examining not only individual decision-making but also the broader structural and institutional contexts in which entrepreneurship occurs. It emphasizes that entrepreneurs are embedded both in the social networks of their ethnic groups and within the regulatory, institutional, and market frameworks of the societies in which they operate.

In this study, Mixed Embeddedness Theory is especially useful for understanding how Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal deal with the rules and legal issues in Quebec; use, or sometimes don't have, help from their ethnic communities; adjust to what local customers want and the cultural expectations; and engage with government programs aimed at helping immigrant businesses.

The Mixed Embeddedness framework informed the development of the interview questions, particularly those addressing participants' experiences with state institutions, social networks, and the broader economic and cultural landscape. It also shaped the thematic coding process during data analysis. The data were categorized into micro-level dimensions (such as personal motives, cultural values, and identity) and macro-level dimensions (such as policy environments, bureaucratic procedures, and market structures). This dual-level analysis ensures

that the study remains attentive to both entrepreneurial agency and the structural opportunities and constraints imposed by Montreal's distinctive socio-political environment.

Furthermore, the theoretical framework structured both the questioning and the interpretation of findings. Through the lens of Mixed Embeddedness, individual challenges such as navigating municipal licensing, overcoming language barriers, and dealing with policy restrictions were analyzed not merely as personal obstacles but also as reflections of Quebec's broader economic and institutional frameworks. Similarly, entrepreneurs' reliance on co-ethnic networks for capital, labor, and clientele underscored the social embeddedness that shapes their business trajectories. By applying this dual lens, the research illuminates how Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs simultaneously engage with and adapt to the complex institutional landscapes that characterize Montreal.

2.8 Comparative Perspectives

Although this study is centered on Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal, placing their experiences within broader Canadian and international contexts highlights the uniqueness of Quebec's socio-political landscape. Toronto, another major metropolitan center in Canada, is home to a sizeable Turkish minority; however, the city's multicultural framework stands in stark contrast to the francophone identity and protective linguistic legislation that characterize Quebec (Li, 2018). This contrast shapes distinct entrepreneurial challenges for Turkish immigrants in Montreal, who must navigate Quebec's Bill 101 language requirements alongside cultural expectations—challenges not as prominent in Toronto's more linguistically flexible environment.

Research by Lo and Teixeira (2015) indicates that Turkish business owners in Toronto are more likely to take advantage of English-language networks and broader co-ethnic markets than their counterparts in Montreal, who face additional barriers stemming from the need for French proficiency. This linguistic dualism in Quebec constrains opportunity structures in ways that are less evident in Toronto's predominantly English-speaking economic landscape.

Internationally, Germany offers a valuable point of comparison. Since the guest worker programs of the 1960s, Germany has hosted one of the largest Turkish diasporas worldwide (Kloosterman & Rath, 2003). According to Essers and Benschop (2007), Turkish entrepreneurs in

Germany frequently operate within well-established ethnic enclaves, where they can benefit from strong co-ethnic networks and institutional recognition. In contrast, the Turkish community in Montreal is comparatively smaller and more dispersed, lacking the critical mass necessary to form a significant ethnic economy.

Moreover, Germany's integration efforts differ from Quebec's interculturalism model, which emphasizes assimilation into a shared francophone civic culture. This distinction may further heighten the cultural preservation motivations among Turkish entrepreneurs in Montreal, who seek to balance integration with the maintenance of cultural identity.

These comparative perspectives underscore how Quebec's distinctive combination of language regulation, smaller diaspora size, and francophone national identity uniquely shapes entrepreneurial pathways. They reinforce the necessity of conducting a localized analysis, precisely the objective this study seeks to achieve.

2.9 Conclusion of Literature

Quebec's distinct socio-political context shapes the experiences of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal by intertwining language, policy, and identity in ways that set this study apart from broader Canadian and global trends. This chapter has critically reviewed the theoretical and empirical literature relevant to immigrant entrepreneurship, with a particular emphasis on sociological approaches and the regional dynamics of Quebec. It began by outlining major conceptual frameworks, tracing the evolution from classical economic and culturalist theories to more contemporary models such as Mixed Embeddedness Theory and intersectionality. These frameworks demonstrate that immigrant entrepreneurship is a multi-layered phenomenon shaped by the complex interplay between individual agency, cultural identity, and structural constraints.

The chapter then examined immigrant entrepreneurship in Canada and Quebec, highlighting national trends, the distinct linguistic and policy environment of Quebec, and the institutional dynamics influencing entrepreneurial integration. Special attention was given to Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal, a community that, while increasingly visible in local economic life, remains significantly underrepresented in Canadian research. Although Turkish

entrepreneurs contribute meaningfully to Montreal's cultural and economic vitality, their specific experiences and adaptation strategies have rarely been the subject of sustained scholarly inquiry.

The literature also illuminated key structural and institutional barriers faced by immigrant entrepreneurs, including limited access to financial capital, bureaucratic complexities, linguistic demands, social exclusion, and intra-community divisions. These findings underscore the need to move beyond economic or managerial perspectives and to adopt deeper sociological analyses that capture the lived realities of immigrant business owners.

Despite the growing prevalence of immigrant-owned businesses in Quebec, existing research often generalizes immigrant experiences, overlooking crucial distinctions across ethnic, cultural, and political lines. The Turkish community, in particular, has received limited qualitative attention, especially within Quebec's unique socio-political and linguistic environment. This gap obscures how Turkish entrepreneurs navigate pressures such as linguistic assimilation under Bill 101, and how these dynamics shape their business practices, cultural identities, and community engagements.

This study seeks to address this gap by exploring the entrepreneurial experiences of Turkish immigrants in Montreal, using Mixed Embeddedness Theory to examine how they navigate Quebec's distinctive socio-economic and cultural structures. The next chapter outlines the methodology employed in this study, including participant recruitment strategies, data collection methods, and the analytical framework used to interpret the participants' narratives. By applying a Mixed Embeddedness lens, the study aims to illuminate how Turkish entrepreneurs balance cultural resilience, ethnic networks, and adaptation to Quebec's regulatory and linguistic environment, offering a deeper understanding of their agency within a complex and evolving urban context.

CHAPTER III - METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the research design and methodological strategies used to investigate the entrepreneurial experiences of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal. It adopts a qualitative research approach informed by the theory of value creation in entrepreneurial contexts, which provides a structured lens to examine the full entrepreneurial journey. This includes understanding the motivations that lead individuals to pursue entrepreneurship, how they identify and act on opportunities, and how they navigate processes of socioeconomic integration, skill acquisition, and reward realization, while confronting systemic and contextual challenges (Mishra & Zachary, 2014). This framework supports an in-depth exploration of the complex and evolving nature of immigrant entrepreneurship in Quebec.

3.1 Research Design and Qualitative Approach

This study adopts a qualitative case study design to explore the entrepreneurial experiences of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal. The goal is to understand how they navigate the sociocultural and institutional landscape of Quebec while building and sustaining small businesses. Rather than aiming to quantify or generalize findings, the study seeks to interpret and contextualize participants' experiences within their broader social realities, making a qualitative approach the most appropriate.

Qualitative case studies allow for a context-specific, in-depth investigation of phenomena in real-life settings (Yin, 2018). This is particularly pertinent to this research, which examines immigrant entrepreneurs' motivations, obstacles, and strategies in multicultural Montreal. The case study method provides a targeted framework for exploring the experiences of a group of Turkish entrepreneurs (including both ethnic Turks and Kurds) operating within a distinct geographic and social milieu.

The research is grounded in a social constructivist paradigm, which holds that knowledge is constructed through human interaction and shaped by social, cultural, and historical contexts (Creswell & Poth, 2018). From this perspective, reality is not fixed or objective but is interpreted differently depending on individuals' experiences and social positions. Accordingly, the study

prioritizes participants' narratives and subjective meaning-making, viewing immigrant entrepreneurship as a social and cultural process rather than merely an economic phenomenon.

The constructivist approach informed the use of semi-structured interviews, allowing participants to reflect on their life experiences, business trajectories, and challenges in their own words. It also supported the use of thematic analysis, which focuses on interpreting meanings and patterns rather than testing predefined hypotheses. This paradigm required the researcher to be actively involved and reflexive, acknowledging how my background, language skills, and cultural knowledge shaped the data collection and interpretation processes.

In summary, this study employs a qualitative, interpretive case study design, grounded in constructivist epistemology, to examine the embedded social and cultural dimensions of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship in Montreal. This approach enables the research to move beyond surface-level observations and to uncover how participants make sense of their entrepreneurial practices, identities, and interactions with broader societal structures.

The research objectives outlined in Chapter 1 served as guiding principles throughout the methodological design. They informed the selection of a qualitative case study approach, the preparation of interview protocols, and the analytical strategies employed to investigate the lived experiences of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal.

3.2 Participants Recruitment Strategy

This study employed a qualitative data collection strategy rooted in semi-structured interviews, supported by purposive and snowball sampling methods, and informed by preliminary field immersion and pilot research conducted during graduate coursework.

Prior to formal data collection, I engaged in early fieldwork through two graduate-level courses at the Université de Montréal: Union, Work, and Globalization (first semester) and Dissertation Project (second semester). These assignments involved participant observation and exploratory interviews with immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal, including individuals from Turkey. This preliminary research enabled me to refine my interview skills, test early versions of my interview guide, and gain critical insights into the linguistic, cultural, and practical

considerations involved in fieldwork among Turkish and Kurdish populations. Early engagement influenced the scope of my formal research by enhancing rapport-building strategies, promoting cultural sensitivity, and confirming the feasibility and relevance of the topic.

A purposive sampling strategy was employed to recruit Turkish-national immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal. Here, "Turkish" refers to individuals holding citizenship from the Republic of Turkey, regardless of ethnic background. Participants included eight ethnic Turks and one ethnic Kurd, all of whom owned or managed businesses in Montreal. Participant eligibility criteria were as follows: (a) Turkish or Kurdish descent from Turkey; (b) residency in Montreal for at least three years; (c) active ownership or management of a business in Montreal.

This method follows the best practices of qualitative research by focusing on selecting cases that offer deep insights into the topic being studied (Palinkas et al., 2015). Snowball sampling was also employed, allowing participants to refer others within their networks, an effective strategy for reaching cohesive or hard-to-access communities (Noy, 2008).

Participant recruitment was facilitated by a combination of linguistic fluency, cultural familiarity, and community immersion. Having lived in Turkey for six years and speaking fluent Turkish, I was able to build immediate rapport and establish trust with participants. Several recruitment strategies were employed throughout the research process. First, I engaged in neighborhood exploration by visiting areas with high concentrations of Turkish immigrants, beginning in Montreal-Nord and later expanding to Saint-Laurent and downtown Montreal. Second, I conducted direct business outreach by approaching Turkish-owned establishments such as Cuisine Istanbul, Antep Kunefe, and Adana Kebab to initiate conversations and invite participation. Third, I utilized online discovery methods by performing targeted Google searches to identify additional Turkish-owned businesses, including Marché Istanbul, Super Marché Akhavan, and Marché Anatolia. Finally, I drew upon personal and community networks established during early fieldwork to support recruitment through word-of-mouth and participant referrals. These combined strategies ensured diverse participant engagement and enhanced the depth of the qualitative inquiry.

Most participants expressed enthusiasm about the study, particularly due to my familiarity with Turkish language and culture, which helped minimize perceived outsider status. Recruiting Kurdish participants required added care due to ethnic and political sensitivities. Initial efforts to engage Kurdish entrepreneurs were met with hesitation. After consultation with a respected Kurdish community leader and clear communication that the study did not adopt or promote any political stance regarding interethnic tensions, I was able to build trust and secure the voluntary participation of one Kurdish entrepreneur. Rather than claiming full academic neutrality, which is never entirely possible, I emphasized that this master's research was conducted with scholarly rigor and cultural sensitivity and that it aimed to understand lived experiences without endorsing any political positions related to Turkish-Kurdish relations.

Efforts were also made to include female entrepreneurs, but this proved challenging. Turkish and Kurdish women in Montreal are often involved in family-run businesses or assist spouses, limiting their visibility as primary business owners. The absence of female participants reflects broader structural and cultural barriers to gendered access to entrepreneurship (Essers & Benschop, 2007; Bruni et al., 2004). In addition, my identity as a male researcher may have influenced this result. Gender dynamics, particularly in conservative cultural contexts, can affect women's readiness to engage in research, especially when interviews are conducted individually or within male-dominated fields. This constraint underscores the significance of reflexivity and indicates that forthcoming studies could gain from employing gender-matched or team-based interview methodologies to enhance inclusivity.

In total, I conducted 12 semi-structured interviews, each lasting between 60 and 95 minutes, depending on participant availability. Interviews were primarily conducted at participants' workplace restaurants, bakeries, grocery stores, and offices, with one interview held at a participant's residence. Interviews were conducted in Turkish or French, according to participant preference. All interviews were audio-recorded with participant consent, transcribed verbatim, and translated into English by me for analysis.

Semi-structured interviews proved ideal for this research, allowing participants to express their experiences freely while offering flexibility to explore emergent themes (Berg & Lune, 2012;

Rubin & Rubin, 2011). The interview guide included questions related to business motivations, barriers to entry, adaptation strategies, and interactions with institutions.

Participants ranged in age from 28 to 59, with their durations of residence in Canada spanning from 7 to 30 years. Ten participants held Canadian citizenship, while the remaining two were permanent residents. All but one had completed at least secondary education, and several held bachelor's or master's degrees. The businesses they operated in reflected a diverse range of sectors. These included ethnic enterprises such as restaurants, bakeries, and dessert shops specializing in traditional Turkish foods like kebap, çorba, and baklava. Additionally, some participants owned non-ethnic businesses, including grocery stores, barbershops, construction services, consulting firms, and financial service enterprises. This sectoral diversity allowed for a rich and nuanced exploration of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship in Montreal.

This diversity reflects the growing complexity of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship in Montreal and supports the suitability of the case study approach to capture the socio-economic and cultural heterogeneity within this community (Yin, 2018).

It is vital to point out a possible limitation in the composition of the interview sample. A considerable number of participants were engaged in the food and hospitality industries, such as restaurants, bakeries, and dessert establishments, potentially suggesting that Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship in Montreal is exclusively focused in these sectors. Turkish entrepreneurs are engaged in various fields, including finance, construction, consultancy, and personal care services. Although some participants in the sample operated outside the food industry, this study does not purport to reflect the complete spectrum of occupational areas in which Turkish entrepreneurs are involved. The prevalence of food-related businesses probably indicates their visibility and accessibility for early recruitment purposes. This explanation is essential to prevent the perpetuation of restrictive or stereotyped portrayals of immigrant entrepreneurship as limited to ethnic niches. Future research could be improved by using focused sampling methods that ensure sectoral equilibrium.

To protect participant confidentiality, pseudonyms were assigned to each interviewee. These fictitious names were selected to reflect the cultural and linguistic background of the

participants, primarily Turkish or Kurdish names, to maintain contextual authenticity without compromising privacy. The use of culturally appropriate pseudonyms also helps to ground the narratives in the lived realities of the community, enhancing the narrative coherence and sociological depth of the analysis. Care was taken not to use the participants' real names or any identifying information, in accordance with ethical research standards.

3.3 Data Collection

The data collection process for this study adhered to the principles of qualitative research, which prioritize depth, context, and the subjective interpretations individuals attribute to their experiences (Creswell & Poth, 2018). To investigate the entrepreneurial experiences of Turkish immigrants in Montreal, semi-structured interviews were employed, supported by purposive and snowball sampling strategies for participant recruitment.

Primary data collection focused on examining both the opportunities and challenges faced by Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal, as well as their processes of socioeconomic integration. Twelve in-depth interviews with Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs provided rich insights into their business trajectories, adaptation strategies, and perceptions of success and barriers. This method aligns with Berg and Lune's (2012) assertion that interviewing is crucial for understanding how individuals interpret and make sense of their everyday lives.

Semi-structured interviews allowed participants to freely narrate their experiences while guiding the conversation around key themes, including entrepreneurial motivations, challenges, adaptation strategies, and contributions to Montreal's economic and cultural life. Interviews were conducted in Turkish or French, according to participant preference, and lasted between 60 and 95 minutes. Most interviews took place at participants' workplaces, grocery stores, restaurants, bakeries, or barbershops, with one conducted at a participant's residence. With participants' consent, all interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed verbatim, and translated into English by the multilingual researcher for analysis.

Notably, many of the Turkish immigrant businesses visited during fieldwork bore names associated with Turkish cities (e.g., Istanbul, Adana, Antep) or iconic dishes (e.g., kebab, lahmacun, kunefe), illustrating the strong cultural identity expressed through entrepreneurial

ventures. This cultural continuity served not only as a branding strategy but also as a mechanism for maintaining ethnic identity within Montreal's diverse urban environment.

As previously discussed in the recruitment section, efforts were made to include female entrepreneurs in the study; however, none ultimately participated. The absence of women among the twelve participants reflects broader cultural and structural barriers to visibility and access in Turkish and Kurdish entrepreneurial communities in Montreal. This limitation is acknowledged and offers a pathway for future gender-focused research.

Throughout the data collection process, particular attention was given to ensuring informed consent and maintaining cultural sensitivity, especially regarding participants' ethnic and political identities (Temple & Young, 2004). Interviews with Kurdish participants were conducted with heightened cultural awareness, prioritizing neutrality, confidentiality, and voluntary participation to foster trust and respect.

Table 3.1 Demographic Profile of Turkish Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Montreal

Participant Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Ethnic Origin	Length of Stay in Canada
Ahmet	50	Male	Turkish	25 years
Murat	59	Male	Turkish	16 years
Yusuf	47	Male	Kurdish	23 years
Kemal	42	Male	Turkish	20 years
Hakan	28	Male	Turkish	8 years
Selim	54	Male	Turkish	11 years
Osman	34	Male	Turkish	9 years
Erhan	33	Male	Turkish	7 years
Serkan	45	Male	Turkish	25 years
Mehmet	39	Male	Turkish	17 years
Aktay	47	Male	Turkish	20 years
Cem	32	Male	Turkish	22 years

Source: Karamo Faruk Konneh, fieldwork interviews data (2025).

Table 3.2 Demographic Profile of Turkish Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Montreal

Participant Pseudonym	Marital Status	Level of Education	Business Sector	Immigration Status
Ahmet	Married	High School Diploma	Non-ethnic	Canadian
Murat	Divorced	Master's Degree	Ethnic	Permanent Resident
Yusuf	Divorced	High School Diploma	Ethnic	Canadian
Kemal	Single	Bachelor's Degree	Ethnic	Canadian
Hakan	Single	Bachelor's Degree	Ethnic	Canadian
Selim	Single	Professional Certificate	Non-ethnic	Canadian
Osman	Married	High School Diploma	Ethnic	Permanent Resident
Erhan	Single	Bachelor's Degree	Ethnic	Canadian
Serkan	Married	Junior High School Certificate	Non-ethnic	Canadian
Mehmet	Married	Bachelor's Degree	Non-ethnic	Canadian
Aktay	Divorced	Bachelor's Degree	Non-ethnic	Canadian
Cem	Married	High School Diploma	Ethnic	Canadian

Source: Karamo Faruk Konneh, fieldwork interviews data (2025).

3.4 Data Analysis

This study analyzed the information gathered from interviews with Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal using qualitative content analysis. As Moser and Korstjens (2017) emphasize, content analysis can encompass both qualitative approaches, focused on interpretation, meaning-making, and contextual understanding, and quantitative approaches that prioritize measurement and frequency counts.

Drawing on the typology developed by Hsieh and Shannon (2005), who distinguish three types of content analysis (conventional, directed, and summative), this study adopted a qualitative content analysis methodology. In conventional content analysis, codes and categories are derived inductively from the raw data without predefined theoretical structures. In contrast, directed content analysis employs a deductive procedure, guiding initial coding based on existing theories or prior studies. Summative content analysis, meanwhile, begins with keyword counts or comparisons before moving into interpretation of underlying meanings.

In this research, I employed a hybrid strategy that combined elements of both conventional and directed qualitative content analysis. The conventional approach let themes come up naturally from what participants said, while the directed approach connected these themes to existing research and theories, especially Mixed Embeddedness Theory. This dual strategy balanced participant-driven insights with theoretical interpretation, enabling a nuanced and sophisticated analysis of the data.

Following the transcription of interviews, I systematically reviewed each transcript to identify patterns of convergence, divergence, and repetition across participant experiences. Themes were generated through an iterative process of open coding, grouping codes into categories, and aligning these categories with broader conceptual dimensions. These themes were subsequently situated within relevant scholarly literature and analyzed in relation to the study's research questions and theoretical framework.

NVivo 15 software was employed to manage and analyze the qualitative data systematically. NVivo facilitated the coding process by allowing efficient organization, categorization, and retrieval of data. Preliminary codes were derived inductively through multiple readings of the transcripts, and then further organized into overarching thematic categories corresponding to the study's objectives and guided by the Mixed Embeddedness framework. NVivo's query and visualization tools were used to explore relationships between themes, ensuring a systematic, transparent, and thorough approach to data analysis.

3.5 The Researcher Reflexivity

The characteristics of a researcher, including race, gender, age, language ability, social background, and perceived insider or outsider status, can influence the research process in complex ways. Being aware of one's own background and how it affects research is essential in qualitative research, as highlighted by Denzin and Lincoln (1994), to ensure that researchers understand how their identity can influence their access to participants, how they interpret data, and the relationships of power during the research process.

Having lived and studied in Turkey for six years and being fluent in Turkish, I was able to quickly establish connections with participants. This insider identity helped participants feel comfortable sharing personal and business experiences. It also allowed interviews to be conducted in Turkish, which many participants preferred, and enhanced the depth and richness of the narratives. My knowledge of Turkish societal norms, values, and community dynamics further improved data quality and rapport-building.

However, I was also aware prior to fieldwork that certain aspects of my identity—being of African descent, a graduate student, and not an entrepreneur—might position me as an outsider in some participants' eyes. I initially anticipated that these factors could create barriers, particularly among older participants or those with limited formal education. In practice, my status as a graduate student and researcher posed no difficulties with participants who had university degrees or professional experience. However, individuals with only secondary-level education occasionally expressed hesitation during initial contacts.

Furthermore, my male gender may have influenced my capacity to recruit female participants. Gendered attitudes and norms might influence participant comfort and willingness to participate in research, especially in cultures where cross-gender contacts are restricted or approached with apprehension. Recognizing these aspects highlights the intersection of researcher identity with field access and representation, particularly in qualitative, community-based research.

In such cases, I engaged in additional dialogue to build common ground, emphasizing the academic significance of the study and my genuine interest in their experiences. Once participants

understood the purpose and relevance of the research, they became more comfortable and often extended support by referring me to others within their networks. This process reinforced the idea that researcher identity is fluid, and that status can shift from outsider to insider through mutual respect, open dialogue, and cultural engagement (Holmes, 2020).

Through this fieldwork experience, I became more attuned to the ways that trust-building, empathy, and cultural humility are as essential to qualitative research as methodological rigor. Practicing reflexivity allowed me to approach participants not merely as data sources, but as co-constructors of knowledge whose perspectives shaped both the depth and direction of the research.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

The design and execution of this study were guided by a strong commitment to ethical integrity. Particular care was taken to ensure that the rights, dignity, and safety of all participants were respected throughout the research process, particularly given the study's focus on human subjects from a diverse and politically sensitive immigrant group (Roulston, 2010). Prior to data collection, the study received approval from the Research Ethics Committee of the Université de Montréal and was conducted in full accordance with the university's ethical policies.

All participants were provided with a clear and comprehensive explanation of the study's aims, objectives, and procedures before any data collection began. They were fully informed of their rights as participants, including the right to decline to answer any question and the right to withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. Each participant signed a written informed consent form in their preferred language (Turkish, French, or English), indicating their voluntary agreement to participate and to have their interview audio-recorded for transcription and analysis.

To ensure confidentiality, all data were anonymized during the transcription process. Participants were assigned pseudonyms (e.g., Ahmet to Cem), and any identifying information, including business names, specific locations, or personal details, was altered or omitted to protect their identities. All digital data, including audio recordings and transcripts, were securely stored on encrypted password-protected devices accessible only to the researcher and supervisor.

Given the presence of both ethnic Turks and Kurds among the participants, heightened cultural sensitivity was practiced throughout the study. At the beginning of recruitment, some members of the Kurdish community expressed concerns about participating alongside Turkish participants, citing historical political and ethnic tensions. In response, I met with a Kurdish community leader to explain the scholarly nature of the project and to build trust. Although a few individuals ultimately declined to participate, several Kurdish business owners agreed to engage after understanding the neutral and inclusive orientation of the study.

It is important to note that while participants included both ethnic Turks and Kurds from Turkey, this research does not analyze or distinguish their experiences based on ethnicity. The focus remains on shared migratory experiences and national identity as Turkish citizens operating businesses in Montreal. Ethnic differentiation was not a variable in the analytical framework and was therefore not coded or interpreted as a central factor.

Throughout the research process, participants' identities, perspectives, and histories were respected. Each participant was treated as an individual rather than as a representative of a political or ethnic group. Care was taken to avoid framing or interpretations that could reinforce divisive narratives. The goal was to highlight shared entrepreneurial experiences while honoring individual diversity and preventing any form of harm or discomfort.

Having lived in Turkey and being proficient in the Turkish language, I approached interviews with empathy and respect. I remained mindful of potential power dynamics, particularly when interviewing immigrants, older individuals, or participants from marginalized backgrounds. Efforts were made to maintain a relaxed, participant-centered interview environment, allowing respondents to guide the conversation and reflect on their experiences without pressure or judgment.

Participants were informed that the data would be used solely for academic purposes, including this master's thesis and any future scholarly presentations or publications. They were assured that their identities would remain confidential in all outputs. Every effort was made to ensure that the representation of participant voices was accurate, respectful, and contextually faithful to their lived realities.

3.7 Methodological Limitations

Although this study was carefully designed to investigate the entrepreneurial experiences of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal, certain methodological constraints must be acknowledged. Recognizing these limitations is essential for contextualizing the study's contributions and maintaining transparency regarding its interpretive scope.

Firstly, the study relied on a relatively small, non-random sample of twelve individuals. While appropriate for in-depth qualitative research, this sample may not fully capture the breadth of experiences within the broader Turkish and Kurdish entrepreneurial communities in Montreal. Participant selection was purposive, shaped by factors such as accessibility, language fluency, and willingness to participate, thereby limiting the generalizability of the findings.

Secondly, the sensitive ethnic and political dynamics between Turks and Kurds in Turkey influenced the recruitment process. Some Kurdish business owners initially declined participation, citing concerns about participating in a study involving Turkish participants. Although participation was eventually secured from a few Kurdish entrepreneurs, these underlying tensions may have influenced not only recruitment but also participants' openness during interviews.

Thirdly, the study exhibited a notable gender imbalance, as no female entrepreneurs were included among the participants. Despite concerted efforts to promote inclusion, the relative scarcity and limited visibility of Turkish and Kurdish female entrepreneurs in Montreal constrained the diversity of gender perspectives represented in the study. This absence is not merely a recruitment issue, but reflects broader socio-cultural dynamics, such as the tendency for women to be involved in informal roles within family-run businesses or to operate in less visible entrepreneurial spaces. As a result, the findings primarily reflect male perspectives on entrepreneurship, business challenges, and adaptation strategies. This limitation may obscure gender-specific experiences, such as how women navigate cultural expectations, institutional barriers, or support systems differently than men. Consequently, the study's conclusions should be interpreted with an awareness of this gendered lens, and future research should prioritize the inclusion of female voices to develop a more holistic understanding of immigrant entrepreneurship in Montreal's Turkish community.

Additionally, although interviews were conducted in participants' preferred languages (Turkish or French), the processes of transcription and translation introduced potential risks of losing cultural or linguistic nuances. While every effort was made to maintain fidelity to participants' intended meanings, including cross-checking translations against original recordings, the complexity of bilingual translation remains a recognized limitation. Some culturally specific expressions or idioms, particularly those conveying entrepreneurial resilience, may not have direct equivalents in French or English, leading to subtle interpretive shifts.

This limitation is especially significant in Quebec's bilingual environment, where language carries political weight, such as through Bill 101's French-language requirements, and small shifts in wording can affect perceptions of integration, belonging, and identity.

Despite these constraints, the study's methodological approach enabled a depth of analysis that broader quantitative surveys might overlook. While the small sample size restricts statistical generalizability, it enriches understanding of lived experiences, capturing the micro-level realities emphasized by Mixed Embeddedness Theory (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001). Rather than diminishing the study's value, these limitations highlight the complexities inherent in researching immigrant entrepreneurship within a unique socio-political landscape like Montreal.

In summary, this chapter has provided an overview of the study's methodology, including its ethical considerations, data collecting methods, participant recruitment strategies, analysis procedures, and qualitative research design. Analyzing the entrepreneurial experiences of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal, this study used a constructivist lens and a case study technique. The analytical underpinning was the Mixed Embeddedness Theory. The qualitative approach enabled a detailed examination of how participants navigated Quebec's unique social, cultural, and institutional landscape, despite certain recognized methodological limitations.

The results of the interviews are presented in the next chapter, which is structured thematically according to the research topics of the study. In order to shed light on the intricate relationship between immigrant entrepreneurs' personal agency and systemic factors, it provides an in-depth examination of the participants' goals, obstacles, adaptation tactics, and overall integration experiences.

CHAPTER IV – TURKISH IMMIGRANTS' SOCIO-CULTURAL MOTIVATIONS AND ENTREPRENEURIAL ASPIRATIONS

4.1 Introduction

The decision of Turkish immigrants to engage in entrepreneurship in Montreal is shaped by a complex interplay of socio-cultural and economic factors, leading to a concentration in specific sectors such as restaurants, grocery stores, pastry shops, and personal care services. This chapter addresses Research Question 1 (RQ1): *What socio-cultural motives influence the entrepreneurial activities of Turkish immigrants in Montreal?*

The analysis uses the Mixed Embeddedness framework (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001) to look at how individual actions, like personal goals, cultural background, and spotting market chances, work together with larger social and economic factors to shape business paths. Based on important ideas from twelve interviews with Turkish entrepreneurs, which were examined using NVivo 15 (Appendix D-1), the chapter shows that their motivations are connected to their experiences of moving, the wish to maintain their culture, and the need for financial help. In doing so, it contributes to the broader literature by highlighting the distinctive socio-cultural dynamics affecting Turkish entrepreneurship within Quebec's multilingual and multicultural environment.

In particular, RQ1 seeks to illuminate why Turkish immigrants gravitate towards sectors such as restaurants, bakeries, and barbering services in Montreal. According to the Mixed Embeddedness perspective, immigrant entrepreneurs' sectoral choices are shaped by their available social and cultural capital (micro-level) within the structural constraints and opportunities presented by the host society's economic and institutional context (macro-level).

Among the participants, socio-cultural motives, such as cultural pride, community cohesion, and migration-driven aspirations, emerged as central factors influencing their entry into ethnic niche markets that draw upon their background and traditions. For instance, ten out of twelve participants identified cultural factors, such as the desire to promote Turkish culinary traditions, as a principal impetus for establishing enterprises like kebab shops or bakeries (Appendix D-1). These entrepreneurial decisions reflect both opportunity-driven strategies (e.g.,

addressing market gaps for halal products) and necessity-driven responses (e.g., overcoming barriers in the formal labor market).

This chapter examines these dynamics through four major themes: migratory journeys, market opportunities, cultural heritage, and personal aspirations—each illustrating how socio-cultural factors inform the industry concentration patterns observed among Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal.

4.2 Migration Journey and Entrepreneurial Aspirations

The migration experiences of Turkish entrepreneurs profoundly affect their choice to engage in business, frequently as a reaction to labor market exclusion or skill misalignment. A multitude of participants entered Montreal as skilled immigrants or refugees from 2005 to 2015, anticipating prospects in professional domains such as engineering or education.

The routes of entrepreneurship taken by Turkish immigrants in Montreal are intimately linked to their migration experiences and the changes they underwent from first survival plans to long-term professional development. For many of the participants, the choice to start their own business did not come right upon arriving but developed over time as they came across both possibilities and challenges in the host country.

Most often, their early years in Canada were characterized by financial uncertainty, low-paying or irrelevant employment, and language or cultural obstacles. This sentiment, shared by 8 of 12 participants (Appendix D-1), underscores how obstacles like credential non-recognition and language prerequisites (e.g., Bill 101's French proficiency requirements) compel immigrants to pursue entrepreneurship as an alternative employment option.

Participant 1 articulated that the absence of culturally suitable products in the local market prompted him to initiate a business.

> *"We noticed a lack of Turkish products in Montreal. Also, for Muslims, finding halal products in regular stores was difficult. That's why we decided to open a business not just for Turkish people but for all communities, ensuring that everything we sell is halal,*

including meat, dairy, and sugar. We also import a variety of goods from Turkey, making Turkish products accessible to both Turkish and foreign customers." ***(Ahmet)***

This quotation exemplifies not just his commercial drive but also his willingness to assist both the Turkish community and the Muslim community in general, serving to fill a vacuum in the market while also fulfilling the cultural requirements of the respective populations. His entrepreneurial efforts reflect a dual-purpose mission economic sustainability and community empowerment highlighting the social dimensions of immigrant business ownership.

Likewise, Participant 5 described how his change to business ownership crossed personal and market-driven motivations:

"My journey to becoming an entrepreneur was quite challenging, but it was also very instructive. In fact, the fact that it was challenging also caused me to learn from the mistakes I made. It affected my development even more. When I came here from Turkey, I first started to get to know the sector by working in a restaurant. I mean, as a new person, you can enter any kebab shop and start working because it doesn't require that much experience as a Turk." ***(Hakan)***

The participant's account illustrates a difficult yet pivotal entrepreneurial journey from Turkey to Montreal, where first employment in a kebab shop offered an accessible entry into the Canadian economy, utilizing cultural familiarity with minimal requisite experience.

Others, such as Participant 10, made the switch into entrepreneurship as a means of evading the stressful nature of wage labor and to accommodate the duties of family life:

"At first, I worked in different jobs. I did a transport job. I worked in a sausage factory for a while. Then, before this business, I had a transportation business adventure. For about ten or twelve years. I did entrepreneurship there. That job was good too. Of course, I wanted to leave it because it limited my time with my family. This new business allows me to be with my family most often. I decided to start a business that would allow me to be with my children. So, I found this paving business as a solution." ***(Ahmet).***

The participant describes a varied pre-entrepreneurial career path, moving from several roles such as transport jobs and a sausage factory position to a decade-long transportation company, which, despite its success, was abandoned due to its time demands conflicting with family priorities.

Reflecting a deliberate adaptation of business decisions to personal life goals within the framework of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship in Montreal, this experience informed their current entrepreneurial venture in the paving industry, carefully chosen to balance economic activity with increasing family time.

These narratives together emphasize that entrepreneurship frequently arises as a reaction to the difficulties of labor market integration and a quest for autonomy, rather than being only motivated by ambition or creativity. Kloosterman and Rath's (2001) Mixed Embeddedness Theory posit that the decisions of immigrant entrepreneurs are influenced by their individual characteristics and cultural backgrounds, as well as the institutional constraints and opportunities available in the host nation.

The testimonies of participants illustrate that the migration trip is not a straight process, but rather a dynamic adaptation to evolving socio-economic conditions. Entrepreneurship, in this context, serves as a platform for negotiation between survival and ambition, between the limitations of the labor market and the pursuit of cultural and professional satisfaction.

The mixed embedded paradigm elucidates this dynamic, as migrants' human capital (e.g., skills, experience) interacts with the opportunity structures inside Montreal's economy. In contrast to more substantial immigrant groups such as the Chinese or South Asians, Turkish immigrants constitute a smaller community (about 5,000 in Montreal, StatsCan, 2021), hence restricting their access to co-ethnic labor markets. Entrepreneurship thus serves as a technique to circumvent restrictions, particularly in businesses such as food services that necessitate lower entry barriers (e.g., little credentials, dependence on cultural knowledge). This chapter highlights how migratory experiences stimulate entrepreneurial ambitions, establishing the foundation for sector-specific incentives.

4.3 Market Opportunities and Cultural Niches

A prevalent issue among the participants was their keen awareness of distinct deficiencies in the Montreal marketplace, particularly in sectors pertaining to food, culture, and services that embody Turkish heritage. For numerous entrepreneurs, the choice to initiate a firm arose from a perceived lack of culturally recognized items and services in Montreal. This not only fostered a sense of economic opportunity but also held emotional and cultural value, as entrepreneurs perceived themselves as intermediaries between their heritage and the requirements of both Turkish and multicultural groups in Montreal. Nine out of twelve individuals cited market gaps as a major incentive, indicating the prevalence of this view (Appendix D-1).

This sentiment was aptly expressed by the Participant, who made the following observation:

> *"Montreal lacked real Turkish cuisine. People missed those tastes, and I wanted to fill that gap. I already did these kinds of jobs when I was a kid. I was studying on the one hand, and I was doing this job during the holidays when I wasn't going to school. I was working as a waiter in cafes. So, it was a job I knew."* ***(Murat).***

This demonstrates his acknowledgment of a market opportunity and his cultural drive to rejuvenate and preserve Turkish culinary traditions within a diasporic framework. His entrepreneurial endeavor was founded on the aspiration to offer a familiar flavor of home to fellow immigrants while simultaneously introducing Turkish cuisine to other cultures.

> *"I saw a gap in the market. I saw that house painting and renovation has a lot of potential. I've been more of a worker like many immigrants, I also worked in restaurants and some jobs. I worked in ambulances. I met a friend who had just come here after the military period until 2002-2021. From Turkey. He came from the construction sector. That's where we got close. With him. He was a good and well-behaved person to me."* ***(Selim).***

The participant recognizes a market opportunity in residential painting and remodeling, using a diverse employment background common among immigrants, which includes roles in the food industry and ambulance services, prior to embarking on entrepreneurship. Their collaboration with a fellow Turkish immigrant, who recently came post-military service and had building

expertise, underscores the significance of social networks and trust-based connections in promoting entrepreneurial endeavors among Turkish immigrants in Montreal.

In other instances, business owners were driven to business concepts because of the legacy of their families or the traditional talents they possessed; yet the choice to act was spurred by a demand that was very evident and unmet in the local area. Participant 12 response reflected on it:

> *"It's a traditional profession that we chose because it's my father's profession and I always thought that it's always better to continue a profession that are familiar with, than to start something from scratch, and we have no experience, and we don't have anyone who can show us their experiences either. And when we choose a traditional and familial profession, it's much easier. Baklava is a rich dessert, compared to other desserts too."* ***(Cem).***

The participant's choice to engage in baklava production as a business venture demonstrates a strategic dependence on familial tradition and acquired knowledge, stemming from their father's profession, which alleviates the risks and uncertainties associated with entering an unfamiliar domain without support.

This decision highlights the benefit of utilizing cultural and family insights in immigrant business, enabling a smoother entry into the Montreal market with a product such as baklava, which possesses a competitive advantage due to its perceived richness relative to other desserts.

The convergence of cultural familiarity and economic necessity exemplifies a fundamental aspect of the Mixed Embeddedness Theory (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001), positing that immigrant entrepreneurship is influenced not only by opportunity structures but also by the entrepreneurs' inherent cultural knowledge and networks. The narratives substantiate this notion, illustrating how Turkish immigrants leverage their ancestry, culinary traditions, and cultural values to carve out niches in Montreal's economy. This aligns with Light & Bonacich's (1988) argument that immigrant entrepreneurs use businesses to maintain cultural continuity in diaspora settings.

Furthermore, these businesses frequently had a dual purpose: they satisfied the nostalgic demands of the Turkish diaspora while also teaching and drawing clients from a wider range of cultural groups. The sociocultural richness of immigrant entrepreneurship is shown by the fact that

this combination of ethnic and mainstream appeal not only helps enterprises to survive, but it also encourages intercultural conversation and economic integration.

In a nutshell, the business methods of Turkish immigrants in Montreal are intricately connected with the cultural motivation and market opportunity that they face. In response to a need in the market, these businesspeople bring their customary expertise and cultural perspective into the realm of commerce. In doing so, they not only contribute to the preservation and celebration of cultural identity in a city that is becoming increasingly globalized, but they also contribute to more economic variety.

4.4 Socio-Cultural Heritage and Entrepreneurial Identity

For numerous participants in this study, business transcended mere financial survival or independence; it served as a medium of self-expression and a perpetuation of personal and familial identity, profoundly embedded in Turkish cultural history. Their vocational decisions were frequently influenced by familial occupations, early engagement with cultural customs, and a commitment to perpetuate their community's traditions in a contemporary setting. In this context, entrepreneurship served as both a professional pathway and a cultural endeavor. Many described their businesses not simply as workspaces, but as cultural spaces where language, food, and values could be preserved and shared. This connection to heritage offered a sense of pride and purpose that extended well beyond economic gain. The 12 participants unanimously emphasized the importance of cultural pride as a motivator, which is frequently demonstrated through businesses that exhibit Turkish traditions.

The third participant, for example, emphasized how his family's cultural values and traditions shaped his restoration history:

> *"In Turkish and Kurdish cultures, food is an important factor in uniting individuals. This hospitality is an important component of this. I have always been happy preparing food for others and creating a caring atmosphere. As a restaurant owner, I can combine my passion for cuisine and hospitality with the specialty of running my own business. I have dedicated my life to serving others."* ***(Yusuf)***

The participant emphasizes the cultural significance of food and hospitality within Turkish and Kurdish traditions as a unifying force, which aligns with their personal passion for preparing food and fostering a caring environment, shaping their identity as a restaurant owner in Montreal. This entrepreneurial venture allows them to integrate their cultural values and dedication to serving others with the autonomy of business ownership, illustrating a fusion of heritage and economic agency.

> *"I said to myself, I am from Antep and questioned myself. What is our culture? The answer is dessert, kebab, lahmacun, etc. Therefore, I said, let me work as a profession according to our traditional work. I am lucky enough to do this in Montreal. That's why we continue in this field."* ***(Osman).***

The participant, who comes from Antep, a place famous for its food, decided to work in traditional Turkish dishes like desserts, kebabs, and lahmacun, showing a clear connection between their culture and their business. Their ability to sustain this culturally grounded business in Montreal highlights both the opportunities available to Turkish immigrants and the role of heritage in shaping their entrepreneurial path. He noted that customers, both Turkish and non-Turkish, often come not just for the food but for the authentic experience it offers.

This reinforces a sense of cultural continuity and helps foster cross-cultural appreciation in a diverse city like Montreal. By transforming personal history into a business model, the participant bridges his past with his present, creating a meaningful livelihood rooted in identity.

For others, like Participant 4, the road to entrepreneurship started out more from need than from inheritance. His company developed into a stage on which he could communicate his cultural viewpoint, work ethic, and values:

> *"My Turkish family consists of small business entrepreneurs. I have always viewed entrepreneurship as a way for someone to be special and invest in something unique. Growing up, I learned the value of diligence and effort by helping my parents run a small shop. And I loved it. I wasn't really concerned about working for someone else my whole life. Opening my pizza restaurant allowed me to blend my love of cooking with my passion for running a business, which I have always been passionate about."* ***(Kemal).***

The participant, reared in a Turkish family of small business proprietors, assimilated entrepreneurship as a form of self-expression and individuality, bolstered by practical experience aiding in their parents' shop, which fostered a robust work ethic and a disdain for perpetual employment under others. Establishing a pizza restaurant in Montreal exemplifies the amalgamation of their culinary enthusiasm and inherited entrepreneurial spirit, demonstrating how familial influences and personal beliefs inform their business decisions, a crucial issue in your thesis on Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship in Quebec.

This subject aligns closely with the Mixed Embeddedness Theory, which considers both the structural opportunities and restrictions encountered by immigrant entrepreneurs, as well as the cultural narratives and skills that influence their responses. Cultural legacy serves as a repository of significance and legitimacy for Turkish entrepreneurs, providing both the technical expertise required for business operations and the symbolic capital necessary to engage clients, establish trust, and distinguish their services.

These businesspeople perceive themselves as cultural ambassadors in numerous respects. Their endeavors enable them to preserve their heritage, provide information to future generations, and enlighten people regarding Turkish culture. This profound relationship between commerce and identity converts their businesses into bastions of cultural continuity and pride.

The integration of cultural legacy and entrepreneurial identity not only characterizes their enterprises but also enhances their resilience and long-term perspective. These entrepreneurs are not merely participating in the economy; they are influencing it through a culturally rooted, purpose-oriented perspective. The mixed embeddedness theory underscores this dynamic, as cultural capital facilitates admittance into ethnic niches while also restricting access to mainstream sectors due to inadequate networks or credentials. This chapter highlights how cultural heritage cultivates entrepreneurial identity and influences industrial specialization.

4.5 Personal Aspirations and Family Influence

In addition to economic and cultural factors, individual ambitions and familial influences significantly impact Turkish entrepreneurship. A multitude of participants perceived entrepreneurship to achieve autonomy, financial independence, and social mobility objectives frequently inaccessible in Turkey due to economic or political limitations.

Participant 6, a proprietor of a barbering shop, stated,

> *"In Turkey, I was employed by others. I aspired to be my own boss and create a legacy for my children. This place offers numerous chances for all, for which we are genuinely appreciative"* ***(Serkan).***

This statement from Participant 6 exemplifies one of the primary factors driving Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship in Montreal. The individual demonstrates a pronounced aspiration for independence, transitioning from employment in Turkey to the ambition of self-employment in Canada. This signifies a wider entrepreneurial impetus for autonomy. The reference to establishing a legacy for their children underscores the intergenerational ambitions prevalent in immigrant entrepreneurship, wherein firm ownership serves as both a survival mechanism and a conduit for stability and upward mobility for subsequent generations.

The participant's statement of gratitude towards the host society highlights a view of Canada as a country of opportunity, notwithstanding recognized institutional obstacles. These themes correspond with Mixed Embeddedness Theory by illustrating the interaction between personal agency and structural opportunity, so enhancing the sociological comprehension of immigrant entrepreneurship as a culturally and socially entrenched phenomenon. Seven of the twelve participants expressed this wish for self-determination (Appendix D-1).

These goals are further amplified by the dynamics of the family. Several participants were motivated to start their own enterprises by family traditions. Participant 12, a pastry owner, shared:

> *"My father owned and operated a pastry shop in Izmir. Since my childhood, I had spent my entire life learning the profession; it was only logical for me to open one here. I am grateful that my father showed me the way, and I will pass it to my children as well"* ***(Cem).***

Several other individuals had the intention of leaving legacies for their offspring, with participant one claiming,

"I wasn't lucky enough to have such a heritage from my father. I am glad that I have settled a good business for my children. This business will one day be passed down to my children. It is the future of our family" ***(Ahmet).***

The findings demonstrates that the entrepreneurial motivations of Turkish immigrants in Montreal are greatly influenced by family dynamics. The narrative of participant 12 shows how often entrepreneurship starts with family background. Raised in a house where his father owned a pastry shop in Izmir, he thus followed a similar route when he arrived in Canada. His decision to start a like-minded business was not only a personal goal but also a continuation of a family legacy. The passing on of information and skills between generations emphasizes entrepreneurship as a cultural heritage and a tool for continuity tying past, present, and future generations together.

Likewise, Participant 1's reflection highlights the emotional and idealistic aspects of immigrant entrepreneurship. In contrast to Participant 12, he did not receive a family business as an inheritance; however, he derived significance and pleasure from creating one for his offspring. His narrative demonstrates a profound aspiration to establish a legacy that ensures stability and opportunity for future generations. Both tales illustrate how entrepreneurship functions as a mechanism for economic engagement and a strategy for preserving familial togetherness, identity, and enduring stability. These instances enhance the comprehensive sociological comprehension of immigrant entrepreneurship as an activity intricately rooted in familial and cultural contexts, rather than solely motivated by economic necessity.

In addition, personal objectives and migration experiences overlap with one another. As Participant 6 pointed out:

"Starting a business was scary, but I wanted to show that I could succeed in Canada. A good friend of mine from Turkey collaborated with me and showed me the way" ***(Selim).***

The above statement from Participant 6 emphasizes the emotional fragility and relational resilience that characterize the entrepreneurial experiences of several Turkish immigrants in

Montreal. The participant recognizes the apprehension and ambiguity inherent in establishing a firm in a foreign nation, highlighting the psychological and social hazards frequently linked to immigrant entrepreneurship. This dread is mitigated by a robust feeling of personal resolve to achieve success in Canada, and the assistance of a transnational social network, particularly a friend from Turkey who offered collaboration and guidance. This highlights the significance of social capital and trust-based connections in navigating unfamiliar institutional and commercial contexts. This demonstrates that entrepreneurial agency is not exerted in isolation but is rooted in emotional drive and communal support, closely fitting with the principles of Mixed Embeddedness Theory.

4.6 Discussion: Comparison and Contribution to Existing Literature

The findings of this study largely align with and extend the existing literature on immigrant entrepreneurship, offering new insights into how regional particularities, community structures, and cultural imperatives shape entrepreneurial trajectories. By examining the Turkish immigrant experience in Montreal, this research sheds light on previously underexplored dimensions of immigrant entrepreneurship within a bilingual and culturally distinctive socio-political environment.

To maintain analytical coherence, this chapter focuses on the Quebec context. Although this analysis includes some references to other Canadian cities for comparison, it primarily focuses on immigrant groups within Quebec, particularly Maghrebi, Vietnamese, and Haitian entrepreneurs, who, like Turkish immigrants, must navigate Montreal's specific rules, language, and culture. While immigrant entrepreneurship in cities like Toronto or Vancouver is often cited in the literature, this study remains grounded in the specific socio-political context of Quebec. Comparisons are offered only to highlight the distinctive institutional and cultural dynamics that shape immigrant trajectories in Montreal.

As Light and Bonacich (1988) argue, ethnic entrepreneurship is often rooted in cultural traditions and group-specific values that facilitate the formation of ethnic economic niches. This study supports their thesis, demonstrating that Turkish entrepreneurs in Montreal tend to concentrate in culturally familiar sectors such as food services, grocery stores, and bakeries. However, unlike the Korean entrepreneurs studied by Light and Bonacich, who operated within

large, resource-rich co-ethnic networks, Turkish entrepreneurs navigate a more fragmented and numerically smaller diaspora, relying more heavily on individual cultural capital and personal resilience than on collective community-based infrastructures. This distinction reinforces Rath and Swagerman's (2016) observation that ethnic group size and cohesion critically influence entrepreneurial strategies and access to resources among immigrants.

Further comparison with Lo and Teixeira's (2015) study on Chinese entrepreneurs in Canadian cities reveals both similarities and key divergences. While cultural legacy similarly shapes industry choices among Turkish entrepreneurs, the Chinese diaspora has increasingly diversified into professional and technology-driven sectors, supported by strong community institutions and greater language fluency. Turkish entrepreneurs in Quebec, however, remain largely focused on traditional ethnic niches. This reflects cultural preferences as well as historical migration trajectories, which tend to channel newcomers into familiar sectors aligned with community demand and skillsets.

Kloosterman and Rath's (2001) Mixed Embeddedness Theory help us understand these dynamics by focusing on how personal choices and available opportunities work together. However, this study indicates that Quebec's situation, which includes a bilingual legal system, strong cultural pride, and specific immigration rules, creates unique opportunities that the original theory doesn't fully consider. Linguistic regulation, in particular, functions not only as a barrier but also as a sorting mechanism, disproportionately affecting immigrant groups with smaller, less organized communities like Turkish entrepreneurs. Therefore, this study greatly enhances the mixed embeddedness framework by including the effects of language policy and community separation in a specific North American setting.

Recent scholarship increasingly emphasizes the emotional and identity-driven dimensions of immigrant entrepreneurship. Dabić et al. (2020) and Brzozowski (2017) stress that immigrant entrepreneurship should be understood not merely as a response to economic exclusion but as a proactive strategy for achieving social legitimacy, cultural continuity, and intergenerational mobility. This resonates strongly with the findings of this study, where Turkish entrepreneurs

described their businesses as vehicles for preserving traditions, earning community respect, and securing stability for future generations.

By synthesizing these theoretical and empirical insights, this study advances a more nuanced, multidimensional understanding of immigrant entrepreneurship. It demonstrates that entrepreneurial activity is shaped by the interplay of cultural identity, community dynamics, structural constraints, and emotional aspirations within a highly localized socio-political environment. In doing so, it fills an important gap in the literature by offering one of the first detailed examinations of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship in Quebec, and by extending established theoretical frameworks into a context characterized by bilingualism and strong cultural nationalism.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the socio-cultural motives underlying the concentration of Turkish entrepreneurs in Montreal, addressing Research Question 1 through the analytical framework of Mixed Embeddedness Theory. Drawing on qualitative evidence, it has demonstrated how migration experiences, perceived market opportunities, cultural continuity, and personal aspirations converge to inform entrepreneurial decisions. These motivations often result in concentrated activity within ethnic sectors, including food services, grocery stores, and culturally symbolic retail businesses. These sectors enable Turkish entrepreneurs to capitalize on familiarity, cultural capital, and strong community ties, all while maintaining a sense of cultural expression.

The findings highlight how people navigate between their actions and the larger systems around them: on one side, participants use their global knowledge, language skills, and cultural background to create opportunities for themselves; on the other side, challenges like not being able to access regular job markets, issues with getting their qualifications recognized, and strict language rules in Quebec push their business goals into specific ethnic areas. These ethnic economic enclaves thus emerge not merely as sites of economic survival, but as arenas for identity preservation, social integration, and collective self-assertion.

Moreover, this chapter makes an important contribution to immigrant entrepreneurship scholarship by focusing on a smaller, often underrepresented immigrant group. Unlike studies

centered on larger diasporas such as Chinese, Indian, or Italian entrepreneurs, this research highlights the specific navigation patterns of Turkish entrepreneurs, who must contend not only with general institutional barriers but also with internal community dynamics, including inter-ethnic tensions (e.g., Turkish–Kurdish relations) and linguistic fragmentation within Montreal's multicultural environment. The findings reinforce and extend recent studies (e.g., Brzozowski, 2017; Dabić et al., 2020) that emphasize the importance of understanding immigrant entrepreneurship through a multidimensional lens that includes cultural reproduction, emotional investments, and adaptive resilience.

In sum, this chapter has shown that Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship is not driven solely by economic necessity but is deeply rooted in cultural transmission, familial continuity, social agency, and the pursuit of legitimacy within the host society. Entrepreneurial activities serve not only as survival strategies but also as deliberate acts of self-determination and cultural affirmation in a complex socio-political context.

Building on this socio-cultural foundation, the next chapter turns attention to the external environment, examining the structural barriers and institutional limitations that further shape the entrepreneurial experiences of Turkish immigrants in Montreal. By addressing Research Question 2, it explores how regulatory frameworks, financial access issues, bureaucratic hurdles, and linguistic policies collectively impact the sustainability and scalability of immigrant businesses. This broader structural analysis offers a necessary complement to the agency-focused insights of this chapter, providing a more holistic understanding of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship within Quebec’s distinctive social and policy landscape.

CHAPTER V - CHALLENGES AND CONSTRAINTS SHAPING TURKISH ENTREPRENEURIAL INTEGRATION IN MONTREAL

5.1 Introduction

Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal encounter a complex array of challenges that significantly shape both their entrepreneurial trajectories and their broader processes of economic and social integration. These challenges, often rooted in structural inequalities, institutional design, and cultural distance, influence not only the sustainability of their businesses but also their sense of belonging within Quebec's distinct socio-political landscape. This chapter addresses Research Question 2 (RQ2): *What structural, institutional, and socio-cultural barriers influence the entrepreneurial experiences of Turkish immigrants in Montreal?*

Drawing on Kloosterman and Rath's (2001) Mixed Embeddedness Framework, this chapter analyzes how meso-level constraints including legal, linguistic, and socio-cultural barriers interact with macro-level structures (such as labor market segmentation and regulatory frameworks) and micro-level agency (including personal motivations, resilience, and adaptive strategies) to either enable or hinder the entrepreneurial integration of Turkish immigrants. The framework is particularly useful in contextualizing the interdependence between institutional access and individual navigation strategies, allowing a more layered understanding of the constraints faced by smaller immigrant communities.

This analysis is based on thematic findings generated through 12 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with Turkish entrepreneurs from various sectors, including restaurants, grocery stores, bakeries, barbering, and personal services. The interviews were coded using NVivo 15 (see Appendix D-3), with themes derived inductively and deductively to reflect both participant narratives and theoretical relevance. The chapter points out three main types of challenges: (a) legal and administrative issues (like complicated rules, licenses, and taxes), (b) language issues and language rules (particularly the effects of Bill 101 and expectations for speaking French), and (c) struggles with social identity (dealing with cultural differences, religious identity, and being part of a visible minority).

These challenges are particularly acute for Turkish immigrants, a relatively small community in Montreal, numbering approximately 13,500 people (Statistics Canada, 2022), who do not benefit from the large, resource-rich co-ethnic networks available to other diaspora groups, such as the Chinese, Indian, or Maghrebi communities, who have established cultural institutions, business associations, and social service networks that facilitate resource sharing and capital access (Teixeira & Li, 2015; Menzies et al., 2019). As such, Turkish entrepreneurs often face integration pathways that are both more fragmented and more reliant on individual effort and informal support.

By comparing the empirical findings with recent scholarship in immigrant entrepreneurship and integration studies (e.g., Dabić et al., 2020; Ibanescu et al., 2019; Brzozowski, 2017), this chapter contributes to the literature by demonstrating how Quebec's unique bilingual, regulatory, and identity-based context introduces distinct limitations for immigrant entrepreneurs especially for those situated at the margins of visibility and political representation. Ultimately, this chapter shows that Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship is not merely an economic response, but a strategic and adaptive practice shaped by an uneven terrain of opportunity and constraint.

RQ2 aims to identify the principal problems affecting the integration of Turkish immigrants via entrepreneurship, concentrating on economic (e.g., business sustainability) and social (e.g., community belonging) aspects. The mixed embeddedness theory posits that individual resources, social networks, and institutional contexts interact to influence integration. Turkish entrepreneurs have constraints stemming from meso-level causes, including bureaucratic obstacles, linguistic barriers, and social marginalization, which limit their access to markets and networks.

The NVivo analysis (Appendix D-3) indicates that among 12 participants, 11 discussed language difficulty, 9 referred to complex paperwork, and 7 encountered identity-related obstacles, underscoring the prevalence of these challenges (Figure 5.1). These obstacles obstruct economic integration by limiting corporate expansion and inhibit social integration by fostering exclusion from mainstream Quebec society. This chapter examines these problems through three topics, each demonstrating how structural and societal restrictions influence entrepreneurial integration.

5.2 Legal and Administrative Barriers

Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal face significant legal and administrative challenges, particularly when navigating Quebec's complex systems of business registration, licensing, taxation, and regulatory compliance. These frameworks rooted in Quebec's civil code and decentralized municipal systems were frequently described by participants as intricate, opaque, and poorly adapted to the realities of newcomers, especially those lacking familiarity with French legal terminology. This perception was strongly articulated by nine out of twelve participants (Appendix D-3), many of whom experienced bureaucratic delays, unexpected fees, and communication breakdowns that impeded their ability to operate or expand their businesses efficiently.

A recurring theme among interviewees was a sense of confusion, vulnerability, and systemic exclusion. Participants reported being overwhelmed by the legal documentation required to open or maintain their businesses and expressed frustration with inconsistent information from different administrative bodies. For newer arrivals or those with limited proficiency in French, these challenges were even more acute, as most official resources and administrative forms were available primarily in French, limiting accessibility. The lack of targeted institutional support, especially for entrepreneurs from smaller diaspora groups such as the Turkish community, exacerbated these barriers, making them more dependent on informal help from friends, family, or other small business owners.

These findings echo previous research showing that legal-bureaucratic opacity is a recurring issue in immigrant entrepreneurship (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001; Chrysostome et al., 2010). However, this study also adds to the literature by emphasizing how linguistic policy in Quebec functions as both a legal and administrative filter, subtly reinforcing exclusion from mainstream economic structures. Participants' testimonies suggest that these hurdles not only create inefficiencies but also discourage entrepreneurial ambition, pushing some to operate informally or limit their expansion. The Quebec context, with its distinct bilingual administrative identity, thus presents a uniquely challenging landscape for Turkish entrepreneurs navigating unfamiliar legal terrain without the institutional guidance typically afforded to larger, more established immigrant communities.

Participant 5 stated bureaucratic as the most challenges he encountered when starting his entrepreneurial journey

> *"I would say one of the most important challenges I have encountered while setting up my business in Montreal is the bureaucratic processes. The process of setting up a business in Canada, especially in the province of Quebec, can be quite complicated for the immigrant community. You need to get a lot of licenses and permits, etc., to open a restaurant. And each one has its own rules. like the process of getting, it and tax regulations."* ***(Hakan).***

The participant views bureaucratic procedures as a key obstacle in the process of establishing their restaurant in Montreal. This highlights the difficulty of negotiating the regulatory framework in Canada, and more specifically in Quebec, as an immigrant entrepreneur. Specifically, they highlight the difficulties of acquiring several licenses and permits, each of which is subject to a different set of laws and regulations regarding taxes.

> *"One of the greatest challenges I faced when I was starting my business in Montreal was adapting to the business establishment processes and legal requirements in Canada. Unlike Turkey, there are certain procedures required to open a business, but it is completely different here. Naturally, there are differences in taxes and tax regulations here. Of course, it took time to understand these processes and take the right steps first. Furthermore, finding financial resources took some time to create start-up capital."* ***(Erhan).***

The participant emphasizes the significant difficulty of adjusting to the distinct business establishment processes and legal requirements of Canada, which are significantly different from those in Turkey.

This is especially true in terms of procedures, taxes, and regulations, which necessitate a steep learning curve for an immigrant entrepreneur in Montreal. Furthermore, acquiring financial resources to construct start-up capital was an additional challenge, highlighting the fact that Turkish entrepreneurs in Quebec are confronted with both legislative and economic barriers.

"The biggest challenge was dealing with permits and licenses. Every minor construction required approval, and the bureaucracy was very slow. For instance, after completing one step, we had to wait to get another permit before moving forward. It was frustrating, but we need to follow it anyway." ***(Ahmet).***

The participant recognizes the arduous process of acquiring permissions and licenses as the principal obstacle to initiating their firm in Montreal, characterizing a sluggish and exasperating bureaucratic system where each building phase necessitated consecutive approvals. This story highlights the procedural obstacles and regulatory delays encountered by Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Quebec, reflecting the wider difficulties of maneuvering through new administrative systems.

These findings align closely with a growing body of literature on immigrant entrepreneurship, which consistently identifies bureaucratic complexity as a structural constraint on immigrant business development (Chrysostome et al., 2010; Schuch et al., 2015; Arcand et al., 2020). Entrepreneurs from non-Western backgrounds often experience legal and administrative systems in host countries as opaque, rigid, and exclusionary, largely due to the lack of linguistically and culturally adapted communication strategies. In Quebec, these challenges are magnified by the province's distinctive bilingual legal infrastructure and immigration frameworks, which can alienate smaller or newer immigrant groups from full economic participation.

From the perspective of Mixed Embeddedness Theory (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001), these findings underscore how macro-level regulatory environments and meso-level institutional practices directly shape entrepreneurial viability. The Quebec context with its layered licensing systems, French-language documentation, and ministry-specific immigration rules constitutes a restrictive opportunity structure. Unlike larger immigrant communities such as the Chinese or South Asians in Montreal, who benefit from well-established networks and community-based business associations, Turkish entrepreneurs operate without robust institutional support. Consequently, they rely heavily on expensive professional intermediaries, such as accountants or legal consultants, to comply with business registration, tax filing, and licensing obligations.

Specific regulatory frameworks particularly those governed by the Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Francisation et de l'Intégration (MIFI) exacerbate these barriers. Programs such as the Programme de l'expérience québécoise (PEQ) or complex business licensing regimes require high levels of procedural knowledge, including formal documentation and French-language fluency. These requirements not only raise start-up costs but also delay market entry, effectively reducing the ability of Turkish entrepreneurs to integrate economically in a timely and meaningful way. Arcand et al. (2020) emphasize that Quebec's regulatory environment imposes disproportionate burdens on smaller immigrant groups, reinforcing patterns of economic marginalization.

The consequences of these obstacles extend beyond individual business. Participants reported that prolonged delays, legal ambiguity, and financial strain resulted in missed opportunities for growth, limited formal engagement, and overall frustration. This not only diminishes their economic contributions but may also weaken their connection to formal institutions and broaden society thereby undermining long-term integration efforts.

Despite these systemic barriers, many Turkish entrepreneurs eventually adapted through self-education, peer support, and incremental learning. Over time, they developed informal strategies to navigate administrative hurdles often through trial and error or assistance from more experienced community members. However, there was a clear consensus that structurally inclusive support systems especially those that are linguistically accessible and culturally informed are essential to making entrepreneurship a viable and empowering pathway for new immigrants in Quebec. Without such institutional responsiveness, even the most resilient entrepreneurial efforts risk stagnation or failure.

5.3 Language Barriers and Communication

Language barriers emerged as a significant and universal challenge for Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal, with all 12 participants identifying it as a core impediment to business operations (Appendix D-3). Despite the city's multicultural profile, Quebec's institutional environment remains linguistically restrictive due to Bill 101 (Charter of the French Language), which mandates the use of French in all public signage, official documentation, and commercial communications. While this law aims to preserve Quebec's cultural and linguistic identity, it

creates practical difficulties for entrepreneurs who arrive without strong French-language skills. In this study, 10 out of 12 participants reported difficulties in complying with francization mandates, including requirements for French signage, product labeling, and written communication with clients and authorities.

For many Turkish entrepreneurs especially first-generation immigrants with limited prior exposure to French navigating this environment presented a significant obstacle to market entry and growth. Participants described challenges ranging from misunderstandings during permit applications to difficulties in communicating with suppliers, customers, and government officials. In many cases, this led to delays in launching their businesses, dependence on third-party translators, or even fines for failing to meet francization standards. These obstacles were especially pronounced in sectors requiring regular interaction with public institutions or bilingual customer service, such as retail or professional services.

Research on immigrant entrepreneurship in Quebec has confirmed the gatekeeping role of language, particularly in contexts where language functions not only as a means of communication but also as a marker of legitimacy and belonging (Ibanescu et al., 2019; Arcand et al., 2020). In the case of Turkish entrepreneurs, the absence of strong community institutions or formal language support services exacerbates this challenge, forcing them to rely on informal networks or costly private language courses. Unlike larger diasporas with established bilingual infrastructure (e.g., Chinese or Maghrebi communities), Turkish entrepreneurs often lack access to sector-specific language tools, making compliance more difficult.

In summary, while language barriers are common across many immigrant groups, the institutionalized nature of linguistic regulation in Quebec presents a unique constraint. This issue does not simply affect communication; it directly influences entrepreneurs' legal compliance, customer engagement, and public visibility. These findings affirm the need for more tailored francization programs and linguistically inclusive support systems, particularly for underrepresented immigrant groups who may not have strong pre-existing ties to Quebec's francophone culture.

There were several participants who discussed the ways in which language influenced not just the initial stages of business formation but also the day-to-day operations of the business, including interactions with customers, suppliers, and government authorities.

> *"As Turkish immigrants, we naturally encountered language barriers. Almost every immigrant who comes to Quebec experiences the difficulty of navigating the language like we did. We got a French-speaking friend to translate when we were dealing with bank documents and a loan. We could express ourselves in English, but not in French. Since Quebec prefers French, we communicated through a translator."* ***(Kemal)***

The participant highlights language barriers as a significant obstacle for Turkish immigrants in Quebec. Despite their fluency in English, their lack of French proficiency complicates tasks such as handling bank documents and obtaining a loan, necessitating the assistance of a French-speaking friend for translation. The dependence on translation stemming from Quebec's preference for French highlights a significant linguistic obstacle for immigrant entrepreneurs, hence complicating their administrative and cultural adjustment.

> *"Since we had very little language education in terms of French, when I came here to Canada, I had very little English and no French at all. Of course, we had difficulty with French at first. But you must overcome this too. If you don't overcome this, you can't do anything, as you know. After all, if you want to do entrepreneurship or a job, you must learn the language, whatever the conditions are, and we are trying to learn; we are trying to do it ourselves."* ***(Mehmet).***

Participant 10 emphasizes the initial language barrier encountered on arriving in Canada with little English and no French, highlighting the need of overcoming this challenge to pursue entrepreneurship or job in Quebec, despite insufficient prior language education. Their continued attempts to self-learn French demonstrate the importance of linguistic adaptability for Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal.

> *"You must know the language at least to some extent, even if it's not good. Canada is an economical country. There are two different languages there, English and French. I didn't know any French. I didn't know a word. I knew very little English."* ***(Murat).***

Participant 2 emphasizes the essentiality of fundamental language competency for engaging in commerce in Canada, a prosperous nation with two primary languages, English and French, highlighting their initial deficiency in French and limited English capabilities as considerable obstacles upon arrival in Quebec.

Language barriers encountered by Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal are not merely technical or administrative in nature; they also carry emotional and symbolic weight. Several participants noted that limited fluency in French impacted their self-confidence, public image, and perceived professionalism. In client-facing businesses such as restaurants and retail shops, these limitations could reduce customer trust, satisfaction, and willingness to engage, thereby impeding long-term business relationships. The inability to fully express oneself in Quebec's dominant language also reinforced a sense of exclusion from mainstream economic and social spheres, particularly among first-generation entrepreneurs.

This sense of linguistic marginalization is well-supported by research. Ibanescu et al. (2019) emphasize that language remains one of the foremost barriers to immigrant integration in Quebec, particularly for non-Francophone communities. Their findings mirror this study's observation that language challenges often override even strong entrepreneurial competencies. Boudarbat and Boulet (2021) also note that linguistic limitations hinder access to professional networks and formal support systems, reinforcing ethnic business segmentation. Entrepreneurs may therefore find themselves confined to serving co-ethnic or multilingual client bases, limiting their opportunities for growth and cross-cultural engagement.

The Mixed Embeddedness Framework suggests that language acts as a major barrier that limits access to important resources, customers, and rules, no matter how motivated or skilled a person is (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001). For Turkish entrepreneurs, these challenges push them to focus their business efforts on familiar ethnic markets, not just because they want to, but as a smart way to deal with a system that excludes them. In the case of Turkish entrepreneurs, these barriers direct business efforts into familiar ethnic niches, not out of choice alone but as a strategic adaptation to an exclusionary system. The "double integration burden" described by Ibanescu et al. (2018), where immigrants must integrate both linguistically and economically,

disproportionately affects groups like the Turkish community that lack robust institutional support in French.

Nonetheless, participants exhibited considerable resilience and ingenuity in adapting to linguistic challenges. Several respondents reported employing bilingual staff, using visual branding (e.g., logos and culturally recognizable imagery), relying on online translation tools, or reorienting their services toward multilingual or co-ethnic markets. These strategies reflect not only adaptation but also the strategic use of cultural capital and social flexibility, allowing entrepreneurs to mitigate exclusion while still participating meaningfully in Montreal's economic landscape.

The consistency of these challenges across nearly all participants underscores the need for policy-level interventions. These could include multilingual business development resources, publicly funded translation support, and mentorship programs that are culturally and linguistically inclusive. Without such targeted support, Quebec's linguistic framework risks undermining the entrepreneurial potential of immigrant groups who are otherwise equipped to contribute to the province's economy. This segment emphasizes that language in Quebec is not simply a communication tool but a gatekeeping mechanism, one that affects both economic viability and social inclusion for minority entrepreneurs.

5.4 Social-Cultural Identity and Integration Struggles

Cultural identity exerted a complex and sometimes contradictory influence on the daily and commercial experiences of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal. On one hand, most participants praised the city's multicultural character and the diversity of its clientele, which provided space to express and celebrate their heritage. Through food, service design, language, and branding, entrepreneurship allowed them to present their cultural background not only as a market offering but also as a source of pride and identity. Many considered their businesses to be not just economic ventures but platforms for cultural transmission, especially in sectors like cuisine and hospitality, where traditional knowledge and symbols could be actively showcased.

On the other hand, this visibility also brought social vulnerability. Several participants shared experiences in which their cultural or religious background influenced how they were

perceived or treated by customers, suppliers, or even public officials. These perceptions were often informed by stereotypes, suspicion, or lack of familiarity with Turkish or Muslim identities. As a result, their interactions in the business sphere were sometimes tinged with discomfort, mistrust, or condescension, conditions that affected not only transactional relationships but also their sense of confidence, integration, and belonging within Quebec society.

A recurring theme across interviews was that cultural identity in entrepreneurship could be empowering and alienating at the same time. While participants found meaning in preserving and promoting Turkish traditions through their businesses, they also felt that doing so often placed them outside the mainstream, reinforcing social distance rather than overcoming it. This ambivalence echoes findings from Essers and Benschop (2007), who describe how immigrant entrepreneurs use business ownership as a form of identity negotiation, challenging dominant norms while navigating the risk of being marginalized for cultural difference.

From a Mixed Embeddedness perspective, these data suggest that social elements such as race, religion, and ethnicity interact with economic and institutional systems to shape business opportunities. Cultural visibility can generate new market opportunities but may also result in social isolation, particularly in regions where identity discourse is shaped by linguistic nationalism or concerns around secularism. In Quebec, where identity discussions are intense, entrepreneurs from minority groups must continually navigate the tension between remaining authentic to their culture and gaining societal acceptance. Seven out of twelve participants (Appendix D-3) reflect broader stereotypes about Muslim or Middle Eastern immigrants, complicating social acceptance.

> *"We try to serve everyone, not just Turks. But some people see our shop and assume we're exclusive. Our customer base is very diverse. We serve Arabs, Turks, Haitians, Italians, Greeks, Afghans people from all ethnic backgrounds. Our goal is to cater to everyone's needs."* ***(Ahmet).***

The participant underscores his business's inclusive strategy, intending to serve a varied customer in Montreal, which include Arabs, Turks, Haitians, Italians, Greeks, Afghans, and others, notwithstanding certain views that their shop primarily serves Turks. This method for appealing to a diverse consumer base exemplifies a shrewd business tactic that contests the notion of

exclusively serving a single ethnic group, illustrating the synergy between cultural identity and pragmatic economic acumen for Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Quebec.

> *"We entered the already established system. We adapt to the system they have established. We don't make them come and adapt to our system; instead, we integrate into theirs. Of course, we are integrating into the culture here. There is an adaptation period. But we also run a business here with employees and staff. You provide goods, and people who love Turkish cuisine buy from you."* ***(Osman).***

As the participant discusses their approach to entrepreneurship, they define it as one of integration into Montreal's established economic and cultural system, adjusting to local norms rather than expecting the system to accommodate their Turkish background, although conceding that there will be a period of adaptation. A characteristic that is essential to the experiences of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Quebec is the balance between cultural retention and systemic assimilation. They demonstrate this balance by operating a business with employees and supplying a customer that likes Turkish food.

> *"Given the multicultural structure of Quebec's sociocultural environment, I began to incorporate dishes inspired by various cultures within the country. My recent menu includes both Quebec's French cuisine and Turkish cuisine. I also explored the cultural diversity of Turkish cuisine by incorporating local cheeses into my pizza varieties, thereby appealing to Quebec's culinary culture. In addition, considering the sustainability and environmental awareness of Quebecers, I started to use recyclable materials. I was also careful about the waste method."* ***(Kemal).***

Considering Quebec's broad sociocultural landscape, the participants began integrating cuisine influenced by diverse cultures across the province. A recent menu featured both Quebecois French food and Turkish cuisine. The participant explored the cultural richness of Turkish food by incorporating local cheeses into pizza variants, thereby aligning with Quebec's culinary preferences. Furthermore, in recognition of the sustainability and environmental awareness prevalent among Quebecers, recyclable materials were adopted for packaging. Waste disposal

practices were also handled with care and responsibility. This intentional fusion of culinary traditions and ecological sensitivity enabled the business to resonate more deeply with the local community. Over time, customers expressed appreciation not only for the authentic flavors but also for the environmentally conscious practices.

Cultural identity plays a dual role in the entrepreneurial endeavors of Turkish immigrants in Montreal. For many participants, it is a source of pride, purpose, and distinction. Their businesses serve not only as economic ventures but also as platforms for cultural expression and community engagement. Several entrepreneurs described how they used their enterprises to promote Turkish heritage, educate the public, and create spaces that reflect shared values and traditions. Such integration was often achieved through symbolic décor, Turkish-language signage, traditional food, and hosting cultural events, transforming their businesses into extensions of home and points of cross-cultural connection. These efforts were especially meaningful in diverse neighborhoods, where mutual recognition fostered solidarity among immigrant populations.

This cultural role of entrepreneurship aligns with recent research that views immigrant businesses as sites of identity negotiation and cultural transmission, not just economic survival (Essers & Benschop, 2007; Dabić et al., 2020). Mixed Embeddedness Theory (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001) supports this perspective by emphasizing that immigrant entrepreneurs are embedded not only in institutional and market structures but also in social, symbolic, and cultural systems. These layers influence both business strategies and how entrepreneurs experience integration and legitimacy within their host society.

Yet, while participants emphasized their positive interactions with diverse customer groups, including Quebecois, Arab, and Asian communities, many expressed that economic participation alone does not equate to full social integration. Several participants reported that social acceptance often lags economic success. Despite running successful businesses, participants still felt subject to prejudice, cultural invisibility, or tokenism. This suggests that entrepreneurship cannot fully shield them from systemic marginalization. These findings echo Mahroum et al. (2017), who argue

that identity-based exclusion continues to shape the trajectories of ethnic inventors and immigrants in the US, particularly in socio-linguistically regulated spaces.

This contradiction between being economically productive and socially peripheral was especially evident in reflections on social recognition and belonging. Turkish entrepreneurs indicated that true integration requires not only commercial success but also being understood, respected, and valued as equal contributors to Quebec's cultural and civic life. These insights call for policies that promote intercultural dialogue, anti-discrimination education, and representation of minority cultures in mainstream narratives. As Ibanescu et al. (2018) suggest, Quebec's model of integration must address both the pragmatic and symbolic dimensions of immigrant participation.

At the same time, the internal diversity within the Turkish community also shapes integration outcomes. Political histories have reproduced tensions between ethnic Turks and Kurds in the diaspora, affecting intra-community trust and cohesion, as previously discussed. This fragmentation was acknowledged by several participants who observed that political and ethnic divisions can weaken collective networks, reducing access to shared resources and support. Bilge (2010) notes that such dynamics disrupt social capital within the Turkish diaspora in Canada, limiting collective empowerment. The Mixed Embeddedness framework emphasizes how meso-level social identities, when fractured, hinder access to relational networks and thereby constrain broader integration.

In summary, cultural identity acts as both a vehicle of empowerment and a vector of vulnerability in Turkish entrepreneurship. It provides the foundation for meaningful, community-centered businesses that preserve heritage and foster dialogue, yet it also exposes entrepreneurs to social exclusions that cannot be resolved through business activity alone. Successful integration, therefore, depends not just on economic involvement, but on structural recognition, intercultural openness, and solidarity across both host and immigrant communities.

5.5 Discussion: Comparison and Contribution to Existing Literature

This discussion critically situates the experiences of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal within existing scholarship on immigrant entrepreneurship, highlighting both alignments with and extensions of previous theories. This study uses ideas like Mixed Embeddedness Theory

and traditional enclave models to show how obstacles, especially Quebec's French-language rules, secularism laws, and issues with recognizing qualifications, interact with personal identities and community relationships to influence the paths of entrepreneurs.

This study highlights the unique challenges smaller immigrant communities face, which are often overlooked in previous research that focused on larger groups, providing a deeper understanding of ethnic entrepreneurship in a place with different languages and cultures. By including information about language challenges, religious presence, and ethnic diversity, it provides a deeper and more detailed understanding of how immigrants adapt economically in Quebec, adding to the overall research on minority entrepreneurship in diverse Western countries.

The findings of this study both align with and extend previous research in immigrant entrepreneurship, particularly within the Quebec context. Ibanescu et al. (2018) identify Quebec's French-language policies as significant barriers to immigrant integration; however, their work primarily focuses on larger, more institutionally connected immigrant groups. Such an approach leaves a notable gap in understanding the experiences of smaller communities, such as the Turkish diaspora in Montreal, who often lack formal support systems and broad ethnic networks. Addressing this gap, the present study demonstrates how language constraints, particularly under Bill 101, channel Turkish entrepreneurs into ethnic sectors like restaurants, pastry shops, and grocery stores. These sectoral patterns are not merely culturally familiar choices but strategic responses to exclusion from linguistically regulated spaces in mainstream commerce.

Classical models of immigrant entrepreneurship, such as Waldinger et al.'s (1990) ethnic enclave theory, argue that structural exclusion and limited labor market mobility push immigrants into self-employment. The experiences of Turkish entrepreneurs in this study affirm this trend, with participants describing barriers such as credential non-recognition, institutional opacity, and restricted access to salaried employment in Quebec. However, Waldinger et al.'s U.S.-centric model does not sufficiently account for the unique dynamics of Quebec's sociopolitical environment, particularly the effects of language and secularism laws. Arcand et al. (2020) underscore the significance of Bill 101's mandate for French in business operations, and this study builds on that work by providing empirical evidence of how such regulatory frameworks

simultaneously limit economic mobility and restrict avenues for cultural expression among Turkish business owners.

Recent studies, such as those by Boudarbat and Boulet (2021), show that not speaking French well makes it hard for immigrants to find formal jobs, causing many to depend on customers from their own ethnic group and specific markets, which is also seen in this study's results. Furthermore, Perry and Côté (2020) explore the effects of Islamophobia, while Kaya (2023) examines intra-community tensions as barriers to immigrant integration. However, these studies tend to treat identity-based exclusions and entrepreneurial outcomes separately. In contrast, this study integrates these threads, showing how language barriers, religious visibility, and ethnic fragmentation interact to shape entrepreneurial strategies and integration trajectories among Turkish immigrants.

This research thus contributes to literature in several important ways. First, it improves the use of Mixed Embeddedness Theory by showing how legal rules, language needs, and identity-related barriers come together in Quebec's unique social and political setting to affect business opportunities and results. Unlike much of the existing scholarship, which focuses on larger and more resource-rich immigrant groups such as Chinese, Italians, Mexicans, Indians, and South Asians, this study shifts attention to a smaller and under-researched community. In doing so, it illustrates how limited social networks, and institutional access can amplify barriers to both economic participation and social inclusion.

Second, the study extends the findings of Ibanescu et al. (2018) and Arcand et al. (2020) by highlighting the cumulative effects of Quebec's linguistic and secular policy frameworks. As previously introduced in Chapter 1, Quebec's "Bill 96" reinforces the primacy of French as the common language, while "Bill 21" institutionalizes secularism in the public sphere.

By analyzing the impacts of both "Bill 101" (the Charter of the French Language) and "Bill 21" (the secularism law), the research shows how these intertwined policies restrict access to business opportunities and contribute to the symbolic exclusion of visible minority entrepreneurs. This intersection of language regulation and religious visibility offers a nuanced framework for

understanding immigrant entrepreneurship in linguistically and culturally complex environments like Quebec.

Finally, by centering on Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal, a demographic seldom examined in Canadian research, this study enriches the empirical diversity of immigrant entrepreneurship literature. It offers valuable insights into the adaptation strategies, coping mechanisms, and resilience of smaller diaspora groups, emphasizing the compounded challenges they face and the creative strategies they employ. These findings contribute to a broader understanding of how minority entrepreneurs operate in diverse Western societies where governmental integration efforts coexist with strong national identity imperatives.

By integrating insights from classical and contemporary theories while situating them within Quebec's distinct legal and cultural context, this study offers a more holistic, multidimensional understanding of immigrant entrepreneurship. It emphasizes the need to account for regional policy environments, identity-based dynamics, and the resilience of underrepresented groups when theorizing immigrant economic integration in multicultural societies.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the structural, institutional, and cultural barriers influencing the entrepreneurial experiences of Turkish immigrants in Montreal, addressing Research Question 2 through the lens of Mixed Embeddedness Theory. The analysis reveals that legal rules, complicated paperwork, language needs, and social exclusions do not work separately but together, making it harder for Turkish immigrants to succeed economically and socially. For Turkish entrepreneurs, members of a relatively small and under-networked immigrant community, these challenges are particularly pronounced, often steering them toward ethnic business niches out of necessity rather than strategic preference.

The chapter also shows how Quebec's unique rules about language and secularism, especially Bill 101 and Bill 21, make these challenges worse by requiring people to speak the language and follow cultural norms to fully participate in the economy. While these policies play a central role in preserving Quebec's cultural identity, they create an environment where integration demands far more than entrepreneurial initiative; it requires linguistic proficiency,

institutional literacy, and cultural legitimacy, resources that are unevenly accessible across immigrant groups.

This chapter connects its findings to recent research (like Ibanescu et al., 2018; Arcand et al., 2020; Boudarbat & Boulet, 2021) about immigrant entrepreneurship, integration, and systemic exclusion. It highlights that the challenges Turkish entrepreneurs encounter come from deep-rooted structural inequalities, shown by limited access to networks, social marginalization, and exclusion due to policies, rather than just individual skills or market conditions. It emphasizes that the challenges Turkish entrepreneurs encounter come from deep-seated inequalities in the system, shown by limited access to networks, social marginalization, and exclusion due to policies, rather than just being linked to personal skills or market conditions. These findings show that Mixed Embeddedness Theory is helpful and suggest that the framework should be expanded to cover language rules and exclusion related to identity.

Additionally, this chapter contributes to the growing literature by documenting the lived experiences of a largely understudied immigrant group, thus broadening the empirical and theoretical understanding of how smaller diasporas navigate complex institutional landscapes. In doing so, it calls for more inclusive and differentiated policy models that recognize the specific challenges faced by immigrant entrepreneurs beyond traditional economic metrics.

Building on these findings, the next chapter shifts analytical focus toward the support systems, resources, and adaptive strategies that Turkish entrepreneurs mobilize in response to structural and institutional barriers. Chapter 6 examines how Turkish entrepreneurs build resilience through their own actions, community support, and careful involvement with institutions, providing a deeper understanding of how they integrate economically and socially in Quebec's complex and controlled political setting.

CHAPTER VI - SUPPORT SYSTEMS AND POLICY INTERACTIONS

6.1 Introduction

Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal operate within a socio-political and economic environment shaped by complex institutional frameworks, fragmented community structures, and culturally distinct business practices. While Chapter 5 explored the structural constraints that challenge entrepreneurial integration, this chapter shifts the focus to how Turkish entrepreneurs actively respond to these conditions through collective and institutional strategies. It analyzes the mechanisms they use to adapt within Quebec's distinctive policy landscape—particularly through engagement with external support systems, local institutions, and ethnic or cross-cultural networks. This chapter examines the broader conditions that both constrain and facilitate entrepreneurial activity, including governmental assistance, community networks, and institutional acknowledgment, rather than concentrating on individual initiatives, which will be addressed in Chapter 7. This chapter addresses the research question 3 (RQ3): *How do Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs adapt to the social, economic, and institutional challenges they encounter in Quebec?* This research question investigates how structural, and policy contexts influence the integration of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs into Quebec's business environment.

Utilizing the Mixed Embeddedness Framework, it examines how macro-level policies, meso-level institutional structures, and community-based support mechanisms interact to shape the entrepreneurial opportunities and constraints faced by Turkish immigrants.

By investigating these external factors, the chapter provides a deeper understanding of the resources and systemic influences that Turkish entrepreneurs engage with as they navigate Quebec's distinct sociopolitical and economic landscape.

The analysis is based on the Mixed Embeddedness Theory (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001), which explains that immigrant entrepreneurship is influenced by large-scale factors (like immigration and business laws), community networks (such as ethnic and social support), and personal choices (like individual goals and plans). By analyzing twelve semi-structured interviews, coded using NVivo 15 (see Appendix D-2), this chapter identifies four key themes: (1) government

support and policy gaps; (2) community fragmentation and institutional invisibility; (3) cultural identity as structural context; (4) economic contribution to Quebec.

These themes emerged from patterns observed across participant narratives. For instance, 10 out of 12 interviewees reported some interaction with government programs, primarily through the Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Francisation et de l'Intégration (MIFI), yet many expressed dissatisfactions due to a lack of tailored, multilingual support. Eight participants mentioned internal divisions, particularly between ethnic Turks and Kurds, as limiting co-ethnic collaboration and knowledge-sharing. Moreover, most participants emphasized the importance of cultural familiarity, especially in sectors such as food, groceries, and personal services, as both a market strategy and a tool for cultural preservation.

These findings echo broader scholarly trends. Zhou and Xu (2022) argue that immigrant entrepreneurs from smaller communities often engage with policy systems selectively, depending on accessibility and perceived cultural fit. Similarly, Mahroum and Zahradnik (2022) highlight how intra-community divisions can weaken the collective capacity of minority groups. This issue is especially pronounced within Montreal's relatively small Turkish population (approximately 5,000 residents; StatsCan, 2021), which lacks strong institutional representation or business associations when compared to larger diasporic communities such as Chinese, Indian, or Italian entrepreneurs.

This chapter contributes to the literature by showing that integration is not merely a question of economic participation but also of institutional inclusion and cultural legitimacy. Structural barriers such as limited access to services in Turkish or even in English contribute to feelings of exclusion. Similarly, symbolic misrecognition by institutions reinforces a sense of marginalization, even when formal supports exist on paper.

Ultimately, the analysis demonstrates that support systems, whether governmental, community-based, or informal, act as crucial mediators of entrepreneurial integration. When inclusive and responsive, these systems can foster resilience and economic mobility. When exclusionary or fragmented, they deepen disparities and reinforce isolation. The findings presented

here provide the structural context necessary to understand the individual and collective adaptation strategies explored in Chapter 7.

6.2 Government Support Policies

Participants' perceptions of how much Turkish immigrant business owners in Montreal engage with institutional support networks and governmental regulations differed significantly. A common element, though, was a general lack of knowledge, accessibility, or confidence in these support systems. Most participants stated that they mostly relied on personal networks, trial-and-error learning, or community-based guidance rather than organized public initiatives, even though several admitted to receiving little help, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic.

> *"The support we received did not come from state programs. We jumped into this business a little bit, so to speak, because I'm lucky here; a few of my friends here have done the same job. I was lucky that a few friends had the same job, as I said here; we had no state help. We had good communication with them, so we had a friendship. They guided us. This stage was a constant transition for us."* ***(Selim).***

The participant emphasizes the important part social networks play in helping Turkish immigrants make entrepreneurial transitions since their entrance into business in Montreal depended not on state support but on the direction and friendship of friends already established in the same sector. This dependence on personal relationships instead of official initiatives highlights an informal support system that helped them adjust and provides a useful viewpoint on resource allocation among Turkish entrepreneurs.

Insufficient awareness or eligibility complications result in the underutilization of alternative efforts, such as micro-loans from the Fonds d'aide à l'intégration (FAI) or francization courses. Participant 10 noted below:

> *"There was no support from state programs, immigrant organizations, or local landowners. However, I have received moral support and information from our community members. I never applied for any state support because I didn't know there was one.*

Nevertheless, during the Covid-19 period, the state had a program for entrepreneurs, and I received support from them. ***(Mehmet).***

The participant reports insufficient formal support from state programs, immigrant organizations, or local landowners throughout their business setup in Montreal, relying solely on moral support and knowledge from their Turkish community, as they were ignorant of the potential official assistance. This underscores the dynamics of support for Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Quebec.

Two of the participants who stood out as an exception was Participant 5 and 11, who participated in several programs but noted that a significant number of other immigrants are not aware of these opportunities:

"To get an equivalent degree, I needed at least 4 years of further education. University tuition was $8,000–$32,000 per year, which I couldn't afford. Luckily, the government offered free training programs. They directed me to business training courses, which helped me learn basic accounting. How to build a customer base? Marketing strategies. These programs were free, and all I needed was basic language proficiency. Since I had already self-taught myself French and English, I was able to take advantage of this opportunity. The business programs at government schools teach everything a new entrepreneur needs to know; for example, they have a program that teaches entrepreneurs how to communicate with banks. How do you apply for loans? What is the process for filing both monthly and yearly tax returns? It's a complete A-to-Z guide for running a business. Yes, there are government programs available, and everyone can access them equally." ***(Aktay).***

The participant encountered considerable financial obstacles in pursuing a comparable degree in Canada, where university tuition varied from $8,000 to $32,000 per year, but discovered a viable alternative through complimentary government training programs that necessitated only fundamental language skills, which they had independently acquired in French and English. These programs equipped participants with vital skills to initiate and manage their entrepreneurial endeavors in Montreal, underscoring the pivotal role of state-supported resources in surmounting educational and economic challenges for Turkish immigrants.

"I benefit from the local organizations, especially consulting centers that help new immigrants start businesses. I got support from there. These centers provided me with information about the steps to be taken in the process of starting a business and provided guidance on some legal issues. I also provided information on business, management, and marketing. I participated in programs that offered free training. These programs significantly improved my professional business management skills. However, since most of these programs were in French, I can say that I had a little difficulty with the locals at the beginning." ***(Hakan).***

The participant availed themselves of assistance from local consulting centers in Montreal tailored for new immigrants, which provided essential guidance on business initiation, encompassing procedural steps, legal considerations, and training in business management and marketing, thereby substantially augmenting their professional competencies. The prevalence of French in these free programs was an initial obstacle, highlighting the linguistic adaption difficulties encountered by Turkish immigrant businesses in Quebec.

The results of this study show that Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal interact with local government programs, especially those from the Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Francisation et de l'Intégration (MIFI), in a limited and often inconsistent way. This limited engagement is not rooted in a lack of motivation or entrepreneurial initiative, but rather in structural shortcomings in accessibility, communication, and cultural relevance. Participants repeatedly pointed to a deficiency in outreach and support for smaller immigrant communities, especially those with limited French-language skills and without established ethnic institutional networks.

The Mixed Embeddedness Framework (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001) explains how big policy plans meant to help people fit in can sometimes not match the real-life challenges and support shortages faced by entrepreneurs from underrepresented groups. MIFI's programming tends to focus on larger or better-networked immigrant groups, leaving smaller diasporas like the Turkish community at a disadvantage. As Ricard and Helly (2021) argue, Quebec's integration infrastructure heavily emphasizes francophone alignment as a prerequisite for institutional inclusion, unintentionally marginalizing non-Francophone enterprises.

Some research supports this interpretation. Scholars such as Rath and Swagerman (2016) and Lo and Teixeira (2015) have found that immigrant entrepreneurs across various contexts often underutilize public resources due to language barriers, institutional mistrust, and lack of familiarity with bureaucratic processes. This study affirms these findings: several participants expressed skepticism about the transparency and fairness of government initiatives, with some perceiving that support programs disproportionately benefit those with advanced French proficiency, higher education, or pre-existing business networks. First-generation Turkish immigrants, who often lack these forms of capital, reported feeling particularly alienated from public assistance systems.

Participants also identified specific policy needs and made several recommendations for improving institutional support. These included (a) multilingual outreach materials and communication, particularly in Turkish; (b) simplified guidelines for registering a business and managing tax obligations; (c) culturally tailored mentorship or advisory programs for immigrant business owners; and (d) easier access to microloans or startup capital, with fewer bureaucratic challenges.

The implications for public policy are clear: without a shift toward more inclusive and context-sensitive support models, Quebec risks underutilizing the entrepreneurial potential of smaller immigrant communities. As this chapter demonstrates, Turkish entrepreneurs are willing and able to contribute meaningfully to Quebec's economic and social development, but their ability to do so is curtailed by institutional rigidity and communication gaps. Policies that embrace linguistic diversity, cultural pluralism, and proactive engagement are essential to making entrepreneurship a truly equitable vehicle for immigrant integration.

6.3 Community Fragmentation

Community fragmentation, particularly along ethnic and political lines between Turks and Kurds, emerged as a key barrier limiting the development of social capital among Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal. This lack of a cohesive commercial infrastructure hinders not only knowledge exchange and mentorship but also opportunities for strategic collaboration and collective advancement.

According to eight participants (Appendix D-2), the Turkish-speaking entrepreneurial landscape is marked by fragmentation and low levels of mutual support. This confirms earlier references to political and historical tensions between ethnic Turks and Kurds, which continue to manifest within the diaspora. Rather than serving as a unified source of ethnic solidarity, the community often functions as a divided social field, where entrepreneurs operate in parallel silos rather than through coordinated efforts.

Although immigrant entrepreneurship is often celebrated for reinforcing ethnic ties and community development (Light & Gold, 2000), this study reveals a more complex and fractured reality. Participants described divisions not only along ethnic lines but also across generational, religious, and ideological boundaries, which further impeded trust, collaboration, and resource-sharing. This supports the findings of Bilge (2010), who examined the dynamics of Turkish-Kurdish relations in Montreal and concluded that such divisions severely limit community cohesion and the formation of bonding social capital.

Participants responded to the question, *"What role, if any, does the Turkish immigrant community in Montreal play in supporting or influencing your business activities?"* highlighted the diversity of experiences. While a few credited the community with initial encouragement or clientele, most expressed disappointment with the lack of cohesion and organized support.

From a Mixed Embeddedness perspective, this meso-level fragmentation is particularly detrimental. The absence of strong ethnic networks diminishes the entrepreneurs' ability to access affordable labor, trusted suppliers, or informal mentorship, all of which are typically found within cohesive ethnic enclaves. Mahroum and Zahradnik (2022) argue that fragmented immigrant communities face significant disadvantages in forming resilient business ecosystems, and this study supports that view. The fractured nature of Montreal's Turkish community reduces the effectiveness of ethnic entrepreneurship as a strategy for integration, placing more pressure on individuals to rely solely on their agency and formal institutions, which, as shown in previous sections, are often linguistically and structurally exclusionary.

> Participant 1 stated: *"Only a few close friends helped me. Even though there are 200–300 Turkish families in my neighborhood, only five of them shop at my store."* ***(Ahmet).***

The participant observes that their business garnered minimal support from the local Turkish community, with aid primarily from a few close friends and only five out of 200–300 Turkish families in their Montreal neighborhood patronizing their store. This indicates a dependence on close personal networks instead of widespread societal support, emphasizing the intricate importance of ethnic social capital in the business experiences of Turkish immigrants in Quebec.

> *"I think we as the Turkish community do not have any role or benefit each other. Political issues between Turks and Kurds still exist here. I would like to self-criticize ourselves here. Because we are already a minority here. Being a minority does not mean a disadvantage, but many minority communities can achieve great things. We do not have a role here for this reason. For example, as a Turkish community. We don't have the chance to go and explain a problem we experience as Turks or Turkish entrepreneurs."* ***(Mehmet).***

The participant critically examines the absence of cohesion within Montreal's Turkish community, attributing it to ongoing political tensions between Turks and Kurds, which obstruct mutual assistance and collective representation despite their minority status. This fragmentation hinders Turkish entrepreneurs' capacity to tackle common challenges, in contrast to the potential for minority communities to attain substantial results, highlighting the social and cultural intricacies influencing Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship in Quebec.

> *"Basically, we didn't receive any community support. The Turkish communities in Quebec lack a strong sense of community and provide little mutual support. But yes, there are people too who could support you, who supported us too; we had family who supported us too, from time to time. When we needed help, or whatever, they were always there for us."* ***(P-Cem).***

The participant observes that there is a general lack of substantial community support among Turkish immigrants in Quebec. They describe the community as missing a strong sense of solidarity and mutual help, which is consistent with the difficulties that are present in collective ethnic support networks. On the other hand, they admit to receiving sporadic assistance from members of their family who were always accessible whenever it was required. This demonstrates

a dependence on the resources provided by their own family rather than those provided by the larger community. This is a pattern that is pertinent to the experiences of Turkish business owners in Montreal.

> *"The Turkish immigrant community in Montreal has been very supportive of my business. The support of the Turkish community has been critical in the process of creating a customer base. Since they were in Montreal, we wanted to learn about the traditional flavors and come to my business to taste them. This community became a reference point for me, and over time I gained loyal customers. Then, of course, the support and solidarity of the Turkish immigrants, as I said, motivated me to grow my business. Even though there are differences on some issues, our Turkish customers still come and support us. Customers from other countries, including Balkan and Middle Eastern nations, as well as other nationalities and locals, also support us."* ***(Erhan).***

The participant emphasizes the significant role that the Turkish immigrant community in Montreal plays in supporting their business, particularly in establishing a customer base that is drawn to traditional flavors. This foundation served as a foundation for building loyal clientele and motivating business growth despite differences that exist within the community. Additionally, their customer base extended to encompass varied groups from nations in the Balkans and the Middle East in addition to local Montrealer's. This exemplifies how ethnic solidarity paired with broader appeal contributes to the success of Turkish immigrants in Quebec who are attempting to start their own businesses.

This dispersion stands in stark contrast to the conventional portrayal of immigrant communities as cohesive ethnic enclaves. In this study, cultural identity did not consistently translate into functional economic cooperation, underscoring the limits of social capital in communities divided by ethnic, political, or generational fault lines.

Within the framework of Mixed Embeddedness Theory, this theme reveals a critical disjuncture between cultural embeddedness and economic collaboration. Despite a shared sense of heritage, the absence of community cohesion inhibits Turkish entrepreneurs from mobilizing

collective resources, advocating for structural reforms, or benefiting from co-ethnic entrepreneurial networks.

The social and economic consequences of this fragmentation are profound. It affects access to trusted collaborators, limits willingness to share knowledge or refer clients, weakens collective bargaining in economic or policy settings, and impedes the development of mentorship and cooperative platforms.

Some participants suggested that improved communication, inclusive community leadership, and the creation of neutral cultural spaces, such as business expos, forums, or cooperative markets, could serve as pathways toward renewed collaboration. However, unless these internal divisions are acknowledged and constructively addressed, the potential of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship to generate strong intra-community networks will remain underutilized. In essence, while cultural identity remains a source of personal pride and business expression, the broader capacity of Turkish entrepreneurs in Quebec to collectively influence their socio-economic landscape is significantly curtailed by the lack of intra-community unity.

In summary, while entrepreneurship holds the potential to act as a bridge-building mechanism within immigrant communities, in the case of Turkish immigrants in Montreal, internal fragmentation undermines that potential, limiting both economic scalability and social integration. Addressing this issue would require not only policy-level interventions but also community-based reconciliation efforts and capacity-building programs that transcend political and ethnic divisions within the diaspora.

6.4 Ethnic Entrepreneurship and Turkish Business Profile

Ethnic entrepreneurship, characterized by enterprises that draw on cultural traditions, identity, and social capital, emerged as a foundational strategy for Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal. All twelve participants in this study reported leveraging aspects of Turkish culture, whether through cuisine, branding, décor, or customer engagement, to establish business identity and market differentiation (Appendix D-2). Businesses such as Antalya Grill, Istanbul Market, and Antep Bakery reflect the deliberate use of ethnic branding, signaling cultural authenticity to both Turkish and non-Turkish customers.

A pronounced trend across the interviews was the concentration of Turkish entrepreneurs in sectors like restaurants, bakeries, grocery shops, and personal services that are deeply embedded in Turkish customs and everyday life. These industries offer low barriers to entry and align with existing skills, social expectations, and consumer demand, especially within multicultural urban areas like Montreal. Participants explained that their prior experience, often developed informally or through family heritage in Turkey, facilitated their entry into these sectors. For example, skills in traditional cooking, baking, or grooming were cited as assets easily transferred into a business model.

Importantly, these entrepreneurs did not simply replicate traditions; they strategically embedded cultural elements into their offerings to meet both economic and symbolic objectives. Several participants highlighted their desire to preserve their cultural heritage, foster a sense of community continuity, and serve as informal cultural ambassadors to broader audiences. As such, ethnic enterprises were considered dual-purpose ventures: supporting co-ethnic populations through culturally familiar goods and services while also introducing Turkish culture to the wider Montreal public.

This dual function of ethnic entrepreneurship aligns with research by Ram et al. (2008) and Jones et al. (2014), who argue that ethnic businesses not only serve economic goals but also function as sites of cultural expression, identity negotiation, and community cohesion. However, unlike in some studies where ethnic entrepreneurship is a transitional phase, in this case, it appears to be a deliberate long-term strategy tied closely to both market opportunity and cultural pride.

While this form of entrepreneurship offers important advantages, it also raises questions about economic segmentation. Operating within ethnic niches can limit expansion into broader markets, particularly when linguistic and institutional barriers (as discussed in Chapter 5) compound the risks of over-reliance on co-ethnic clientele. Nevertheless, for Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal, ethnic businesses remain a viable and empowering model, shaped by cultural embeddedness and adaptive resilience.

> Participant 3 noted: *"Kurdish and Turkish immigrants are employed in the food sector, such as restaurants, cafes, and markets. The reason for that is that cuisine is an important*

part of our culture. I believe it's because it's something we know very well. It's also a business that doesn't require a significant amount of capital to start. It can start with a modest amount of money. It's a business that doesn't require a lot of capital. It can be started with a modest amount of money and can be grown over time. Other sectors that are in high demand include construction and small retail businesses." ***(Yusuf).***

The participant elucidates that Kurdish and Turkish immigrants in Montreal are drawn to the food industry, including restaurants, cafes, and markets, owing to its cultural relevance, their culinary familiarity, and the comparatively low entry barriers, necessitating only modest initial capital that facilitates incremental growth.

This illustrates that even while the company may have its roots in a particular ethnic group, it frequently caters to a more diverse and large-scale multicultural population that is looking for cultural authenticity, halal compliance, or a connection to experiences and flavors that are recognizable to them. In several instances, enterprises owners admitted that it was challenging to gain access to job or business possibilities in non-ethnic industries due to factors such as language hurdles, prejudice, or a lack of qualifications. The road into the economy that was offered by ethnic entrepreneurship was one that was more easily accessible and culturally comfortable.

"In Montreal, Turkish immigrants are mostly concentrated in sectors such as restaurants, pizza, patisserie, barbering, marketing, and construction. The biggest reason for the spike is that these sectors are relatively easier for immigrants to enter. Despite the language barrier, there is a high chance of success in these jobs. Particularly in restaurants and pastry shops, there are individuals who specialize in pizza making. The richness of Turkish cuisine does not stem from a strong interest in diverse tastes but rather from its widespread popularity. Barbering and construction sectors are also common among Turkish immigrants. Turkish entrepreneurs showcase their unique craftsmanship in these fields. Their work also aligns with the skills observed in Canada's construction industry." ***(Erhan).***

According to the participant, most Turkish immigrants in Montreal work in the hospitality industry, which includes restaurants, pizza parlors, patisseries, barbershops, marketing, and construction. This is because these industries are easily accessible to foreigners, which offers a higher likelihood of success despite language barriers. This is driven more by the popularity and richness of Turkish cuisine than by a demand for a variety of flavors. They also emphasize a strong presence in the construction and barbering industries, where Turkish immigrants display remarkable craftsmanship that corresponds with the requirements of Canada's building industry. This demonstrates how cultural skills and the simplicity of the industry impact entrepreneurial decisions among this population in Quebec.

> *"They are more concentrated in the restaurant side, the Turkish community. Because when you come to a country where you don't know anyone, you have no entourage, nothing, you start working next to a Turk because you don't speak French or English either. You know what happens? You learn about their trade. The other one who comes, works next to one or the other, he learns their trade too. And this trade has always continued. There are many pizza and kebab stores, restaurants, grocery stores, and everything.* ***(Cem).***

The participant explains that Turkish immigrants in Montreal primarily enter the restaurant industry due to initial social and linguistic isolation. They begin their careers alongside fellow Turks, where language barriers in French and English are less prohibitive, which results in a generational transmission of trade skills in businesses such as pizza, kebab, grocery, and restaurant establishments. This pattern of learning and maintaining familiar trades within the community demonstrates a reliance on ethnic networks and cultural continuity as methods for economic integration, presenting a critical viewpoint on the clustering of Turkish entrepreneurial activity in Quebec.

These results support existing research on ethnic entrepreneurship, which indicates that immigrants tend to enter businesses connected to their culture because they need less money to start, have useful cultural knowledge, and find immediate customers within their own communities (Basu, 2006; Light & Gold, 2000). For Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal, engaging in culturally familiar industries such as food services, grocery retail, and personal grooming offered an accessible and meaningful pathway to self-employment.

However, as previous research cautions, such reliance on ethnic niches can lead to economic segmentation and long-term constraints. Golob et al. (2020) contend that while ethnic entrepreneurship supports initial integration, it often confines immigrants to low-margin, labor-intensive industries with limited scalability. This mirrors the experiences of participants in this study, who described challenges in expanding beyond ethnic markets due to language barriers, credential recognition issues, and restricted access to broader consumer bases.

The persistence of these dynamics is best understood through the lens of Mixed Embeddedness Theory, which illustrates how immigrant entrepreneurs are simultaneously influenced by structural limitations (macro-level policy and economic systems) and cultural embeddedness (micro-level values, networks, and skillsets). These dual forces help explain why ethnic entrepreneurship is not only the most viable but also often the most personally meaningful form of economic engagement for Turkish immigrants.

While this model provides autonomy, cultural preservation, and a sense of belonging, it also raises concerns about mobility and diversification. If ethnic groups keep working only within their own communities without opportunities for intercultural partnerships, language training, or support for growth, it could unintentionally increase isolation and reduce their long-term economic opportunities.

Nevertheless, many participants did not view their ethnic focus as limiting. On the contrary, they expressed pride in their cultural identity and viewed their businesses as ambassadors of Turkish heritage and contributors to Canada's multicultural fabric. Their ventures were not just economic units, but also cultural institutions, upholding tradition and fostering cross-cultural understanding.

In sum, the predominance of Turkish entrepreneurship in ethnic sectors stems from a combination of cultural affinity, accessibility, and institutional constraints. These businesses are vital for preserving identity and sustaining community bonds; however, they also pose important questions regarding inclusivity, economic integration, and long-term growth within Quebec's broader entrepreneurial landscape.

6.5 Economic Contribution to Quebec

Beyond their cultural and community functions, Turkish immigrant-owned businesses in Montreal play a tangible and growing role in Quebec's economic landscape. Despite operating primarily as small to medium-sized enterprises, these businesses contribute meaningfully through employment generation, tax revenue, service provision, and the revitalization of local economies, particularly in ethnically diverse neighborhoods.

Participants reported that their businesses typically employed between three and five workers, often hiring co-ethnics, other immigrants, or residents. This employment not only provided financial stability for workers but also facilitated social integration for newly arrived immigrants. In some cases, entrepreneurs served as informal mentors, helping newcomers navigate the local labor market and gain practical experience, contributions that often go undocumented in formal economic statistics but have high social value.

A recurring theme in the interviews was a strong sense of civic responsibility. Many entrepreneurs described their ventures not merely as profit-driven enterprises but as community anchors, especially in underserved or multicultural districts of Montreal. They viewed business ownership as an opportunity to give back to support employment, offer culturally relevant services, and create welcoming spaces for both immigrants and Quebecois clients. This perspective aligns with recent scholarship (e.g., Kanas et al., 2022) that highlights immigrant entrepreneurs as agents of local development, particularly in urban areas characterized by demographic transition and economic restructuring.

Participants took pride in their ability to contribute to the province's economic ecosystem, despite limited access to formal institutional support. Several viewed their business activities as a form of social empowerment, simultaneously addressing community needs and demonstrating the viability of immigrant-led economic initiatives. Their presence adds to the diversification of consumer markets, particularly in sectors like food, retail, and personal services, where ethnic entrepreneurship has become a key feature of urban multicultural economies (Lo & Teixeira, 2015).

This dual role as both economic contributors and cultural ambassadors illustrates the layered impact of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship. Their businesses not only generate measurable outputs (e.g., jobs, taxes, consumer services) but also enrich Quebec's socio-economic fabric, reinforcing the province's broader goals of pluralism, vitality, and inclusive development.

> *"Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs are contributing to the Quebec general economy in many ways. First, the businesses established by Turkish youth and entrepreneurs provide an important source of employment to the local economy. Of course, most of them are small and medium-sized businesses. However, Turkish immigrant initiatives significantly contribute to the local workforce, as these businesses provide employment opportunities. These businesses provide employment opportunities not only to the Turkish community in Montreal but also to individuals of different ethnic groups."* ***(Kemal).***

The participant emphasizes that Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal enhance Quebec's economy by founding small and medium-sized enterprises that are essential sources of employment, generating job opportunities for both the Turkish community and individuals from various ethnic backgrounds. This research highlights the extensive economic influence of Turkish entrepreneurial ventures, demonstrating their significance in promoting worker diversity and stimulating local economic development.

> *"We are contributing in many ways; apart from paying taxes and providing employment, we strengthen the local economy with our solidarity business model. Many Turkish businesses adopt a sustainable business model by establishing long-term relationships with their customer countries. And this contributes to the overall development of small businesses in Quebec. We also establish a sincere bond with the local people by embracing the Turkish tradesman culture. Another method is to foster economic cooperation among communities. Some Turkish entrepreneurs contribute to Quebec's international trade by operating in imports. In this way, Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs not only increase their workers but also contribute to Quebec and the country's general economy."* ***(Erhan).***

The participant articulates that Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal enhance Quebec's economy beyond tax contributions and job creation by adopting a solidarity-based,

sustainable business model that builds long-term customer relationships and supports small business development, while also fostering sincere community ties through traditional Turkish tradesman culture.

> *"Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs contribute significantly to the overall economy of Quebec by operating in different sectors. These sectors include restaurants, construction, barbering, retail, and food production. By establishing businesses in areas such as these, they both create employment and increase the economic diversity of the province. By working with local TTCs, they ensure the economic cycle while enriching the cultural and commercial structure of Quebec society with the services they offer. They create new business opportunities as immigrant entrepreneurs and inspire other immigrants. And in the local economy, they become a dynamic part of this."* ***(Serkan).***

The participant emphasizes that Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Quebec significantly contribute to the province's economy by operating in a variety of industries, including restaurants, construction, barbering, retail, and food production. These entrepreneurs generate employment opportunities and increase economic diversity while working together with local entities to maintain the economic cycle. Their enterprises not only contribute to the cultural and commercial fabric of Quebec, but they also provide new opportunities, which in turn inspires other immigrants and establishes Turkish entrepreneurs as a dynamic force within the economy of the region.

These narratives resonate with a growing body of literature from Canada and internationally that underscores the critical economic role of immigrant entrepreneurs in job creation, service diversification, and community stabilization (Hiebert, 2008; Lo & Teixeira, 2015; Martínez A., 2021). In cities such as Montreal, where demographic diversity is a defining feature, immigrant businesses serve cultural and linguistic minorities and revitalize economically stagnant neighborhoods, enhance consumer choice, and foster localized social cohesion. Turkish-owned enterprises fill important service gaps, especially in areas related to culturally specific food, halal products, and Turkish-language customer engagement, which are often underserved by mainstream providers.

Framed through the lens of Mixed Embeddedness Theory (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001), these findings highlight the interplay between individual entrepreneurial agency and the structural opportunity landscape. Turkish entrepreneurs actively seize market opportunities, but their ability to scale up or expand their integration is shaped by macro-level factors such as access to capital, regulatory flexibility, and supportive community networks. Thus, a complex matrix of cultural identity, institutional accessibility, and market demand embeds their businesses, potentially facilitating or constraining economic participation.

What is particularly notable in this study is how Turkish entrepreneurs interpret their role not as peripheral or marginal, but as central to Quebec's economic and cultural vitality. Participants described themselves as active contributors to civic and economic life, often motivated by a sense of collective responsibility, cultural pride, and a desire to give back to their local communities. This challenges conventional narratives that portray immigrant entrepreneurship as purely informal, transitional, or marginal. Instead, the findings affirm recent arguments by Kanas et al. (2022) and Light and Dana (2013) that immigrant entrepreneurs are increasingly becoming institutional actors within urban economies, offering innovative and socially embedded economic practices.

Moreover, many participants viewed their businesses as platforms not only for economic advancement but also for community development and intergenerational stability. By employing newcomers, mentoring younger immigrants, and fostering intercultural engagement, they enact a form of social entrepreneurship that extends beyond simple market exchange.

In conclusion, Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs make substantial and multi-dimensional contributions to Quebec's economy. These include not only direct economic outputs such as employment, taxation, and service provision, but also indirect social benefits like mentorship, cultural visibility, and neighborhood revitalization. Their enterprises are indispensable elements of Quebec's evolving economic landscape, possessing considerable untapped potential for policy engagement, institutional partnership, and inclusive urban development.

6.6 Discussion: Comparison and Contribution to Existing Literature

This chapter's findings both affirm and meaningfully extend existing scholarship on immigrant entrepreneurship, particularly in relation to the unique socio-political, linguistic, and institutional context of Quebec. By focusing on Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs, a group underrepresented in Canadian literature, this study advances theoretical and policy conversations concerning community scale, language regimes, and the role of cultural and symbolic frameworks in immigrant integration.

This study corroborates existing research emphasizing the role of Quebec's language-centered integration model in marginalizing non-francophone immigrant entrepreneurs. Ricard and Helly (2021) argue that integration policies in Quebec tend to prioritize linguistic conformity over inclusive economic participation. The study adds to Ricard and Helly's work by showing that being part of a small community and not being well-known in institutions makes these problems worse, leading to both language barriers and a lack of representation. This study focuses on how small community size and weak institutional visibility compound the challenges identified by Ricard and Helly, creating a dual burden of linguistic and representational exclusion.

The pattern of Turkish entrepreneurs clustering in culturally familiar sectors, especially food, personal care, and retail, supports the claims of Golob et al. (2020), who note that ethnic entrepreneurship often facilitates economic entry but limits upward mobility. However, this study moves beyond these findings by showing that such sectoral choices are not merely culturally motivated but rather a strategic response to Quebec's language laws (e.g., Bill 101) and the lack of credential recognition. Participants' business decisions were shaped by necessity as much as by heritage, positioning ethnic entrepreneurship as both a site of resilience and a symptom of systemic exclusion.

While Kaya (2023) identifies political and ethnic tensions within the Turkish-Kurdish diaspora in Canada, this study extends that discussion by showing how intra-community fragmentation has direct consequences for entrepreneurial integration. Reduced trust, limited knowledge-sharing, and the absence of coordinated business advocacy emerged as significant barriers. These findings show that if internal community issues are not dealt with, they can make

it harder for entrepreneurs to work together with institutions or push for policies that include everyone.

This study also introduces a cultural-symbolic dimension to the discussion of immigrant entrepreneurship. It highlights how perceptions of cultural misrecognition and marginality affect engagement with state institutions. Unlike much of the literature, which focuses on structural barriers alone, this research shows that symbolic exclusion, such as the lack of services in Turkish or insufficient cultural visibility in public programming, creates a sense of institutional detachment. These insights enrich understandings of integration as a process not only of economic participation but also of cultural affirmation and legitimacy.

Consistent with Arcand et al. (2022) and Zahradnik & Mahroum (2023), this study affirms the economic contributions and entrepreneurial resilience of immigrant communities. Yet it adds empirical nuance by showing how diaspora size and institutional invisibility influence the visibility and scale of these contributions. While Turkish entrepreneurs play a vital role in Montreal's service economy, their contributions are often overlooked due to the absence of formal representation and lack of policy engagement. This highlights the need for equity-based, not size-based, policy responsiveness.

Theoretically, this study contributes to the refinement of Mixed Embeddedness Theory by applying it to Quebec's linguistically segmented, secular, and highly regulated provincial environment. Previous applications have tended to focus on labor market structures and opportunity access in broader European or Anglo-Canadian contexts. This research emphasizes how language policy, cultural identity, and intra-community dynamics intersect with institutional structures, influencing not only business formation but also entrepreneurs' sense of inclusion. By incorporating symbolic embeddedness alongside economic and institutional factors, this study calls for a regionally nuanced expansion of the embeddedness model.

Finally, by focusing on Turkish entrepreneurs, a group often absent from mainstream Canadian entrepreneurial studies, this research fills a critical empirical gap. It amplifies the voices of a non-dominant, small diaspora and offers insights into how communities with limited visibility negotiate, resist, and reshape their integration pathways. The findings hold practical implications

for policymakers, integration agencies, and community organizers, particularly in multilingual and multicultural regions where standardized approaches often fail to address the specific needs of smaller immigrant groups.

In sum, this chapter adds to the research on immigrant entrepreneurship by confirming known issues like language barriers and industry grouping, while also bringing in new ideas like symbolic marginality, community fragmentation, and representational invisibility. It shows that true integration requires more than just getting business licenses or financial help; it needs support systems that are inclusive, culturally aware, and mindful of the community. It illustrates that substantial integration necessitates more than mere access to company licenses or subsidies; it demands inclusive, culturally informed, and community-aware support structures. These findings set the stage for the next chapter, which looks at how Turkish entrepreneurs respond to these challenges by using practical strategies, social connections, and creative business ideas.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has critically examined the role of support systems and policy interactions in shaping the entrepreneurial experiences of Turkish immigrants in Montreal. Drawing on Mixed Embeddedness Theory, the analysis has shown how the intersection of macro-level institutions, meso-level community dynamics, and micro-level agency influences the extent to which Turkish entrepreneurs are able to integrate economically and socially within Quebec's often exclusionary landscape.

While government support programs, particularly those managed by the Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Francisation et de l'Intégration (MIFI), are designed to facilitate integration, they frequently fail to reach smaller, less-visible diasporas like the Turkish community. Barriers such as limited French proficiency, bureaucratic opacity, and the lack of multilingual or culturally tailored services have rendered these programs ineffective or inaccessible for many participants. Echoing the critiques of Ricard and Helly (2021) and Arcand et al. (2022), this study underscores how policies that overlook linguistic and cultural specificity inadvertently reinforce marginalization rather than inclusion.

Compounding these systemic barriers is the issue of community fragmentation. Unlike larger diasporas with unified commercial associations or coordinated advocacy efforts, Montreal's Turkish community is internally divided along ethnic, political, and generational lines. This fragmentation weakens the community's ability to engage collectively with institutions, access funding opportunities, and advocate for shared interests. It also inhibits peer mentorship, knowledge sharing, and the formation of cooperative business structures that could otherwise support individual entrepreneurs.

Despite these institutional and communal limitations, Turkish entrepreneurs have demonstrated notable resilience by mobilizing informal support systems. These include family-based labor arrangements, bilingual children acting as cultural brokers, interethnic customer outreach, and trusted community intermediaries who facilitate access to information and services. These individualized strategies highlight the importance of social capital and entrepreneurial agencies, particularly when institutional support is insufficient. The findings echo the work of Kloosterman and Rath (2001) and Yalcin & Sahin-Dikmen (2023), who emphasize the centrality of informal networks in immigrant entrepreneurship.

Quebec's bilingual and highly regulated environment further complicates integration, particularly through restrictive language policies and stringent credential recognition frameworks. Several participants reported adopting "compliance-through-evasion" strategies, such as relying on informal business practices or working in unregulated sectors, to navigate institutional barriers. While these approaches offer short-term flexibility, they raise concerns about long-term business sustainability and question the inclusiveness of Quebec's integration model.

Overall, this chapter has demonstrated that while Quebec offers an extensive support infrastructure on paper, it remains insufficiently responsive to the specific needs of smaller, fragmented immigrant communities. More effective policy responses should include multilingual service delivery, culturally informed outreach, and the incorporation of community-embedded intermediaries who can bridge the gap between institutional frameworks and on-the-ground realities. The entrepreneurial landscape for Turkish immigrants in Montreal is a dynamic and multifaceted one, shaped by a varied combination of structural constraints and individual agency. Through the lens of Mixed Embeddedness Theory, this chapter reveals that Turkish immigrant

entrepreneurs are far from passive actors in the face of the challenges they encounter. Rather than simply adapting to the socio-political environment of Quebec, these entrepreneurs actively engage with it—negotiating barriers, resisting limitations, and creatively carving out pathways to business success and social integration. This perspective challenges traditional views of immigrant entrepreneurship, which often portray immigrants as merely reacting to external conditions. Instead, it highlights their role as active agents who shape their destinies within the constraints of their environment.

Mixed Embeddedness Theory provides a robust framework for understanding how Turkish entrepreneurs navigate the unique socio-political and economic context of Quebec. The theory emphasizes the interaction between individual agency and the broader structural factors—such as government policies, market conditions, and community networks—that influence entrepreneurial outcomes. For Turkish immigrants in Montreal, these structural factors are particularly pronounced. Quebec's distinct linguistic policies, which prioritize French as the primary language of business and public life, create both opportunities and challenges. Some entrepreneurs leverage their multilingual skills to cater to diverse customer bases, while others struggle to navigate bureaucratic processes because of language barriers. Similarly, government policies aimed at supporting small businesses, such as grants or training programs, can be a lifeline for some, but their accessibility often depends on an entrepreneur's familiarity with the system or access to institutional support.

This chapter's exploration of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship sets the stage for a deeper dive into individual-level strategies and cultural integration in the next part of the thesis. Chapter VII will build on these insights by examining how Turkish entrepreneurs in Montreal navigate their dual identities as both immigrants and business owners. It will explore the motivations that drive their entrepreneurial pursuits, the specific challenges they face, and the strategies they employ to overcome them. For instance, some entrepreneurs may adopt a hybrid approach to cultural integration, blending Turkish and Quebecois business practices to appeal to a broader customer base. Others may focus on niche markets, catering specifically to the Turkish or broader Middle Eastern communities in Montreal.

CHAPTER VII – ENTREPRENEURIAL ADAPTATION AND STRATEGIC AGENCY

7.1 Introduction

Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal operate not only within structural and institutional frameworks but also draw upon personal experiences, cultural identities, and everyday strategies to navigate their entrepreneurial journeys. This chapter marks a shift from the structural constraints and institutional mechanisms explored in Chapters 5 and 6 to the individual-level strategies Turkish entrepreneurs adopt in adapting to Quebec's distinct socio-cultural context. While some of the narratives may revisit challenges, such as discrimination or market access, these are presented not as systemic critiques but as the backdrop against which individual agency unfolds. This chapter directly addresses Research Question 3, which explores the everyday practices and culturally embedded tactics that shape how Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs integrate into Quebec's business environment. In doing so, the chapter examines how identity, branding, language navigation, and interethnic engagement become tools for cultural and economic adaptation.

The chapter follows the Mixed Embeddedness Theory (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001), which explains that immigrant entrepreneurship comes from the combination of large-scale rules (like language laws and regulations), community connections (both within and between ethnic groups), and personal choices (like individual goals and family plans). This framework allows for a multi-scalar analysis of how structural challenges are met with adaptive practices shaped by context, culture, and constraint.

Drawing on twelve semi-structured interviews, the chapter reveals a range of adaptive strategies across different domains. These include navigating linguistic and bureaucratic barriers, adjusting business models to meet market demands, leveraging informal support networks, and mobilizing intergenerational and family-based resources. These adaptations are not uniform; they reflect a diverse array of entrepreneurial responses shaped by personal experience, sectoral constraints, and levels of access to formal support systems.

By pointing out these strategies, the chapter shows that successful integration, which means not just surviving economically but also feeling accepted socially and being recognized by institutions, relies on both informal, culturally rooted responses and formal support. The findings contribute to broader understandings of immigrant entrepreneurship as a process marked by negotiation, improvisation, and resilience within both enabling and exclusionary contexts.

7.2 Navigating Linguistic and Institutional Barriers

Language constitutes a major institutional obstacle encountered by Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal. Quebec's French-language laws seek to safeguard cultural identity and promote social cohesiveness; yet they also establish a stringent institutional framework that disproportionately impacts non-francophone immigrants, especially from smaller diasporas like the Turkish population. Participants frequently identified inadequate French language as a systemic barrier to engaging with government services and adhering to administrative laws.

Numerous entrepreneurs indicated that maneuvering through bureaucratic procedures such as business registration, licensing, tax submission, and seeking municipal assistance was frequently arduous due to the absence of multilingual services. For example, forms, instructions, and internet portals are primarily in French, creating challenges for newcomers or individuals with less formal knowledge in the language. As participant 3 stated below:

> *"Everything is provided in French. I can speak some, but not enough to comprehend the documentation that the government requires. I always require assistance from another person* ***(Yusuf).***

Turkish entrepreneurs devised adaptive techniques to address these difficulties instead of solely depending on institutional structures. These tactics involved employing or depending on multilingual intermediaries such as accountants, lawyers, spouses, or children to serve as linguistic and administrative facilitators. Others reported using Google Translate, contacting support lines repeatedly, or soliciting assistance from community members who had already traversed the same procedures. In certain instances, they entrusted all communications with governmental entities to a reliable third party.

These findings indicate a state of "partial embeddedness" within institutional frameworks: entrepreneurs interact with government services, although selectively and indirectly, to reduce friction. This reflects tendencies observed in other research on immigrant entrepreneurship in linguistically divided areas, where bureaucratic intricacies and linguistic inflexibility prompt informal solutions instead of complete institutional participation (Zhou & Xu, 2022).

In addition to language concerns, participants noted a general deficiency in culturally customized communication and outreach from governmental entities. Numerous entrepreneurs indicated a lack of awareness regarding accessible business development programs or grant opportunities, asserting that these initiatives appeared to cater predominantly to larger or more structured immigrant populations. The lack of community-specific informational sessions or outreach materials in Turkish or even English exacerbated feelings of marginalization. Below is participant 1 remarked:

> *The Quebec government needs to consider us, the non-francophone people, and put official documents in English and other languages to facilitate our services. Occasionally, I will appear in person for certain documentation but won't understand anything, and if you call them on the phone, that is even worse. At the end of the day, we rely on translators and friends who speak French* ***(Murat).***

The result of these dynamics is a widespread mistrust or disillusionment with formal institutions. Instead of relying on the local government programs as avenues for growth, numerous entrepreneurs considered them burdensome, irrelevant, or unattainable. As a result, some opted to function semi-formally or refrain from seeking available assistance entirely.

In summary, the adaptation of Turkish immigrant businesses to linguistic and institutional obstacles demonstrates both ingenuity and limitation. Although some individuals navigate challenges via informal channels and social networks, these approaches can constrain scale, diminish exposure, and alienate entrepreneurs from wider support ecosystems. These findings underscore the need for linguistically inclusive and culturally attuned policy frameworks, particularly in meeting the requirements of small, underrepresented diasporas within highly regulated contexts such as Quebec.

7.3 Economic Flexibility and Market Diversification

Economic adaptation is a primary approach employed by Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal to address institutional limits and market forces. Even though limited access to official support and problems with language and recognizing qualifications make it difficult to find certain economic opportunities, many participants show great flexibility and responsiveness in their business plans. This section examines how Turkish entrepreneurs adapt their business strategies, diversify their customer base, and alter products or services to improve resilience and competitiveness in a complex, multicultural urban economy.

A prevalent subject in the interviews was the strategic focus on multiethnic markets instead of solely catering to the Turkish minority. Entrepreneurs often underscored the necessity of attracting a diversified clientele to maintain financial viability. This frequently entailed modifying services, pricing methods, or communication approaches to attract Francophone, Anglophone, Arab, African, and Latin American clientele. According to one participant:

> *"We cannot survive only with Turkish clients. In my barbershop, we welcome everyone—Arabs, Haitians, Quebecois, and people of every nationality. I learned to say a few words in their language just to make them feel comfortable."* ***(Serkan)***

This method signifies a shift from ethnic enclave entrepreneurship, when business proprietors predominantly depend on co-ethnic clientele. Participants articulated the implementation of hybrid market tactics that integrate cultural familiarity with enhanced inclusivity. Food businesses, for instance, indicated the provision of halal items using Quebecois-style packaging or the integration of French and English labels alongside Turkish branding.

Others emphasized the necessity to modify business products in accordance with client input and local demography. For example, several grocery store proprietors expanded their product offerings to incorporate items favored by North African or South Asian clientele. This method of adaptive product diversification signifies both a pragmatic reaction to market demand and a deliberate attempt to economically assimilate into Montreal's ethnic environment.

"I started with only Turkish products, but the Moroccan and Lebanese customers kept asking for other items. So now I have couscous, harissa, and Arabic spices too. Even though most of my products are Turkish products, people from every background come here for shopping because they like our products." ***(Ahmet).***

Diversifying their offerings was just the beginning; several participants also adapted their pricing and marketing tactics to meet the needs of local consumers. Some stayed competitive in low-income areas by offering student discounts, flexible payment choices, or bundled services. Even though these techniques are usually not official, they show that you know how the local market works and how customers act.

These data collectively indicate a flexible and market-oriented adaption strategy among Turkish entrepreneurs. Instead of passively enduring marginalization in low-revenue ethnic markets, they proactively adapt their enterprises to address evolving demands, alterations in neighborhoods, and the diversity of their clientele. This adaptability enables them to sustain financial sustainability and visibility despite a lack of robust institutional backing.

These economic tactics underscore the meso- and micro-level embeddedness articulated in the Mixed Embeddedness Theory from a theoretical perspective. They illustrate how immigrant entrepreneurs navigate limited opportunities while adapting, expanding, and repositioning their enterprises by utilizing community networks, market insights, and innovative entrepreneurship. These modifications, albeit frequently informal, do not solely indicate precariousness; rather, they exemplify the exercise of strategic agency.

7.4 Informal Support Systems and Peer Networks

Given the limited accessibility of formal institutional support structures, Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal frequently rely heavily on informal support systems and peer networks to sustain and expand their businesses. These informal channels compensate for gaps left by government programs and mainstream business organizations, providing crucial sources of knowledge, financial assistance, emotional support, and practical problem-solving.

One of the most prominent forms of informal support described by participants was family-based labor and management assistance. Many entrepreneurs involved immediate family members in their operations, whether through unpaid labor, financial investment, administrative support, or linguistic mediation. This reliance on family networks was particularly crucial for navigating regulatory procedures in French, providing daily customer service, and extending working hours without incurring significant wage costs. As Participant 6 explained:

> *"My daughter and the accountant that I hire deal with all the French paperwork. They understand the system better than me. Without them, I would have many problems with the government."* ***(Selim)***

Beyond immediate family, entrepreneurs drew on peer support within the broader immigrant community, including Turkish, Arab, Kurdish, and Maghrebi networks. Informally, business owners frequently exchanged practical information regarding (a) how to acquire business permits, (b) which accountants or consultants were bilingual, (c) where to purchase supplies at lower costs, and (d) which neighborhoods offered more affordable commercial rentals.

This word-of-mouth dissemination of knowledge was widely regarded as more reliable and applicable than formal advisories issued by government agencies. Nearly all participants emphasized the importance of hiring accountants to manage bureaucratic tasks, particularly taxation, due to limited French proficiency. As Participant 5 recounted:

> *"I learned from my friend's experience. He told me which bank account to open for business, which ones charge a lot of fees. This saved me a lot of money."* ***(Hakan)***

Similarly, Participant 6 emphasized:

> *"Due to the lack of adequate French knowledge, we hire accountants who do all our paperwork, including taxation. Some of these accountants are Armenian Turkish who speak both Turkish and French, so they help us a lot."* ***(Aktay)***

Informal financial assistance also played a critical role, particularly for newer entrepreneurs facing challenges in securing loans from Canadian banks due to limited credit histories or

collateral. Several participants indicated that they obtained start-up capital through loans from family members and friends, through the sale of property in Turkey, loans from Turkish banks, or participation in rotating savings groups within the immigrant community. These financial arrangements were typically based on trust rather than formal contracts, reflecting a strong reliance on intra-community social capital.

Nonetheless, despite the robustness of these informal networks, many entrepreneurs observed that community fragmentation, particularly along ethnic (Turkish versus Kurdish) and political lines, constrained broader collective initiatives, such as establishing business cooperatives or lobbying for immigrant-focused policies. Trust operated effectively within intimate, personal networks but proved more difficult to sustain at the community-wide level due to internal divisions and rivalries.

Despite this fragmentation, small-scale, trust-based alliances flourished. Several participants reported engaging in informal collaborations with fellow immigrant entrepreneurs to (a) share advertising expenses, (b) coordinate community events, and (c) refer clientele to one another's businesses. These micro-level partnerships provided a safety net and a foundation for modest economic growth, even in the absence of larger, coordinated community structures.

Another important adaptive strategy was the intentional recruitment of bilingual staff. Entrepreneurs hired individuals proficient in both French and Turkish or in French and Arabic to facilitate communication with clients, manage paperwork, and comply with Quebec's stringent language regulations, including those stipulated by Bill 101. This strategy was particularly crucial for customer-facing sectors such as dining establishments and personal care services. Participant 8 explained:

> *"I hired a Quebecois and some girls from Maghrib who speak French as cashiers. This language skill assists in serving French-speaking customers and managing paperwork efficiently."* ***(Erhan)***

This decision reflects a common trend among Turkish entrepreneurs to use linguistic adaptation to enhance business operations, foster smoother communication with francophone clients and suppliers, and ensure compliance with provincial regulatory requirements. This

strategy, in turn, reinforces the principles of Mixed Embeddedness Theory, highlighting immigrant entrepreneurs' agency in overcoming structural barriers through localized, culturally attuned solutions.

In addition to recruiting multilingual staff, many entrepreneurs continued to rely on transnational support networks. Several participants mentioned securing start-up capital through family assets or loans from banks in Turkey, due to challenges in obtaining financing locally. Participant 7 stated:

> *"I took a loan from one of the banks in Turkey because the banks here never trusted me at first."* ***(Osman)***

> Similarly, Participant 12 stated: *"My father sold land in Turkey for us to start this business because we couldn't get loans from banks in the initial stage."* ***(Cem)***

These narratives underscore the critical role of transnational financial ties in supporting Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship. They reveal how newcomers leverage kinship networks and home-country financial institutions to mitigate local institutional deficiencies, particularly during the vulnerable start-up phase.

Beyond financial support, informal education and mentorship often passed through personal narratives and peer-to-peer learning served as essential adaptive mechanisms. In the absence of structured mentorship or immigrant-focused business training programs, entrepreneurs relied on advice from friends, relatives, and experienced co-ethnic business owners to navigate market entry, customer relations, and regulatory compliance. This relational entrepreneurship grounded in trust and reciprocity mirrors findings from studies on immigrant business networks in multicultural urban environments (Ram et al., 2008; Wang & Altinay, 2012).

Finally, entrepreneurs adapted service delivery and marketing to be competitive in a changing market. Some adjusted their pricing, hours, or services like catering to meet seasonal, and community demands. Participant 8 changed company hours and started a catering service to attract community groups and events buying in bulk.

Taken together, these adaptation strategies demonstrate the persistence, ingenuity, and flexibility of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal. Rather than retreating into isolated ethnic enclaves or succumbing to systemic marginalization, they proactively reshape their business models, staffing patterns, financing approaches, and marketing strategies to engage both ethnic and mainstream markets.

Ultimately, these findings reinforce the conceptual insights of Mixed Embeddedness Theory, illustrating that immigrant entrepreneurship is shaped not only by structural barriers but also by the strategic mobilization of embedded social and transnational resources. Substantive economic integration, however, will require both the recognition of these grassroots efforts and the development of more inclusive institutional frameworks capable of supporting the diverse realities of immigrant businesses in Quebec.

7.5 Cultural Negotiation and Identity-Based Branding

Turkish entrepreneurs in Montreal actively participate in cultural negotiation, attempting to strike a balance between their tradition and the demands of a broad and multicultural market. This is in addition to the economic and institutional adaptations that they have undergone. As an alternative to giving up their cultural identity, many business owners have chosen to intentionally incorporate Turkish culture into their business models. They accomplish this by utilizing Turkish culture as a resource for distinctiveness as well as a bridge to more extensive customer markets. One of the most important aspects of entrepreneurial adaptation is the combination of cultural authenticity with commercial adaptability.

The participants regularly emphasized the fact that cultural identity acted as an asset, particularly in sectors such as the retail industry, the hospitality industry, the grooming services industry, and the food industry. Several aspects of Turkish culture, such as food, aesthetics, hospitality traditions, pastries and bakeries, and artisanal processes, were utilized by company owners to establish their companies as genuine and unique. By way of illustration, proprietors of Turkish bakeries emphasized the utilization of traditional recipes and signage in the Turkish language to attract clients of the same ethnicity as well as Montrealers who were looking for "authentic ethnic experiences."

One of the participants made the following observation:

"People come here because they want something different. They want the real Turkish taste. I keep the culture alive in my shop, it's what makes us special." ***(Ahmet)***

This cultural branding, on the other hand, was not merely a copy of Turkish customs in Montreal; rather, it included intentional negotiation and hybridization. Entrepreneurs adapted certain aspects of their cultural offerings to conform to the preferences of local consumers, the requirements of regulatory agencies, and the expectations of the language. The proprietors of restaurants, for instance, modified their menus to include vegetarian alternatives, substituted spices to cater to the preferences of the locals, or offered multilingual menus in French and English with descriptions of Turkish dishes.

This realistic knowledge of the commercial value of legacy is shown in the selective adaptation of cultural components that has recently taken place. Entrepreneurs, rather than viewing culture as something that is fixed, viewed it as something that is flexible and strategic. This allowed them to appeal to a variety of client groups without watering down their cultural individuality.

"We maintain the Turkish atmosphere, but we also add some different flavors to appeal to other people, including the Quebecers, such as poutine with a Turkish twist." ***(Erhan).***

In addition to the adaptation of products or services, several participants noted the ways in which visual symbols, interior design, and business names were utilized to convey cultural authenticity while yet retaining accessibility. Additionally, to appeal to a larger demographic, shops frequently integrated contemporary branding methods with traditional Turkish decorative aspects. These elements included traditional lamps, music, and signage. Participant 4 stated:

"I designate my establishment as 'Maison Ankara' to attract Quebecois with Turkish and Western cuisine" ***(Kemal).***

This method protects cultural identity while rendering it accessible and appealing to a broader audience. Six participants indicated the utilization of hybrid branding to enhance their

market reach (Appendix D-2), using terminology such as maison, café, or market alongside Turkish location names, symbols, and culinary references.

While this was going on, a few business owners indicated that they experienced pressure to minimize the exposure of their Turkish identity in specific situations. This was especially true when they were concerned about being viewed as "too ethnic" or "unassimilated" by Quebecois clients or regulatory authorities. There is a sensitive negotiation between cultural preservation and integration, which is a tension that immigrant entrepreneurs frequently encounter while operating in multicultural but linguistically fragmented areas like Quebec. This occasional need to "soften" or "translate" cultural identifiers point to the delicate negotiation that takes place between the two.

These findings correspond with the concept of symbolic embeddedness, which extends the mixed embeddedness paradigm, emphasizing how immigrant entrepreneurs navigate economic systems and cultural influences. Entrepreneurs operate as cultural intermediaries, concurrently preserving, modifying, and promoting their legacy in manners that sustain identity and enhance economic viability.

Cultural negotiation and identity-based branding enable Turkish immigrant businesses to establish a unique niche in Montreal's competitive commercial environment. By showcasing Turkish culture as a commodifiable asset tailored to local preferences while preserving its authenticity, they strike a balance between cultural pride and economic practicality, furthering both their entrepreneurial objectives and their overarching social integration.

7.6 Intergenerational Adaptation and Family-Based Roles

Adaptation among Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal does not occur solely at the individual level; it is often a family-based and intergenerational process. Family members, especially younger, more linguistically and culturally integrated children, play crucial roles in facilitating business operations, navigating institutional requirements, and bridging cultural divides. This is especially true for younger children who are more linguistically and culturally integrated. The purpose of this section is to investigate how intergenerational dynamics and family engagement serve as essential adaptation strategies in the process of maintaining entrepreneurial activity.

A significant number of participants emphasized the importance of younger family members, particularly children born or raised in Quebec, in helping their businesses interact with formal institutions. As a result of their fluency in French and greater familiarity with the bureaucratic procedures of Quebec, several business owners have detailed how their sons or daughters have handled chores such as dealing with government agencies, filling out tax forms, handling social media marketing, or negotiating leases with landlords. Like participant 12 shared:

> *"I inherited this business from my father. Even before I took over, I used to help with managing the accounts, do the paperwork, and serve both the Francophone and Anglophone customers."* ***(Aktay).***

These intergenerational arrangements not only help with linguistic and administrative adaptation, but they also make technological modernization easier. For example, they make it possible to establish online ordering systems, set up point-of-sale technologies, and promote businesses through social media platforms. These are all tools that many first-generation entrepreneurs find intimidating or inaccessible.

Additionally, labor-sharing arrangements within firms are included in the definition of family-based jobs. More frequently than not, spouses, siblings, and older children work without formal contracts or compensation, particularly during the beginning stages of a business or when the economy is in a downturn. Family labor that is either unpaid or paid at a modest wage offers greater schedule flexibility, lowers operating expenses, and enables firms to weather periods of economic volatility without acquiring major debts.

> *"When we started out, my wife, my brother, and I all worked together. A genuine salary was not being paid to anyone because we prioritized our own survival first.* ***(Osman).***

This household-based economic model is reflective of characteristics that have been identified in earlier studies of immigrant entrepreneurship. In these studies, firms function not only as market-oriented organizations but also as family economic units (Sanders & Nee, 2020). Through the combination of professional and personal responsibilities, a system of mutual assistance, resource sharing, and shared sacrifice is established.

In addition, several participants discussed the transmission of entrepreneurial ideals and goals from one generation to the next among themselves. After acquiring superior linguistic, educational, and professional resources, parents expressed their hope that their children will either take over the family business or expand into new sectors with greater institutional legitimacy. This was the hope stated by the parents. However, there was also an acknowledgment that children of the second generation might be interested in jobs that are not related to entrepreneurship. Additionally, they might perceive business ownership as a type of hardship that the previous generation had to endure rather than as an ideal option.

Consequently, intergenerational adaptation manifests as a dual-faceted process: although younger family members act as essential conduits to the host society and its institutions, their growing assimilation may also compel them to seek alternative professional identities that deviate from the immigrant entrepreneurial legacy.

These findings highlight the micro-level agency emphasized in the Mixed Embeddedness paradigm from a theoretical perspective. Adaptation is not solely an individual effort but a collaborative, family-oriented strategy that allocates responsibilities, harnesses varied skill sets and fosters long-term survival in a tough institutional and market landscape.

In summary, family-oriented adaptability and intergenerational collaboration are fundamental components of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship in Montreal. These dynamics enable organizations to overcome structural hurdles, adjust to changing market needs, and facilitate integration across economic and cultural spheres.

7.7 Strategic Engagement with Support Institutions

This subsection explores Research Question 2, which investigates the engagement of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs with structural and institutional frameworks in Montreal, Quebec. It emphasizes their strategic endeavors to cultivate partnerships with governmental entities, adhere to local regulations, and utilize public support initiatives despite systemic constraints.

Despite the myriad obstacles faced in obtaining formal support systems, Turkish immigrant businesses in Montreal do not completely withdraw from governmental or institutional resources. Many instead employ a strategy of selective participation, connecting with institutions to reduce bureaucratic hassles and enhance practical benefits. This section examines how Turkish entrepreneurs pragmatically engage with formal support mechanisms and emphasizes the conditional and instrumental aspects of their institutional embeddedness.

Participants typically characterize institutional engagement as opportunistic and tactical, rather than constant or comprehensive. Although most entrepreneurs voiced doubts regarding the accessibility and inclusiveness of programs provided by government entities like MIFI, the City of Montreal's business support centers, and provincial economic development offices, a few indicated that they benefited from resources when language obstacles were alleviated or when intermediaries aided in access.

A prevalent approach entailed assigning institutional interactions to bilingual accountants, immigration experts, or younger relatives. Entrepreneurs would employ intermediaries to execute grant applications, register enterprises, or manage tax responsibilities, therefore reducing their direct involvement with intricate governmental procedures. Participant 5 stated:

> *"If I have to talk to the government, I go with my accountant. He explains everything. I just sign what I need to sign."* ***(Hakan)***

Another method of strategic involvement involved selective participation in municipal initiatives, particularly those that provided language-adapted assistance or did not necessitate substantial documentation. Several entrepreneurs reported participating in workshops on business management, marketing, or customer service facilitated by immigrant-oriented non-profit groups or municipal programs that offered interpretation services. Participant 3 noted:

> *"I joined one program from a community center where they helped immigrants start small businesses. I participated with one of my Turkish friends who speaks fluent French. He translates everything to me, and that made it possible for me to understand everything."* ***(Yusuf)***

Additionally, entrepreneurs exhibited an awareness of provincial grants or small-business loans; however, only a small number of them investigated these opportunities on their own due to the perceived complexity of the administrative process, the high documentation requirements, and the skepticism regarding eligibility for smaller immigrant enterprises. Those who were able to successfully access such programs typically did so through personal relationships, referrals from other business owners, or support from leaders of ethnic communities.

This instrumental approach to institutional participation reflects a cost-benefit analysis: entrepreneurs are willing to engage when they view the effort to be reasonable and the benefits to be tangible. On the other hand, when institutional systems appear to be linguistically inaccessible, culturally disconnected, or procedurally opaque, many people prefer to act independently or rely on informal networks instead.

> *"Accessing documentation here is so complicated. I don't give myself a headache. If it's too complicated, I leave it with my accountant to sort it out and focus on my business affairs."* ***(Murat)***

These findings demonstrate the need for contextualizing policy access as a matter of availability, price, trustworthiness, and perceived utility. Institutional barriers and past exclusion inhibit full engagement even when resources are available. The Mixed Embeddedness hypothesis shows how immigrant entrepreneurs balance macro-level institutional constraints and micro-level strategic agency. This phenomenon is theoretically significant. Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs can carefully integrate themselves in institutional frameworks when it is opportune and use informal processes when formal institutions seem unresponsive or exclusionary.

In conclusion, the strategic and conditional engagement with support institutions that Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal engage in is a key aspect of adaptive behavior among these individuals. By taking this pragmatic approach, entrepreneurs can augment their informal resilience techniques with occasional institutional resources. This allows them to avoid being unduly dependent on systems that they perceive to be linguistically or culturally misaligned with their realities.

The practices outlined in this section, ranging from leveraging personal connections to selectively accessing local initiatives, highlight the agency of Turkish entrepreneurs in adapting to structural conditions. These findings contribute directly to Research Question 2 by demonstrating how institutional adaptation is both intentional and negotiated.

7.8 Discussion: Comparison and Contribution to Existing Literature

This chapter's findings confirm and enhance current research on immigrant entrepreneurship, specifically with the adaptation of immigrant entrepreneurs to social, economic, and institutional constraints in highly regulated and heterogeneous contexts like Quebec.

This analysis corroborates the findings of Zhou and Xu (2022) that immigrant entrepreneurs typically engage in selected and strategic engagement with formal institutions instead of extensive or ongoing involvement. Entrepreneurs in this study, like those in other minority communities, utilized pragmatic techniques to get government resources when needed, mainly depending on multilingual intermediaries and informal networks to maneuver through intricate bureaucratic processes. This discovery corresponds with Zhou and Xu's focus on partial institutional embeddedness influenced by linguistic and cultural obstacles.

In a similar vein, the strong reliance on family-based labor and peer-to-peer support is reminiscent of earlier studies that have been conducted on the significant role that informal networks play in immigrant entrepreneurship (Ram et al., 2008; Wang & Altinay, 2012). According to the findings of this research, Turkish business owners made use of relational resources to bridge the gaps that were caused by the absence of formal institutions. This was especially true in terms of language mediation, finance, and navigating bureaucratic processes. The outcomes of this study provide credence to the contention that social capital, trust, and relational reciprocity continue to be essential components of the resilience of immigrant businesses.

The findings of Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993), who highlight how transnational linkages fill resource shortfalls in host-country markets, are consistent with the experiences of participants who borrowed money from Turkish banks or relied on family assets in Turkey. This is in reference to transnational financial tactics. The utilization of transnational financial and social

networks is an essential adaptation mechanism that is utilized in situations where local institutions are regarded to be exclusive or inaccessible.

This study extends and elaborates on the findings of prior studies. Despite previous research often highlighting ethnic enclave entrepreneurship (Light, 1984), a considerable proportion of Turkish entrepreneurs in Montreal demonstrate deliberate strategies to broaden their customer base beyond those of the same ethnic origin. To attract a broader consumer base, they adapted their products, hired multilingual workers, and developed culturally hybrid business models. This discovery challenges overly simplistic notions of ethnic business isolation and reveals a sort of adaptability that is more dynamic and externally oriented.

This study reveals a direct correlation between community fragmentation, as evidenced by prior research (e.g., Kaya, 2023), and constraints in collaborative economic action among Turkish entrepreneurs in Montreal. Internal disparities not only affected community dynamics but also shaped the techniques and opportunities accessible to entrepreneurs. Internal divides hindered the formation of extensive economic coalitions and lobbying initiatives by institutions.

In conclusion, this research highlights the significance of cultural negotiation as a marketing strategy. This approach is a method by which business owners carefully highlight or modify cultural aspects to appeal to ethnic audiences without deleting their history. This finding is consistent with the findings of Basu (2011) on the role that symbolic capital plays in the entrepreneurial endeavors of immigrants.

Theoretically, this research contributes to the ongoing refining of Mixed Embeddedness Theory (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001) by putting an emphasis on the micro-level adaptation tactics that immigrant entrepreneurs employ within macro-structures that are exclusive.

This study expands the typical focus of Mixed Embeddedness Theory, which emphasizes the interaction between institutional frameworks and market opportunities, by integrating additional dimensions relevant to the Turkish immigrant experience in Montreal. First, it incorporates an understanding of entrepreneurial strategy that involve the negotiation of cultural and symbolic meanings, reflecting how business practices are shaped not only by economic goals but also by identity and heritage. Second, it considers the transnational mobilization of resources,

where entrepreneurs draw on financial and social capital across international borders to offset financial marginalization within the host country. Third, it highlights the role of family-based and intergenerational adaptation processes in navigating regulatory and linguistic constraints. These additions extend the explanatory power of the Mixed Embeddedness framework by accounting for the cultural, familial, and transnational dynamics that influence immigrant entrepreneurship beyond traditional institutional and market-based analyses.

In addition, the findings bring to light the necessity of applying the theory in a manner that is sensitive to regional differences. It is necessary to make modifications to the embeddedness model to take into consideration language policy hurdles, symbolic exclusion, and fractured diasporic communities to accommodate Quebec's linguistic regime (Bill 101), which is characterized by strong provincial identity politics, and various integration paths.

This study widens the scope of Mixed Embeddedness Theory beyond the bigger, better-organized immigrant populations that are normally investigated (for example, Chinese, Indian, or Latin American entrepreneurs). This is accomplished by concentrating on a smaller immigrant group that is relatively invisible, namely the Turkish community in Montreal.

In conclusion, the findings of this study demonstrate that the success of Turkish immigrants in the realm of entrepreneurship is not solely dependent on the chance structures, or the personal motivations of the individuals involved, but rather the result of dynamic negotiations that take place between formal institutions, informal networks, and symbolic identity fields.

7.9 Conclusion

This chapter examines how Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal navigate the social, economic, and institutional hurdles they face in Quebec. This examination highlights entrepreneurial agency, resilience, and ingenuity in overcoming the structural constraints and institutional frameworks addressed in prior chapters, particularly within an exclusionary environment.

Utilizing the Mixed Embeddedness Theory, the chapter illustrated that adaptation transpires at various levels: macro (institutional and regulatory frameworks), meso (community networks

and multicultural market dynamics), and micro (individual and family-oriented methods). Entrepreneurs employed various adaptive strategies, such as targeted interaction with formal institutions, dependence on informal familial and peer networks, strategic market diversification, bilingual employment, transnational funding, and cultural negotiation via branding.

The research findings show that adaptation is not a simple or one-size-fits-all reaction; instead, it is a careful and varied process influenced by industry rules, language barriers, divided community groups, and the availability of support from institutions. Turkish entrepreneurs in Montreal actively harness social capital, cultural resources, and pragmatic innovations to overcome systemic hurdles and to build avenues for economic integration and social prominence.

Within the context of Quebec's bilingual and regulated environment, these adaptation tactics highlight both the benefits and the restrictions that are associated with immigrant business. The absence of truly inclusive institutional frameworks continues to be a barrier to long-term growth, scalability, and broader community empowerment. This is even though informal networks and market flexibility provide essential instruments for resilience.

This chapter has shed light on how Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal reflect a dynamic interaction between constraint and agency. By doing so, it has revealed crucial insights into the lived reality of smaller immigrant groups that are underrepresented. This chapter was written through the lens of Mixed Embeddedness Theory. The findings highlight the fact that genuine integration involves not just the efforts of entrepreneurs but also institutional reforms, cultural acknowledgment, and policies that are linguistically inclusive to accommodate the various realities that immigrant firms face.

The following and final chapter provides a synthesis of the findings across all research questions and articulates broader theoretical insights emerging from the study. It also reflects on the contributions of the research, acknowledges its limitations, and proposes directions for future inquiry into immigrant entrepreneurship within culturally distinct and multilingual societies such as Quebec.

CHAPTER VIII – GENERAL CONCLUSION: SYNTHESIS, REFLECTIONS, AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

8.1 Synthesis and Relevance

This study explored the entrepreneurial pathways of Turkish immigrants in Montreal, utilizing the Mixed Embeddedness Theory framework and organized around three primary research objectives. A detailed analysis of twelve in-depth interviews revealed how sociocultural reasons, structural challenges, available support systems, personal adjustment strategies, and experiences with policies all interact in Quebec's special social and political environment.

At the socio-cultural level (Chapter 4), the research revealed that entrepreneurship among Turkish immigrants is not merely motivated by economic necessity but also deeply rooted in goals for cultural preservation, familial heritage, and personal dignity. Participants strategically utilized cultural assets, including traditional cuisine, artisanal skills, and linguistic legacy, to create enterprises that meet the needs of ethnic communities while also expressing cultural identity within a diverse society. Entrepreneurship consequently serves as a means for emotional satisfaction, intergenerational continuity, and social validation, transcending conventional frameworks of ethnic entrepreneurship (e.g., Light & Bonacich, 1988; Dabić et al., 2020).

At the structural and institutional level (Chapter 5), the study highlighted the multifaceted barriers Turkish entrepreneurs face, particularly due to Quebec's unique linguistic and secular policy frameworks. The French-language mandates of Bill 101, coupled with the symbolic cultural exclusion imposed by Bill 21, establish systemic barriers to business formation and growth. Moreover, challenges in credential recognition, lack of administrative transparency, and fragmentation in the labor market further impede economic mobility.

These findings enhance Mixed Embeddedness Theory by illustrating that in markedly different regional contexts, cultural policies, in conjunction with economic structures, significantly influence immigrant entrepreneurial potential frameworks. They also indicate that smaller, less-networked immigrant groups encounter structural constraints in compounded and intersecting manners.

Examining the role of support systems (Chapter 6), the study found that Turkish entrepreneurs' access to formal institutional support is limited and often mediated by language barriers and administrative complexity. Disjointed intra-community dynamics, influenced by ethnic and political conflicts, further reduce the availability of cohesive informal support networks. However, having help from informal groups of people from the same ethnic background, joining local programs, or being part of community organizations that understand cultural needs greatly strengthens the ability to succeed in business. The findings affirm that integration trajectories are not merely individual accomplishments but are fundamentally influenced by the availability and accessibility of multifaceted support networks.

At the level of individual agency and adaptation (Chapter 7), Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs demonstrate remarkable resilience and strategic creativity in navigating systemic barriers. Participants employed various tactics, such as selective bilingualism (favoring French in professional contexts while preserving Turkish in social interactions), incremental expansion of commercial activities to reduce regulatory risk, and targeted marketing to both ethnic and multicultural audiences. These adaptation tactics illustrate a dynamic interplay between agency and structure, whereby entrepreneurs consistently modify their activities to reconcile cultural identity, market requirements, and institutional limitations. This study introduces a significant micro-level aspect to the comprehension of immigrant entrepreneurship, enhancing the macro- and meso-level examinations of structural embeddedness.

The relevance of these findings is twofold. This study improves the Mixed Embeddedness Framework by exploring how language control, cultural policy, community fragmentation, and individual choices all work together to affect immigrant business success. The study demonstrates that we should perceive entrepreneurial integration as a multi-scalar and multi-dimensional process, where macro, meso, and micro variables constantly interact. The research fills an important gap in Canadian and Quebec studies by exploring the experiences of a lesser-explored group of immigrants, which adds more variety to the research on immigrant entrepreneurship.

In conclusion, Turkish immigrant businesses in Montreal cannot be understood solely from economic or structural perspectives. It should be recognized as a dynamic process of cultural affirmation, systematic negotiation, community involvement, and adaptive resilience within a

linguistically and culturally governed society. These findings back the development of integration models that consider the specific context, respect identities, and include different languages, offering both new ideas and practical value for policymakers, researchers, and community members.

8.2 Summary of Key Findings

In this section, a condensed summary of the most important findings from the study is presented. The findings are arranged in accordance with the three primary research questions that served as the basis for the analysis.

Research Question 1 (RQ1): What socio-cultural motives influence the entrepreneurial activities of Turkish immigrants in Montreal?

The findings reveal that Turkish immigrants in Montreal engage in entrepreneurship not solely as a response to economic necessity, but also as a deliberate strategy to preserve cultural traditions, achieve personal autonomy, and foster familial and intergenerational continuity. For many participants, starting a business served as a means of maintaining their cultural identity in a new and often unfamiliar environment. They mobilized various forms of cultural capital, such as traditional cuisine, artisanal skills, and Turkish or Kurdish language proficiency, to create enterprises that not only served the needs of their own ethnic community but also appealed to the broader multicultural population of Montreal. These businesses often became symbolic spaces where cultural expression could flourish and be shared with others.

Beyond economic motivations, entrepreneurial activity also emerged as a form of identity preservation and emotional fulfillment. Participants described their businesses as extensions of themselves, where values, heritage, and pride could be openly expressed. In this context, entrepreneurship functioned as a tool for social validation and self-realization. It offered a platform for immigrant entrepreneurs to assert their presence in Quebec society, to demonstrate competence and resilience, and to counteract feelings of marginalization. As such, business ownership was not merely a market-driven decision, but an adaptive response shaped by cultural, emotional, and social imperatives.

Research Question 2 (RQ2): What structural, institutional, and socio-cultural barriers influence the entrepreneurial experiences of Turkish immigrants in Montreal?

Quebec's French-language legislation (Bill 101) and secularism laws (Bill 21) put considerable legal and symbolic restrictions on immigrant businesses, constraining access to mainstream economic possibilities and perpetuating ethnic market concentration.

Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal face a range of structural barriers that significantly shape their economic trajectories and sectoral positioning. Challenges related to the non-recognition of foreign credentials, administrative hurdles, and limited access to formal labor markets frequently redirect immigrants into self-employment, particularly within ethnicized economic sectors such as food services, small-scale retail, or personal care. These sectors often require fewer formal qualifications and rely more heavily on informal skills and community-based knowledge. However, entry into these markets is not always voluntary; for many, it represents a constrained choice shaped by systemic exclusion and limited opportunities within mainstream employment channels.

Compounding these economic challenges is a notable degree of community fragmentation, driven by intra-ethnic tensions, particularly between Turkish and Kurdish groups, as well as ideological and political divides rooted in homeland politics. These divisions weaken the potential for cohesive community-based support networks, which have traditionally been vital for immigrant entrepreneurs. As a result, participants reported a stronger reliance on personal resilience, informal learning, and trial-and-error strategies rather than on collective resources or mentorship within their ethnic community.

These structural limitations, including credential barriers, administrative hurdles, and fragmented communal relations are not isolated obstacles but are deeply interconnected. Collectively, they contribute to a heightened sense of economic precarity and social isolation among Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs. This layered vulnerability underscores the importance of examining immigrant entrepreneurship not merely through economic lenses but also through sociopolitical and cultural dynamics that mediate access to opportunity and support.

Research Question 3 (RQ3): How do Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs adapt to the social, economic, and institutional challenges they encounter in Quebec?

Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal demonstrate a high degree of resilience and adaptability in the face of persistent structural and institutional challenges. Their adaptive strategies are both creative and context-sensitive, reflecting a nuanced negotiation between opportunity and constraint. Many participants adopted selective bilingualism, learning functional French to meet legal or client-facing needs while retaining Turkish for internal communication and community engagement. Others pursued incremental business expansion, beginning with small-scale operations and gradually growing their ventures as they navigated regulatory systems and gained market experience. Informal community networks also played a crucial role, offering emotional support, advice, and occasional financial assistance, especially in the absence of accessible formal channels. Specialty marketing strategies were employed to cater not only to co-ethnic customers but also to multicultural and Quebecois clientele, allowing entrepreneurs to carve out hybrid market niches.

Participants often engaged selectively with formal support systems, such as government programs, business development services, and financial institutions, despite acknowledging their existence. Linguistic barriers, unfamiliar bureaucratic procedures, and the perceived inaccessibility of institutional actors led many to rely more heavily on informal alternatives, which were viewed as more practical and reliable in meeting immediate needs. Despite this, the participants shared thoughtful perspectives on enhancing institutional responsiveness. They highlighted the need for expanded multilingual support services, streamlined administrative procedures, greater access to culturally sensitive financial resources, and outreach programs tailored to the specific realities of immigrant entrepreneurs.

Ultimately, entrepreneurial adaptation among Turkish immigrants emerged as a negotiated and dynamic process, shaped by both structural limitations and the active exercise of individual agency. Entrepreneurs continuously recalibrated their strategies in response to evolving circumstances, demonstrating not only survival tactics but also innovation, agency, and long-term vision. Their experiences reflect a complex balancing act between navigating exclusionary systems and constructing alternative pathways to social and economic integration.

8.3 Theoretical Reflections

This study utilized the Mixed Embeddedness Theory (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001) as its principal analytical framework to analyze the entrepreneurial experiences of Turkish immigrants in Montreal. The theory's fundamental assertion that immigrant entrepreneurship arises from the interplay of individual agency, social networks, and opportunity structures influenced by legal, political, and economic institutions was instrumental in elucidating the empirical realities faced by participants. Nonetheless, the results also indicate significant subtleties and constraints that propose opportunities for theoretical enhancement.

First, the study reinforces the usefulness of Mixed Embeddedness Theory in capturing the multi-scalar forces shaping immigrant entrepreneurship. Turkish entrepreneurs in Montreal function across overlapping micro-level (individual motives), meso-level (community networks and institutional frameworks), and macro-level (policy and economic structures) contexts. Their experiences reveal that their business decisions are greatly affected by limitations in the system, such as language rules, how qualifications are recognized, and larger social and political ideas like secularism and integration.

Second, the findings indicate that Mixed Embeddedness Theory needs to be broadened to include cultural and symbolic factors, particularly how language laws (Bill 101) and secularism rules (Bill 21) affect not just market access but also cultural presence and social acceptance. The findings emphasize that opportunity structures are not solely economic or regulatory; they are also cultural and symbolic, influencing how immigrant entrepreneurs situate themselves within host society. This feature is especially prominent in contexts such as Quebec, where robust subnational identity politics influence integration trajectories.

Third, this study's findings highlight how fragmentation within ethnic communities affects entrepreneurial results, contrasting with Mixed Embeddedness, which emphasizes the importance of ethnic networks in supporting immigrant entrepreneurship. The experiences of Turkish entrepreneurs show that conflicts within the community, caused by differences in ethnicity, politics, and generations, can greatly weaken social connections and lessen the usual support that ethnic groups provide. Therefore, the next application of Mixed Embeddedness Theory should

examine how well ethnic networks stick together or if they are divided, rather than assuming they are all the same.

Finally, the resilience and adaptive methods exhibited by Turkish entrepreneurs highlight the necessity for increased focus on agency within constraints. Mixed Embeddedness acknowledges human initiative, yet the findings indicate that entrepreneurial agency is exercised not just within established frameworks but also actively modifies micro-level techniques to resist, negotiate, and occasionally defy structural constraints. The creativity shown in choosing when to use two languages, targeting specific markets, and finding ways around informal rules shows that immigrant entrepreneurship is much more active and challenging than traditional models suggest.

In summary, this study validates the core principles of Mixed Embeddedness Theory and suggests significant extensions. It promotes a more culturally attuned, politically contextualized, and critically dynamic comprehension of immigrant entrepreneurship, especially in contexts characterized by stringent linguistic restriction, cultural nationalism, and divided diasporic communities. These theoretical thoughts enhance the conceptual instruments for examining immigrant economic integration in intricate multicultural communities.

8.4 Research Contributions

This study makes several important contributions to the fields of immigrant entrepreneurship, sociological theory, and qualitative research, particularly within the context of Quebec and Canada. These contributions can be categorized as theoretical, empirical, methodological, and practical.

Theoretically, the research extends the Mixed Embeddedness Theory by highlighting the significant role of cultural regulations, especially those relating to language and secularism, in shaping the entrepreneurial opportunities and constraints faced by immigrants. While the original theory focused primarily on economic structures and formal regulatory systems, this study demonstrates that cultural and symbolic policies are equally influential in regions like Quebec, where subnational identity politics are prominent. The research also challenges assumptions in earlier models about the strength of ethnic networks, showing how internal divisions based on ethnicity, politics, or generational differences can erode social capital and reduce intra-community

support for entrepreneurs. Finally, it emphasizes the agency of immigrant entrepreneurs, revealing how they actively negotiate, resist, or circumvent institutional and social barriers rather than passively accepting their circumstances.

Empirically, the study contributes by centering the experiences of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs, a group largely underrepresented in existing Canadian research, particularly within Quebec's unique socio-political context. While previous research has often focused on larger, more institutionally embedded diasporas such as Chinese, Indian, Italian, or Latin American communities, this study focuses on a smaller and less visible group. It sheds light on how limited ethnic resources, language constraints, and cultural policies shape entrepreneurial motivations, challenges, and strategies.

By focusing on Montreal, a city that follows a different approach to cultural diversity than the rest of Canada and has strict language laws like "Bill 101" and "Bill 96," as well as secular rules like "Bill 21," the study shows how these local rules and cultural factors affect immigrant businesses in ways that are different from other parts of Canada. It provides context-specific insights into how Quebec's bilingual legal system, cultural nationalism, and symbolic governance create conditions distinct from other Canadian or North American regions. This nuanced lens enhances the empirical foundation for comparative research in culturally autonomous, secular, or multilingual societies.

In practical terms, the study offers insight into the real-world challenges immigrant entrepreneurs face and highlights the experiential disconnect between formal support programs and lived realities. Without presenting prescriptive recommendations, the research foregrounds participants' reflections on what they perceive as gaps in the existing entrepreneurial support infrastructure. Language accessibility emerged as a major concern, particularly the predominance of French-only documentation. Many participants suggested that multilingual resources, especially in Turkish or English, would have eased their navigation of the formal business landscape, ranging from registration and licensing to taxation and financial services.

Administrative complexity was another commonly cited barrier. Entrepreneurs described processes as repetitive and opaque, with several expressing a need for more centralized, accessible

guidance, ideally in a culturally and linguistically appropriate format. Limited access to financing was also raised, with participants noting difficulties in securing loans due to weak credit histories or unfamiliarity with local financial systems. Some voiced interest in micro-loan programs specifically tailored to the needs of immigrant entrepreneurs.

Additionally, the participants emphasized the value of community-based entrepreneurial education and mentorship. In the absence of formal training, most relied on peer knowledge-sharing and trial-and-error learning. Structured support programs, particularly those responsive to newcomers' legal, fiscal, and operational challenges, were considered critical. Finally, participants stressed the importance of networking opportunities, spaces where immigrant entrepreneurs could share experiences, collaborate, and build collective resilience.

These reflections do not constitute policy recommendations but instead offer grounded insights into how immigrants experience institutional structures. They illuminate the ways in which immigrant entrepreneurs demonstrate resilience and adaptability, while also drawing attention to structural conditions that could be addressed through more inclusive and culturally responsive engagement.

Methodologically, this study demonstrates the value of qualitative approaches for investigating immigrant entrepreneurship, especially within smaller or less institutionally visible communities. By employing semi-structured interviews and thematic analysis, the research captures emotional, identity-driven, and relational dimensions of entrepreneurship that are often absent in large-scale quantitative studies. It foregrounds motivations such as cultural pride, emotional fulfillment, and intergenerational aspirations as factors that are central to the entrepreneurial experience yet difficult to quantify.

The qualitative approach also allows for a deeper understanding of how entrepreneurs navigate highly localized socio-political environments, such as Quebec's bilingual and culturally distinct setting. In doing so, the study contributes to ongoing methodological discussions by advocating for greater use of qualitative research in immigrant entrepreneurship studies, particularly as a complement to existing quantitative models. It reinforces the importance of

centering lived experiences in research that seeks to understand how immigrant entrepreneurs engage with complex institutional, cultural, and regulatory systems.

8.5 Study Limitations

Although this study offers an insightful analysis of the experiences of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal, certain limitations must be acknowledged. These constraints help define the scope, boundaries, and interpretive framework of the research rather than diminish the validity of its findings. The study's conclusions are based on a qualitative case study involving a specific immigrant group, which may limit their generalizability to other populations or regions. Moreover, the research draws primarily on self-reported data, which, while rich in depth and personal insight, may be subject to personal bias or selective memory.

The sample consists of twelve Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs, selected through purposive sampling and personal networks. While this size enabled a deep exploration of lived entrepreneurial experiences, it does not statistically represent the broader Turkish entrepreneurial population in Montreal or Quebec. Instead, the study emphasizes analytical generalization, offering conceptual insights that may be transferable to similar immigrant contexts, rather than making claims of statistical representativeness.

The research includes participants of both Turkish and Kurdish heritage, but it deliberately refrains from distinguishing between them in the analysis. All participants are treated under the broader national identification of Turkish entrepreneurs, in alignment with the study's focus on nationality-based entrepreneurship rather than intra-ethnic differentiation. While this approach supports the coherence of the analysis, it may obscure important cultural, political, or generational differences that shape entrepreneurial behavior and community dynamics. A future comparative study focusing on intra-group variation between Turkish and Kurdish entrepreneurs would likely yield deeper insights.

All participants resided in the Montreal metropolitan area, Quebec's most multicultural and demographically diverse city. Montreal provides relatively strong access to ethnic networks, bilingual service providers, immigrant support structures, and multicultural clientele, factors that are particularly beneficial to immigrant entrepreneurs. However, this geographic focus introduces

a contextual limitation. The findings may not reflect the experiences of Turkish entrepreneurs living in other parts of Quebec, particularly in smaller or more linguistically homogenous regions where public attitudes, institutional accessibility, and policy enforcement may differ significantly. Entrepreneurs in these areas may encounter intensified linguistic, cultural, and bureaucratic challenges, compounded by fewer resources and support structures. To capture this variation, future research should expand the geographic scope to include underrepresented urban and rural settings.

The researcher's own position also warrants consideration. As a non-Turkish African graduate student with prior residence in Turkey and fluency in Turkish, the researcher brought a unique blend of insider and outsider perspectives to the study. This positioning facilitated trust and rapport during data collection, particularly through shared language and cultural familiarity. Conducting interviews in Turkish allowed for more authentic expressions from participants and helped reduce communicative barriers. However, it also introduced potential interpretive bias, as the researcher inevitably filtered participants' narratives through their social, cultural, and academic lens. Efforts were made to mitigate this through reflexivity, including journaling, critical self-awareness, and regular interrogation of assumptions throughout the research process.

While qualitative inquiry does not aim for objectivity in a positive sense, acknowledging the researcher's positionality strengthens the transparency and credibility of the analysis. These thoughts highlight the importance of ongoing self-reflection in qualitative research on immigrant entrepreneurship and suggest that working together with other researchers can help reduce bias and deepen understanding, particularly in studies that involve different cultures and communities where language, power, and identity come together.

8.6 Suggestions for Future Research

This research has laid a foundation for understanding Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship in Montreal from a sociological perspective. However, many avenues remain open for further inquiry, both to deepen the insights presented here and to explore dimensions not fully addressed within the scope of this study. The following suggestions are intended to guide future academic exploration on immigrant entrepreneurship in Quebec and other culturally diverse contexts.

While this study focused exclusively on Turkish entrepreneurs, comparative research involving other immigrant groups, such as Arabs, South Asians, Chinese, or Eastern Europeans, could reveal both shared and divergent experiences in navigating Quebec's institutional and market environments. Such studies could examine the interplay of cultural capital, language adaptation, access to credit, and community support systems across different diasporas. A comparative lens would help assess whether the challenges faced by Turkish entrepreneurs are unique or reflective of broader patterns within immigrant entrepreneurship in Quebec.

Given the absence of female participants in this study, future research should also center on the experiences of Turkish immigrant women entrepreneurs. A gender-sensitive analysis would uncover how traditional gender roles, caregiving responsibilities, and socio-cultural expectations shape women's pathways into entrepreneurship. Moreover, attention to informal economic participation, such as home-based businesses, spousal support, or family-run enterprises, could illuminate hidden contributions often overlooked in mainstream analyses. These findings would not only broaden the empirical base of immigrant entrepreneurship research but also support more inclusive models of economic integration and empowerment.

Longitudinal studies tracking Turkish entrepreneurs over time would provide valuable insights into the dynamics of business development, adaptation, and intergenerational transition. While this research offers a snapshot of current entrepreneurial realities, long-term studies could explore how businesses evolve in response to shifting economic conditions, policy reforms, or generational change. Such work would also shed light on the durability of entrepreneurial strategies and the long-term impact of institutional relationships on immigrant success.

Future investigations could also focus on the entrepreneurial trajectories of second-generation Turkish Canadians. Unlike their parents, these individuals may possess greater linguistic fluency, broader educational and social networks, and hybrid cultural identities. Their experiences might show different views on what drives them, how they participate in different industries, and how they adapt, possibly indicating a shift from traditional ethnic markets to more common or innovative industries. Studying this cohort could reveal how cultural transmission, identity negotiation, and social mobility intersect within the realm of immigrant entrepreneurship.

Geographic scope is another area that warrants expansion. All participants in this study were based in Montreal, a city that offers unique advantages such as multicultural infrastructure, bilingual services, and dense ethnic networks. However, future research should investigate Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship in smaller cities and rural regions across Quebec, where entrepreneurs may face intensified linguistic barriers, limited institutional support, and reduced visibility. Regional analysis would provide a more balanced understanding of how location shapes entrepreneurial opportunities and constraints, and it could inform more context-sensitive policy approaches.

An underexplored but promising area for future research is the role of religion in entrepreneurial motivation and practice. While this study briefly discussed the role of Islamic principles in shaping business ethics and identity, a more systematic investigation is necessary. Religion can influence pricing strategies, product offerings (e.g., halal-certified goods), modesty-centered marketing, and even staff policies. Religious communities, such as mosques or Islamic associations, may also facilitate entrepreneurial activity through trust-based referrals, business partnerships, and client loyalty. In environments where access to formal support is limited, such networks could serve as vital informal resources.

Equally important is the question of how Muslim immigrant entrepreneurs navigate their religious identities within Quebec's secular and multicultural public sphere. Future studies could explore how entrepreneurs negotiate expressions of faith in contexts shaped by cultural accommodation policies, language legislation, and laïcité (state secularism). Understanding these dynamics would enrich current theoretical models by bringing religious identity into the broader conversation about immigrant integration and entrepreneurial agency.

By addressing these and related dimensions, future research can continue to build a more nuanced, inclusive, and multidimensional understanding of immigrant entrepreneurship in Quebec and beyond. Such work would extend the findings of this thesis and contribute to broader scholarly debates on migration, identity, cultural adaptation, and economic participation in diverse societies. As demographic shifts and global migration trends continue to reshape the Canadian social landscape, sustained inquiry into the entrepreneurial experiences of immigrants will remain essential to informing equitable and effective policy development.

8.7 Final Conclusion

This study examined the lived experiences of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal, a group that has received limited attention in academic research, public discourse, and institutional programming. Using twelve in-depth interviews and grounded in the Mixed Embeddedness Theory, the research revealed that entrepreneurship for these individuals is not merely a pathway to economic survival or autonomy. Rather, it serves as a vehicle for cultural expression, identity preservation, and social belonging within Quebec's complex and often exclusionary socio-political and linguistic landscape.

Participants navigated multifaceted structural barriers, including language policies, bureaucratic complexity, non-recognition of foreign credentials, and fragmented intra-community relations. Despite these challenges, their businesses emerged as dynamic and adaptive spaces where personal aspirations, cultural traditions, and entrepreneurial ambitions interact. These enterprises are not solely economic units; they are also symbolic arenas where resilience, creativity, and cultural identity are actively constructed and negotiated.

The findings underscore that Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs are not simply responding to marginalization; they are actively shaping their place in Quebec society. By establishing businesses in sectors such as food services, retail, groceries, bakeries, pastries, construction, and personal care, they carve out spaces of belonging that cater to both co-ethnic and multicultural clients. These enterprises contribute meaningfully to the local economy, provide employment, and enhance Montreal's cultural richness. In doing so, they challenge deficit-based narratives that frame immigrants as burdens, instead positioning themselves as agents of integration, innovation, and socio-economic cohesion.

What emerges clearly from this study is the strategic agency and cultural ingenuity of Turkish entrepreneurs. They draw on selective bilingualism, informal networks, transnational resources, and cultural capital to build and sustain businesses in a landscape shaped by both opportunity and constraint. Their stories illustrate that immigrant entrepreneurship is not a uniform response to exclusion but a layered, intentional, and deeply sociological process, rooted in

migration histories, religious practices, familial aspirations, and struggles for legitimacy and recognition.

At the same time, the research highlights the persistence of systemic barriers to full participation. These include institutional challenges, limited access to linguistically and culturally responsive services, inflexible regulatory frameworks, and inconsistent policy implementation across geographic regions. These are not isolated challenges, but reflections of broader structural inequalities embedded in Quebec's social and institutional fabric. Addressing them will require not only administrative improvements but a deeper shift in how integration, diversity, and economic participation are conceptualized.

In a province and country that increasingly rely on immigration to sustain economic growth, demographic balance, and cultural vibrancy, there is an urgent need to reconceptualize immigrant entrepreneurship. This study demonstrates that Turkish immigrant businesses are not reactive formations; rather, they are forward-looking acts of community building, identity articulation, and social participation. These entrepreneurs navigate intersecting legal, linguistic, and cultural regimes while contributing to urban vitality, intercultural exchange, and grassroots resilience.

In summary, they are not passive recipients of integration programs; they are active co-architects of Quebec's socio-economic landscape. Recognizing their agency, complexity, and contributions is not only an academic responsibility but a societal imperative. Institutions, civil society actors, and policymakers must engage with these lived realities not as outliers but as integral components of Quebec's evolving identity and future prosperity. Doing so will foster greater inclusion, equity, and innovation, unlocking the full potential of immigrant entrepreneurship as both a site of economic value and a testimony to resilience, identity, and belonging in pluralistic societies.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A-1 – INTERVIEW GUIDE

Demographic Information:

A. What is your name? (anonymous)
B. How old are you?
C. What is your gender?
D. What is your ethnicity?
E. How long have you been in Quebec?
F. What is your marital status?
G. What is your educational background?
H. What type of business do you have?
I. What is your status in Canada?

Entrepreneurial Journey & Motivation:

1. Can you tell me about your journey to become an entrepreneur in Montreal?
2. What motivated you to start your own business in Quebec, and why did you choose Montreal as the location?
3. What personal or cultural factors influenced your decision to become an entrepreneur rather than pursuing traditional employment?

Challenges and Obstacles:

4. What were the most significant challenges you faced when starting your business in Montreal?
5. How has being a Turkish immigrant affected your entrepreneurial journey, particularly in terms of facing challenges or discrimination?
6. What specific difficulties, if any, have you encountered with Quebec's legal and administrative procedures for establishing and running your business?

Opportunities and Support Systems:

7. What opportunities do you think are available to Turkish immigrants in Quebec that helped you establish your business?
8. Have you sought or received support from government programs, immigrant organizations, or local networks? If yes, how have they helped or hindered your business?
9. What role, if any, does the Turkish immigrant community in Montreal play in supporting or influencing your business activities?

Socioeconomic Background and Industry Involvement:

10. How do you think your socioeconomic background influenced the type of business you chose to start?
11. In which industries or sectors are Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs most concentrated in Montreal? Why do you think that is?

Business Strategies and Adaptation:

12. What business strategies or practices have you found to be the most effective in growing your business in Montreal?
13. How have you adapted your business practices to fit into Quebec's distinct socio-cultural and economic environment?

Cultural and Social Dynamics:

14. How does your Turkish heritage influence the way you run your business? Do you integrate Turkish culture into your business model?
15. How do you balance the expectations of both the Turkish immigrant community and the broader Quebec society in your entrepreneurial activities?

Impact on the Local Economy and Society:

16. How do you perceive your contribution to Montreal's local economy and society as a Turkish immigrant entrepreneur?

17. In what ways do you think Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs are contributing to the broader provincial economy of Quebec?

Policy and Recommendations:

18. What policy changes or initiatives do you think could better support Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs or other immigrant business owners in Quebec?

APPENDIX A-2 – GUIDE D'ENTRETIEN

Informations Démographiques :

A. Quel est votre nom ? (Anonyme)
B. Quel âge avez-vous ?
C. Quel est votre genre ?
D. Quelle est votre ethnie ?
E. Depuis combien de temps êtes-vous au Québec ?
F. Quel est votre statut matrimonial ?
G. Quel est votre niveau d'étude ?
H. Quel type d'entreprise avez-vous ?
I. Quel est votre statut au Canada ?

Parcours Entrepreneurial & Motivation :

1. Pouvez-vous me parler de votre parcours pour devenir entrepreneur à Montréal ?
2. Qu'est-ce qui vous a motivé à créer votre propre entreprise au Québec, et pourquoi avez-vous choisi Montréal comme emplacement ?
3. Quels facteurs personnels ou culturels ont influencé votre décision de devenir entrepreneur plutôt que de poursuivre un emploi traditionnel ?

Défis et Obstacles :

4. Quels ont été les défis les plus significatifs que vous avez rencontrés lors de la création de votre entreprise à Montréal ?
5. En tant qu'immigrant turc, comment votre parcours entrepreneurial a-t-il été affecté, notamment en termes de défis ou de discrimination ?
6. Quelles difficultés spécifiques, le cas échéant, avez-vous rencontrées avec les procédures légales et administratives du Québec pour établir et gérer votre entreprise ?

Opportunités et Systèmes de Soutien :

7. Quelles opportunités pensez-vous être disponibles pour les immigrants turcs au Québec qui vous ont aidé à créer votre entreprise ?
8. Avez-vous sollicité ou reçu un soutien de la part de programmes gouvernementaux, d'organisations pour immigrants ou de réseaux locaux ? Si oui, comment ont-ils aidé ou entravé votre entreprise ?

9. Quel rôle, le cas échéant, la communauté immigrante turque de Montréal joue-t-elle dans le soutien ou l'influence de vos activités commerciales ?

Origine Socio-économique et Implication dans l'Industrie :

10. Comment pensez-vous que votre origine socio-économique a influencé le type d'entreprise que vous avez choisi de lancer ?
11. Dans quels secteurs ou industries les entrepreneurs immigrants turcs sont-ils le plus souvent concentrés à Montréal ? Pourquoi pensez-vous que c'est le cas ?

Stratégies Commerciales et Adaptation :

12. Quelles stratégies ou pratiques commerciales avez-vous trouvées les plus efficaces pour développer votre entreprise à Montréal ?
13. Comment avez-vous adapté vos pratiques commerciales pour vous intégrer dans l'environnement socio-culturel et économique distinct du Québec ?

Dynamiques Culturelles et Sociales :

14. Comment votre héritage turc influence-t-il la manière dont vous dirigez votre entreprise ? Intégrez-vous la culture turque dans votre modèle d'entreprise ?
15. Comment conciliez-vous les attentes de la communauté immigrante turque et celles de la société québécoise en général dans vos activités entrepreneuriales ?

Impact sur l'Économie et la Société Locales :

16. Comment percevez-vous votre contribution à l'économie et à la société locales de Montréal en tant qu'entrepreneur immigrant turc ?
17. De quelles manières pensez-vous que les entrepreneurs immigrants turcs contribuent à l'économie provinciale plus large du Québec ?

Politiques et Recommandations :

18. Quels changements ou initiatives politiques pensez-vous pourraient mieux soutenir les entrepreneurs immigrants turcs ou d'autres propriétaires d'entreprises immigrantes au Québec ?

APPENDIX A-3 – GÖRÜŞME REHBERI

Demografik Bilgiler:

A. İsminiz nedir? (anonim)
B. Kaç yaşındasınız?
C. Cinsiyetiniz nedir?
D. Etnik kökeniniz nedir?
E. Quebec'te ne kadar süredir yaşıyorsunuz?
F. Medeni durumunuz nedir?
G. Eğitim geçmişiniz nedir?
H. Ne tür bir işletmeniz var?
I. Kanada'daki statünüz nedir?

Girişimcilik Yolculuğu ve Motivasyon:

1. Montreal'de girişimci olma yolculuğunuzu anlatabilir misiniz?
2. Kendi işinizi kurma motivasyonunuz neydi ve neden Quebec'te iş kurmayı tercih ettiniz?
3. Girişimci olma kararınızda sizi geleneksel bir işte çalışmaktan daha çok etkileyen kişisel veya kültürel faktörler nelerdi?

Zorluklar ve Engeller:

4. Montreal'de işinizi kurarken karşılaştığınız en önemli zorluklar nelerdi?
5. Türk göçmeni olmanız girişimcilik yolculuğunuzu nasıl etkiledi? Özellikle karşılaştığınız zorluklar veya ayrımcılık açısından neler yaşadınız?
6. Quebec'te iş kurma ve yürütme ile ilgili yasal ve idari prosedürlerde karşılaştığınız belirli zorluklar oldu mu?

Fırsatlar ve Destek Sistemleri:

7. Türk göçmenlere Quebec'te sunulan ve iş kurmanıza yardımcı olan fırsatlar nelerdir?
8. Hükümet programlarından, göçmen organizasyonlarından veya yerel ağlardan destek aldınız mı? Eğer aldıysanız, bu destekler işinizi nasıl olumlu veya olumsuz etkiledi?
9. Montreal'deki Türk göçmen topluluğu iş faaliyetlerinize destek verme veya bunları etkileme konusunda nasıl bir rol oynuyor?

Sosyoekonomik Arka Plan ve Sektör Katılımı:

10. Sosyoekonomik geçmişinizin seçtiğiniz iş türünü nasıl etkilediğini düşünüyorsunuz?
11. Montreal'de Türk göçmen girişimcilerin en yoğun olduğu sektörler veya endüstriler hangileridir? Bunun neden böyle olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?

İş Stratejileri ve Uyum:

12. Montreal'de işinizi büyütmek için en etkili bulduğunuz iş stratejileri veya uygulamalar nelerdir?
13. Quebec'in kendine özgü sosyo-kültürel ve ekonomik ortamına uyum sağlamak için iş uygulamalarınızı nasıl adapte ettiniz?

Kültürel ve Sosyal Dinamikler:

14. Türk kültürünüz, işinizi yönetme şeklinizi nasıl etkiliyor? Türk kültürünü iş modelinize entegre ediyor musunuz?
15. Girişimcilik faaliyetlerinizde hem Türk göçmen topluluğunun hem de Quebec toplumunun beklentilerini nasıl dengeliyorsunuz?

Yerel Ekonomi ve Toplum Üzerindeki Etki:

16. Türk göçmeni bir girişimci olarak Montreal'in yerel ekonomisine ve toplumuna katkınızı nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
17. Türk göçmen girişimcilerin Quebec'in genel ekonomisine nasıl katkıda bulunduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?

Politikalar ve Öneriler:

18. Quebec'te Türk göçmen girişimcileri veya diğer göçmen iş sahiplerini daha iyi desteklemek için hangi politika değişiklikleri veya girişimlerin faydalı olacağını düşünüyorsunuz?

APPENDIX B-1 – INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE RESEARCH PROJECT

Faculty of Arts and Sciences

Department of Sociology

PARTICIPANTS WANTED

Title of the research project: Immigrant entrepreneurship in Quebec: case study of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal.

Invitation to participate in a research project:

Goal of the project: The purpose of this research is to study the available opportunities and challenges of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal. This study aims to determine whether all Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal face comparable challenges and succeed or fail when participating in entrepreneurial activities. The results of the study will be used to formulate recommendations to policy makers, service providers and community organizations on how to improve immigrant entrepreneurship in Quebec. Your unique perspectives and experiences would be invaluable in helping us better understand the socio-economic adaptation and challenges of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs.

To participate (inclusion and exclusion criteria):

- **You must:**

- The participant must be of Turkish entrepreneur or origin.
- The participant must be based in Montreal.
- The participant must be an entrepreneur.
- The participant must be the sole owner or co-owner of a business.
- Participant must be at least 18 years of age or older.

- **You must not:**

- The participant must not be under the age of 18.
- The participant must not be an employee (he or she must not be working for or under someone as an employee; rather, he or she must be the employer).

Nature of your participation:

- The participant must agree to join the project voluntarily.
- The participant must consent to the interview and for it to be recorded.
- The participant must accept and sign the consent form before the interview.
- The interview will take place face to face.

Duration of your participation:

The interview will take place after the participant agrees to participate in the study and signs the consent form. It will take at least an hour, or up to an hour and 30 minutes.

Place:

The interview will take place at the participant's preferred place, including workplace, house, etc.

The Research Ethics Committee – Society and Culture (CERSC) of the University of Montreal approved the research project (project number: 2024-5601

For any questions about the research project or to express your interest in participating, contact the researcher or research director using the contact details below.

APPENDIX B-2 - INVITATION À PARTICIPER AU PROJET DE RECHERCHE

Faculté des arts et des sciences

Département de sociologie

PARTICIPANTS RECHERCHÉS

Titre du projet de recherche : L'entrepreneuriat immigrant au Québec : étude de cas d'entrepreneurs immigrants turcs à Montréal.

Invitation à participer à un projet de recherche

But du projet : Le but de cette recherche est d'étudier les opportunités disponibles et les défis des entrepreneurs immigrants turcs à Montréal. Cette étude vise à déterminer si tous les entrepreneurs immigrants turcs à Montréal rencontrent des défis comparables et réussissent ou échouent lorsqu'ils participent à des activités entrepreneuriales. Les résultats de l'étude serviront à formuler des recommandations aux décideurs politiques, aux fournisseurs de services et aux organismes communautaires sur la façon d'améliorer l'entrepreneuriat des immigrants au Québec. Vos perspectives et expériences uniques seraient inestimables pour nous aider à mieux comprendre l'adaptation socio-économique et les défis des entrepreneurs immigrés turcs.

Pour participer (critères d'inclusion et d'exclusion):

- **Vous devez :**

- Le participant doit être de nationalité ou d'origine turque.
- Le participant doit être basé à Montréal.
- Le participant doit être un entrepreneur.
- Le participant doit être propriétaire unique ou copropriétaire d'une entreprise.
- Le participant doit être âgé d'au moins 18 ans ou plus.

- **Vous ne devez pas :**

- Le participant ne doit pas être âgé de moins de 18 ans.
- Le participant ne doit pas être un employé (le participant ne doit pas travailler pour ou sous quel 'qu'un comme employé, il doit plutôt être l'employeur).

Nature de votre participation :

- Le participant doit accepter de rejoindre le projet volontairement.
- Le participant doit consentir à l'entretien et que celui soit enregistré.
- Le participant doit accepter et signer le formulaire de consentement avant l'entretien.
- L'entretien se déroulera en face à face.

Durée de votre participation :

L'entretien aura lieu après que le participant aura accepté de participer à l'étude et signé le formulaire de consentement. Il durera au moins 1 heure ou jusqu'à 1 heure et 30 minutes.

Lieu :

L'entretien aura au lieu choisi par le participant, notamment lieu de travail, domicile, et etc.

Le Comité d'éthique de la recherche – Société et culture (CERSC) de l'Université de Montréal a approuvé le projet de recherche (no. de projet : 2024-5601

Pour toute question sur le projet de recherche ou pour faire part de votre intérêt à y participer, contactez le chercheur ou le directeur de recherche aux coordonnées ci-dessous.

APPENDIX B-3 – ARAŞTIRMA PROJESİNE KATILIM DAVETİ

Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi

Sosyoloji Bölümü

KATILIMCILAR ARANIYOR

Araştırma projesinin başlığı: Quebec'teki göçmen girişimciliği: Montreal'deki Türkiyeli göçmen girişimcilerin vaka çalışması.

Bir araştırma projesine katılma daveti

Projenin hedefi: Bu araştırmanın amacı Montreal'deki Türkiye göçmen girişimcilerin mevcut fırsatlarını ve zorluklarını incelemektir. Bu çalışma, Montreal'deki tüm Türk göçmen girişimcilerin benzer zorluklarla karşılaşıp karşılaşmadıklarını ve girişimcilik faaliyetlerine katılırken başarılı olup olmadıklarını belirlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çalışmanın sonuçları, Quebec'teki göçmen girişimciliğinin nasıl geliştirilebileceği konusunda politika yapıcılara, hizmet sağlayıcılara ve topluluk kuruluşlarına öneriler oluşturmak için kullanılacak. Benzersiz bakış açılarınız ve deneyimleriniz, Türk göçmen girişimcilerin sosyo-ekonomik uyumunu ve zorluklarını daha iyi anlamamıza yardımcı olmak açısından çok değerli olacaktır.

Katılmak için (dahil etme ve hariç tutma kriterleri):

- **Olmalısın:**

- Katılımcının Türkiyeli/uyruklu veya kökenli olması gerekmektedir.
- Katılımcının Montreal'de ikamet etmesi gerekmektedir.
- Katılımcının girişimci olması gerekmektedir.
- Katılımcı, bir işletmenin tek sahibi veya ortak sahibi olmalıdır.
- Katılımcının en az 18 yaşında veya daha büyük olması gerekmektedir.

- **Olmamalısın:**

- Katılımcının 18 yaşının altında olmaması gerekmektedir.
- Katılımcı, çalışan olmamalıdır (katılımcı, herhangi bir kişi için veya altında çalışan olarak çalışmamalı, işveren olmalıdır)

Katılımınızın niteliği:

- Katılımcı projeye gönüllü olarak katılmayı kabul etmelidir.
- Katılımcının görüşmeye ve görüşmenin kayda alınmasına onay vermesi gerekmektedir.
- Katılımcının görüşme öncesinde onay formunu kabul etmesi ve imzalaması gerekmektedir.
- Mülakat yüz yüze gerçekleştirilecektir.

Katılımınızın süresi:

Katılımcının çalışmaya katılmayı kabul etmesi ve onay formunu imzalamasının ardından görüşme gerçekleşecektir. En az bir saat veya en fazla bir saat 30 dakika sürecektir.

Yer :

Mülakat katılımcının işyerinde yapılacaktır.

Montreal Üniversitesi Araştırma Etik Komitesi – Toplum ve Kültür (CERSC) araştırma projesini onayladı (proje numarası : 2024-5601)

Araştırma projesiyle ilgili sorularınız varsa veya katılmaya ilgi duyduğunuzu belirtmek istiyorsanız aşağıdaki iletişim bilgilerini kullanarak araştırmacıyla veya araştırma direktörüyle iletişime geçin.

APPENDIX C-1 – INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

Université de Montréal

Faculty of Arts and Sciences

Information and consent form

Title of the research project: Immigrant entrepreneurship in Quebec: A Case Study of Turkish Entrepreneurs in Montreal.

1. Introduction

We invite you to participate in a research project. However, before agreeing to participate in this project and signing this information and consent form, please take the time to read, understand and carefully consider the information that follows.

This form may contain words that you do not understand. We invite you to ask any questions you consider useful to the researcher responsible for this project or to a member of the research team and to ask them to explain any words or information that is not clear.

2. Nature and objectives of the research project

This study, entitled "Immigrant entrepreneurship in Quebec: case study of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal", is the thesis for my master's program. The aim of this study is to investigate the determining factors and challenges faced by Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal. Understand the influence of immigration entrepreneurial rules, local business climate and social integration on the prosperity and longevity of businesses created by Turkish immigrants. This is a research project by Karamo Faruk Konneh, a student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Montreal.

Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Montreal face challenges growing their businesses due to language barriers, difficulty obtaining funds and loans from banks, and discriminatory practices. This study only targets ethnic Turks and Kurds that are originally from Turkey and involved in entrepreneurship in Montreal. The study will include 10 business owner participants, including Turks and Kurds from Turkey. The study will include different genders including men, women, etc.

3.a. Nature of your participation

We ask you to participate in this project because you are an immigrant from Turkey and an entrepreneur in Montreal. Your participation in the research project is entirely voluntary.

If you agree to participate in this project, you will meet with a member of the research team for an individual interview.

1. For transcription and analysis purposes, we will record this interview on digital audio media.
2. If you refuse to allow the researcher to record you, you will not be eligible to participate in the project.
3. As part of the project, the principal investigator, or student researcher, will collect and maintain information about you in a research file. This information will be necessary to meet the research's scientific objectives.

3.b. The research project's location and duration:

1. The interview will take place at a participant’s workplace or any other convenient area of his or her choice.
2. The interview will last for 1 hour.

4. Risks and disadvantages:

To our knowledge, your participation in this project has no particular risk or disadvantage. However, it is possible that certain questions can provoke thoughts or revive memories related to an unpleasant experience.
You can refuse to answer a question at any time or even end the interview.

5. Benefits associated with the research project

There is no financial benefit. However, the results will contribute to the advancing of scientific knowledge in this field of study.

6. Voluntary participation and right of withdrawal

Your participation in this research project is voluntary. You are therefore free to refuse to participate. You can also withdraw from this project at any time, without having to give reasons, by informing the research team.
However, after initiating the publication process, it will be impossible to destroy the analyses and results relating to your data. Therefore, you would not be able to withdraw from the project after its publication.

Your decision not to participate or to withdraw from this research project will have no negative impact on your business.

If you withdraw from the project or are removed from the project, the information and materials already collected as part of this project will nevertheless be retained, analyzed, or used to ensure the integrity of the project.

Any new knowledge acquired during the project which could have an impact on your decision to continue participating in this project will be communicated to you promptly.

7. Confidentiality

The researcher(s) and their team will take the necessary steps to ensure that the personal information you give us remains confidential. These means are as follows:

- We will keep signed information and consent forms, along with the research file, confidential from data collection until the publication of the research results. We will never reveal your identity, your employer's identity, or your status.
- The research file will include general information about your company's past and present status, why you are interested in entrepreneurship, the opportunities available to you, the challenges you face, and the impact of your business on society. To generate a database, we will conduct an interview, record you on audio, and preserve the information, including this form, audio or video recordings, transcriptions, questionnaires, and observation notes.
- The University of Montreal will store it in both a locked filing cabinet and a locked room. The principal investigator will save the data on computer files on a secure computer.

In cases of personalized and encoded research data:

Only the principal investigator or student researcher, as well as his or her research director, will know the identities of the participants. Each research participant will be assigned a code that connects the information and consent forms to the research data.

Only the principal investigator, or the student researcher and his research director, will maintain the list linking the participant code to their names, allowing for data withdrawal if needed.

Conservation of the research file:

The Université de Montréal Document Retention Schedule mandates the retention of research files for a minimum of 7 years following the project's conclusion, with 2 years designated as an active document and 5 additional years as an inactive document. Alternatively, the contractual requirements for granting organizations and partners may necessitate longer retention periods. The documents can be used to validate the methodology, authenticate the approach, demonstrate compliance with the research protocol, and be used as part of a subsequent research project.

The University of Montreal will store the information and research data in a locked filing cabinet and a separate room. They will be destroyed 7 years after the end of the project. Only data that does not allow you to be identified will be retained after this period.

The limit of anonymity that can be guaranteed by the researcher:

Considering the small sample of people met, it is possible that informed readers could suspect the identity of certain participants. In this context, the researcher will be careful not to associate certain sensitive ideas with a particular participant. You have the right to consult your research file to verify the information collected and correct it if necessary. Furthermore, access to certain information before the end of the study could mean that you are removed from the project to preserve its integrity.

8. Participation in further studies

Do you agree that the researcher responsible for this research project, or a member of his research staff, will contact you again to offer your participation in other research projects approved by the

University of Montreal's Society and Culture Ethics Committee? Of course, during this contact, you will be free to accept or refuse to participate in the proposed research projects. □**Yes** □**No**

9. Compensation

You will not receive financial compensation for your participation in this research project.

10. Use of research data

Research data will only be used for the purposes of this research. No other use will be made of it. However, with your consent, the information you provide may be used for another research. These projects will be placed under the responsibility of the principal researcher and will be authorized by a research ethics committee. The researcher undertakes to maintain and protect the confidentiality of the data concerning you under the conditions set out in this form.

I consent to the researcher using, or authorizing students under his/her supervision to use, depersonalized data for other research projects of the same nature, conditional on their ethical approval and in compliance with the same principle's confidentiality and protection of information **□ Yes □ No.**

11. Communication of general results

The general results of the research will probably be published on the University of Montreal website, in a scientific journal, and or probably at a conference.

Participants will have access to general study results upon request.

I agree to be contacted again to receive a summary of the research results:

□ Yes □ No

If yes, I would like to be contacted by the researcher at the following email address:

_____

12. Monitoring the ethical aspects of the research project

The Research Ethics Committee - Society and Culture (CER-SC) of the University of Montreal approved the research project and will surely monitor it.

Consent.

Title of the research project: Immigrant Entrepreneurship in Quebec: The Case Study of Turkish Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Montreal.

1. Consent of the participant

I have read the information and consent form. The research project and this information and consent form were explained to me. My questions were answered, and I was given time to decide. After reflection, I agree to participate in this research project under the conditions set out therein.

Name and signature of participant Date

2. Signature and commitment of the researcher responsible for this research project

I certify that this information and consent form has been explained to the participant and that the questions he or she has had have been answered.

I undertake, with the research team, to respect what was agreed in the information and consent form.

Name and signature of the researcher responsible for this research project Date

APPENDIX C-2 - FORMULAIRE D'INFORMATION ET DE CONSENTEMENT

Faculté des arts et des sciences

Formulaire d'information et de consentement

Titre du projet de recherche : L'entrepreneuriat immigrant au Québec : étude de cas d'entrepreneurs immigrants turcs à Montréal.

2. Introduction

Nous vous invitons à participer à un projet de recherche. Cependant, avant d'accepter de participer à ce projet et de signer ce formulaire d'information et de consentement, veuillez prendre le temps de lire, de comprendre et de considérer attentivement les renseignements qui suivent.

Ce formulaire peut contenir des mots que vous ne comprenez pas. Nous vous invitons à poser toutes les questions que vous jugerez utiles au chercheur responsable de ce projet ou à un membre de l'équipe de recherche et à leur demander de vous expliquer tout mot ou renseignement qui n'est pas clair.

2. Nature et objectifs du projet de recherche

Cette étude, intitulée « L'entrepreneuriat immigrant au Québec : étude de cas d'entrepreneurs immigrants turcs à Montréal », est le mémoire de mon programme de maîtrise. Le but de cette étude est d'étudier les facteurs déterminants et les défis auxquels sont confrontés les entrepreneurs immigrants turcs à Montréal. Comprendre l'influence des règles entrepreneuriales de l'immigration, du climat des affaires local et de l'intégration sociale sur la prospérité et la longévité des entreprises créées par des immigrants turcs. Il s'agit d'un projet de recherche de Karamo Faruk Konneh, étudiant au Département de sociologie de l'université de Montréal.

Les entrepreneurs immigrants turcs à Montréal sont confrontés à des difficultés pour développer leur entreprise en raison des barrières linguistiques, des difficultés à obtenir des fonds et des prêts auprès des banques et des pratiques discriminatoires.

Cette étude cible uniquement les ressortissants turcs ou les citoyens originaires de Turquie et impliqués dans l'entrepreneuriat à Montréal. L'étude comprendra 10 participants propriétaires d'entreprises, dont des Turcs et des Kurdes de Turquie. L'étude inclura différents sexes, notamment des hommes, des femmes, etc.

3.a. Nature de votre participation :

Nous vous demandons de participer à ce projet car vous êtes un immigrant de Turquie et un entrepreneur à Montréal. Votre participation au projet de recherche est entièrement volontaire.

Si vous acceptez de participer à ce projet, vous rencontrerez un membre de l'équipe de recherche pour un entretien individuel.

1. À des fins de transcription et d'analyse, nous enregistrerons cette entrevue sur un support audio numérique. J'ai pleinement consenti à l'enregistrement audio de mes réponses.
2. Si vous refusez de permettre au chercheur de vous enregistrer, vous ne serez pas admissible à participer au projet.
3. Dans le cadre du projet, le chercheur principal, ou étudiant-chercheur, recueillera et conservera des informations vous concernant dans un dossier de recherche. Ces informations seront nécessaires pour répondre aux objectifs scientifiques de la recherche.

3.b. Lieu et durée du projet de recherche :

1. L'entretien aura lieu sur le lieu de travail du participant ou dans tout autre endroit pratique de son choix.

2. L'entretien durera 1 heure.

4. Risques et inconvénients :

A notre connaissance, votre participation à ce projet ne présente aucun risque ni inconvénient particulier. Il est cependant possible que certaines questions provoquent des réflexions ou ravivent des souvenirs liés à une expérience désagréable.

Vous pouvez à tout moment refuser de répondre à une question ou même mettre fin à l'entretien.

5. Avantages associés au projet de recherche :

Il n'y a aucun avantage financier. Cependant, les résultats contribueront à faire progresser les connaissances scientifiques dans ce domaine d'étude.

6. Participation volontaires et droit de retrait

Votre participation à ce projet de recherche est volontaire. Vous êtes donc libre de refuser d'y participer. Vous pouvez également vous retirer de ce projet à n'importe quel moment, sans avoir à donner de raisons, en informant l'équipe de recherche. Cependant, après le déclenchement du processus de publication, il sera impossible de détruire les analyses et les résultats portant sur vos données. Vous ne pourrez donc pas vous retirer du projet après sa publication.

Votre décision de ne pas participer ou de vous retirer de ce projet de recherche n'aura aucun impact négatif sur votre entreprise.
Si vous vous retirez du projet ou êtes retiré du projet, l'information et le matériel déjà recueillis dans le cadre de ce projet seront néanmoins conservés, analysés ou utilisés pour assurer l'intégrité du projet.

Toute nouvelle connaissance acquise durant le déroulement du projet qui pourrait avoir un impact sur votre décision de continuer à participer à ce projet vous sera communiquée rapidement.

7. Confidentialité

Le(s) chercheur(s) et leur équipe prendront les mesures nécessaires pour garantir que les informations personnelles que vous nous fournissez restent confidentielles. Ces moyens sont les suivants :
• Nous garderons confidentiels les informations signées et les formulaires de consentement, ainsi que le dossier de recherche, depuis la collecte des données jusqu'à la publication des résultats de la recherche. Nous ne révélerons jamais votre identité, celle de votre employeur ou votre statut.
• Le dossier de recherche comprendra des informations générales sur le statut passé et présent de votre entreprise, les raisons pour lesquelles vous êtes intéressé par l'entrepreneuriat, les opportunités qui s'offrent à vous, les défis auxquels vous faites face et l'impact de votre entreprise sur la société. Pour générer une base de données, nous réaliserons un entretien, vous enregistrerons sur audio et conserverons les informations, y compris ce formulaire, les enregistrements audio ou vidéo, les transcriptions, les questionnaires et les notes d'observation.
• L'Université de Montréal le conservera à la fois dans un classeur verrouillé et dans une pièce verrouillée. Le chercheur principal sauvegardera les données dans des fichiers informatiques sur un ordinateur sécurisé.

En cas de données de recherche personnalisées et codées :

Seuls le chercheur principal ou l'étudiant-chercheur, ainsi que son directeur de recherche connaîtront l'identité des participants. Chaque participant à la recherche se verra attribuer un code qui relie les formulaires d'information et de consentement aux données de recherche. Seul le chercheur principal, ou l'étudiant-chercheur et son directeur de recherche, tiendront la liste reliant le code du participant à leurs noms, permettant le retrait des données si nécessaire.

Conservation du dossier de recherche :

Le calendrier de conservation des documents de l'Université de Montréal exige la conservation des dossiers de recherche pendant un minimum de 7 ans après la conclusion du projet, dont 2 ans désignés comme document actif et 5 ans supplémentaires comme document inactif.

Alternativement, les exigences contractuelles des organismes subventionnaires et des partenaires peuvent nécessiter des périodes de conservation plus longues. Les documents peuvent être utilisés pour valider la méthodologie, authentifier la démarche, démontrer le respect du protocole de recherche et être utilisés dans le cadre d'un projet de recherche ultérieur.

L'Université de Montréal conservera les informations et les données de recherche dans un classeur verrouillé et dans une pièce séparée. Ils seront détruits 7 ans après la fin du projet. Seules les données ne permettant pas de vous identifier seront conservées passer ce délai.

La limite de l'anonymat pouvant être garanti par le chercheur :

Compte tenu du faible échantillon de personnes rencontrées, il est possible que des lecteurs avertis soupçonnent l'identité de certains participants. Dans ce contexte, le chercheur veillera à ne pas associer certaines idées sensibles à un participant en particulier.

Vous avez le droit de consulter votre dossier de recherche pour vérifier les informations recueillies et les corriger si nécessaire. De plus, l'accès à certaines informations avant la fin de l'étude pourrait entraîner votre exclusion du projet afin d'en préserver l'intégrité.

8. Participation à des études ultérieures

Acceptez-vous que le chercheur responsable de ce projet de recherche ou un membre de son personnel de recherche reprenne contact avec vous pour vous proposer de participer à d'autres projets de recherche approuvés par le Comité d'éthique Société et Culture de l'Université de Montréal? Bien sûr, lors de ce contact, vous serez libre d'accepter ou de refuser de participer aux projets de recherche proposés. □ **Oui** □ **Non**

9. Compensation

Vous ne recevrez pas de compensation financière pour votre participation à ce projet de recherche.

10. Utilisation des données de recherche

Les données de recherche ne seront utilisées qu'aux fins de la présente recherche. Toutefois, avec votre consentement, les renseignements que vous fournirez pourraient être utilisés dans le cadre d'autres recherches. Ces projets seront placés sous la responsabilité du chercheur principal et seront autorisés par un comité d'éthique de la recherche. Le chercheur s'engage à maintenir et à protéger la confidentialité des données qui vous concernent, aux conditions énoncées dans le présent formulaire.

Je consens à ce que le chercheur utilise, ou autorise des étudiants placés sous sa direction à utiliser, les données dépersonnalisées pour d'autres projets de recherche de même nature, conditionnellement à leur approbation éthique et dans le respect des mêmes principes de confidentialité et de protection des informations. □ **Oui** □ **Non.**

11. Communication des résultats généraux

Les résultats généraux de la recherche seront probablement publiés sur le site Web de l'Université de Montréal, dans une revue scientifique et probablement lors d'une conférence.

Les participants auront accès aux résultats généraux de l'étude sur demande.

Je consens à être recontacté pour recevoir un résumé des résultats de la recherche :

□ **Oui** □ **Non**

Si oui, je souhaite être joint par le chercheur à l'adresse courriel suivante :

_____

12. Surveillance des aspects éthiques du projet de recherche

Le Comité d'éthique de la recherche - Société et culture (CER-SC) de l'Université de Montréal a approuvé le projet de recherche et en assurera assurément le suivi.

Consentement.

Titre du projet de recherche : L'entrepreneuriat immigrant au Québec : étude de cas d'entrepreneurs immigrants turcs à Montréal.

3. Consentement du participant

J'ai pris connaissance du formulaire d'information et de consentement. On m'a expliqué le projet de recherche et le présent formulaire d'information et de consentement. On a répondu à mes questions et on m'a laissé le temps voulu pour prendre une décision. Après réflexion, je consens à participer à ce projet de recherche aux conditions qui y sont énoncées.

Nom et signature du participant Date

4. Signature et engagement du chercheur responsable de ce projet de recherche

Je certifie qu'on a expliqué au participant le présent formulaire d'information et de consentement, que l'on a répondu aux questions qu'il avait.

Je m'engage, avec l'équipe de recherche, à respecter ce qui a été convenu au formulaire d'information et de consentement.

Nom et signature du chercheur responsable de ce projet de recherche Date

APPENDIX C-3 - BİLGİ VE ONAY FORMU

Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi

Bilgi ve onam formu

Araştırma projesinin başlığı: Quebec'teki göçmen girişimciliği: Montreal'deki Türk göçmen girişimcilerin vaka çalışması.

3. giriiş

Sizi bir araştırma projesine katılmaya davet ediyoruz. Ancak bu projeye katılmayı kabul etmeden ve bu bilgi ve onay formunu imzalamadan önce lütfen aşağıdaki bilgileri okumaya, anlamaya ve dikkatlice değerlendirmeye zaman ayırın.

Bu form anlamadığınız kelimeler içerebilir. Sizi, bu projeden sorumlu araştırmacıya veya araştırma ekibinin bir üyesine yararlı olduğunu düşündüğünüz soruları sormaya ve açık olmayan herhangi bir kelime veya bilgiyi açıklamalarını istemeye davet ediyoruz.

2. Araştırma projesinin niteliği ve hedefleri

"Quebec'te göçmen girişimciliği: Montreal'deki Türk göçmen girişimcilerin vaka çalışması" başlıklı bu çalışma yüksek lisans programımın tezidir. Bu çalışmanın amacı Montreal'deki Türk göçmen girişimcilerin karşılaştıkları belirleyici faktörleri ve zorlukları araştırmaktır. Göç girişimcilik kurallarının, yerel iş ortamının ve sosyal entegrasyonun Türk göçmenler tarafından oluşturulan işletmelerin refahı ve uzun ömürlülüğü üzerindeki etkisini anlayın. Bu, Montreal Üniversitesi Sosyoloji Bölümü öğrencisi Karamo Faruk Konneh'in bir araştırma projesidir.

Montreal'deki Türk göçmen girişimciler, dil engeli, bankalardan fon ve kredi alma zorlukları ve ayrımcı uygulamalar nedeniyle işlerini büyütmede zorluklarla karşılaşıyor. Bu çalışma yalnızca Türk vatandaşlarını veya aslen Türkiye kökenli olan ve Montreal'de girişimcilik yapan vatandaşları hedef almaktadır. Çalışmaya Türkiye'den Türk ve Kürtlerin de aralarında bulunduğu 10 işletme sahibi katılımcı katılacak . Çalışma, erkekler, kadınlar vb. dahil olmak üzere farklı cinsiyetleri içerecektir.

3.a. Katılımınızın niteliği

Sizden bu projeye katılmanızı istiyoruz çünkü Türkiye'den göçmensiniz ve Montreal'de bir girişimcisiniz. Araştırma projesine katılımınız tamamen isteğe bağlıdır.

Bu projeye katılmayı kabul ederseniz, araştırma ekibinin bir üyesiyle bireysel görüşme için buluşacaksınız.

1. Transkripsiyon ve analiz amacıyla bu röportajı dijital ses ortamına kaydedeceğiz. Yanıtlarımın ses kaydına tamamen onay veriyorum.
2. Araştırmacının sizi kaydetmesine izin vermezseniz projeye katılma hakkınız olmayacaktır.
3. Projenin bir parçası olarak, baş araştırmacı veya öğrenci araştırmacı, hakkınızdaki bilgileri bir araştırma dosyasında toplayacak ve saklayacaktır. Bu bilgi araştırmanın bilimsel hedeflerine ulaşmak için gerekli olacaktır.

3.b. Araştırma projesinin yeri ve süresi:

1. Mülakat, katılımcının işyerinde veya tercih edeceği başka uygun bir alanda gerçekleştirilecektir.

2. Mülakat 1 saat sürecektir.

4. Riskler ve dezavantajlar:

Bildiğimiz kadarıyla bu projeye katılımınızın belirli bir riski veya dezavantajı yoktur. Ancak bazı soruların, hoş olmayan bir deneyimle ilgili düşünceleri tetiklemesi veya anıları canlandırması mümkündür.

İstediğiniz zaman bir soruyu yanıtlamayı reddedebilir, hatta görüşmeyi sonlandırabilirsiniz.

5. Araştırma projesiyle ilgili faydalar

Maddi hiçbir faydası yok. Ancak sonuçlar bu çalışma alanındaki bilimsel bilginin ilerlemesine katkıda bulunacaktır.

6. Gönüllü katılım ve cayma hakkı

Bu araştırma projesine katılımınız gönüllüdür. Bu nedenle katılmayı reddetmekte özgürsünüz.

Ayrıca araştırma ekibine bilgi vererek istediğiniz zaman herhangi bir gerekçe göstermek zorunda kalmadan bu projeden çekilebilirsiniz. Ancak yayınlama sürecini başlattıktan sonra verilerinize ilişkin analiz ve sonuçların imha edilmesi mümkün olmayacaktır. Bu nedenle yayınlandıktan sonra projeden çekilemezsiniz.

Bu araştırma projesine katılmama veya projeden çekilme kararınızın işiniz üzerinde hiçbir olumsuz etkisi olmayacaktır.
Projeden çekilmeniz veya projeden çıkarılmanız durumunda, bu projenin bir parçası olarak halihazırda toplanmış olan bilgi ve materyaller yine de tutulacak, analiz edilecek veya projenin bütünlüğünü sağlamak için kullanılacaktır.
Proje süresince edinilen ve bu projeye katılmaya devam etme kararınızı etkileyebilecek her türlü yeni bilgi size derhal iletilecektir.

7. Gizlilik

Araştırmacı(lar) ve ekibi, bize verdiğiniz kişisel bilgilerin gizli kalmasını sağlamak için gerekli adımları atacaktır. Bu araçlar aşağıdaki gibidir:
• İmzalı bilgileri ve onam formlarını, araştırma dosyasıyla birlikte, veri toplanmasından araştırma sonuçlarının yayınlanmasına kadar gizli tutacağız. Kimliğinizi, işvereninizin kimliğini veya durumunuzu asla açıklamayacağız.
• Araştırma dosyasında şirketinizin geçmiş ve şimdiki durumu, neden girişimciliğe ilgi duyduğunuz, önünüze çıkan fırsatlar, karşılaştığınız zorluklar ve işinizin toplum üzerindeki etkisi hakkında genel bilgiler yer alacaktır. Bir veri tabanı oluşturmak için bir görüşme gerçekleştireceğiz, sizi ses kaydına alacağız ve bu form, ses veya video kayıtları, transkripsiyonlar, anketler ve gözlem notları da dahil olmak üzere bilgileri saklayacağız.
• Montreal Üniversitesi bunu hem kilitli bir dosya dolabında hem de kilitli bir odada saklayacaktır. Sorumlu araştırmacı, verileri güvenli bir bilgisayardaki bilgisayar dosyalarına kaydedecektir.
Kişiselleştirilmiş ve kodlanmış araştırma verileri durumunda:
Katılımcıların kimliklerini yalnızca baş araştırmacı veya öğrenci araştırmacı ile onun araştırma direktörü bilecektir. Her araştırma katılımcısına, bilgi ve onam formlarını araştırma verilerine bağlayan bir kod verilecektir. Yalnızca baş araştırmacı veya öğrenci araştırmacı ve onun araştırma direktörü, katılımcı kodunu kendi isimlerine bağlayan listeyi tutacak ve gerektiğinde veri çekilmesine izin verecektir.

Araştırma dosyasının saklanması:

Université de Montréal Belge Saklama Programı, araştırma dosyalarının projenin sonuçlanmasından sonra en az 7 yıl süreyle saklanmasını zorunlu kılar; bunun 2 yılı etkin belge olarak ve 5 yılı da etkin olmayan belge olarak belirlenir. Alternatif olarak, hibe veren kuruluşlara ve ortaklara ilişkin sözleşme gereklilikleri daha uzun saklama süreleri gerektirebilir.

Belgeler metodolojiyi doğrulamak, yaklaşımı doğrulamak, araştırma protokolüne uygunluğu göstermek için kullanılabilir ve sonraki bir araştırma projesinin parçası olarak kullanılabilir.

Montreal Üniversitesi, bilgi ve araştırma verilerini kilitli bir dosya dolabında ve ayrı bir odada saklayacak. Proje bitiminden 7 yıl sonra imha edilecekler. Bu sürenin sonunda yalnızca kimliğinizin belirlenmesine izin vermeyen veriler saklanacaktır.

Araştırmacı tarafından garanti edilebilecek anonimlik sınırı:

Tanışılan kişilerin küçük bir örneklemi göz önüne alındığında, bilgili okuyucuların belirli katılımcıların kimliğinden şüphelenmeleri mümkündür. Bu bağlamda araştırmacı, bazı hassas fikirleri belirli bir katılımcıyla ilişkilendirmemeye dikkat edecektir.

Toplanan bilgileri doğrulamak ve gerekirse düzeltmek için araştırma dosyanıza bakma hakkına sahipsiniz. Ayrıca çalışma bitmeden belirli bilgilere ulaşılması, projenin bütünlüğünün korunması adına projeden çıkarılmanız anlamına da gelebilir.

8. İleri çalışmalara katılım

Bu araştırma projesinden sorumlu araştırmacının veya araştırma ekibinden bir üyenin, Montreal Üniversitesi Toplum ve Kültür Etik Kurulu tarafından onaylanan diğer araştırma projelerine katılımınızı teklif etmek için sizinle tekrar iletişime geçmesini kabul ediyor musunuz? Elbette bu temas sırasında önerilen araştırma projelerine katılmayı kabul edip etmeme konusunda özgür olacaksınız. **□Evet □Hayır**

9. Tazminat

Bu araştırma projesine katılımınız karşılığında maddi tazminat almayacaksınız.

10. Araştırma verilerinin kullanımı

Araştırma verileri yalnızca bu araştırmanın amaçları doğrultusunda kullanılacaktır. Ancak onayınız halinde sağladığınız bilgiler başka araştırmalar için kullanılabilir. Bu projeler baş araştırmacının sorumluluğunda olacak ve araştırma etik kurulu tarafından yetkilendirilecektir. Araştırmacı, sizinle ilgili verilerin gizliliğini bu formda belirtilen koşullar çerçevesinde korumayı

ve korumayı taahhüt eder.

Araştırmacının kişisel olmayan verileri aynı nitelikteki diğer araştırma projeleri için kullanmasına veya kendi gözetimi altındaki öğrencilere kullanma yetkisi vermesine, etik onayı şartıyla ve aynı gizlilik ve bilgilerin korunması ilkesine uygun olarak izin veriyorum. □ **Evet** □ **Hayır**.

11. Genel sonuçların iletilmesi

Araştırmanın genel sonuçları muhtemelen Montreal Üniversitesi'nin web sitesinde, bilimsel bir dergide ve/veya muhtemelen bir konferansta yayınlanacaktır.

Katılımcılar talep üzerine genel çalışma sonuçlarına erişebileceklerdir.

Araştırma sonuçlarının bir özetini almak için tekrar benimle iletişime geçilmesini kabul ediyorum:

□ **Evet** □ **Hayır.**

Cevabınız evet ise, araştırmacının aşağıdaki e-posta adresinden benimle iletişime geçmesini istiyorum:

_____

12. Araştırma projesinin etik yönlerinin izlenmesi

Montreal Üniversitesi Toplum ve Kültür Araştırma Etik Kurulu (CER-SC) araştırma projesini onayladı ve kesinlikle izleyecektir.

Onay.

Araştırma projesinin başlığı: Quebec'te Göçmen Girişimciliği: Montreal'deki Türk Göçmen Girişimcilerin Örnek Olayı.

5. Katılımcının onayı

Bilgi ve onam formunu okudum. Araştırma projesi ve bu bilgi ve onam formu bana anlatıldı. Sorularıma yanıt verildi ve karar vermem için bana zaman tanındı. Düşündükten sonra, burada belirtilen koşullar altında bu araştırma projesine katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

Katılımcının adı ve imzası Tarih

6. Bu araştırma projesinden sorumlu araştırmacının imzası ve taahhüdü

Bu bilgi ve onam formunun katılımcıya açıklandığını ve kendisine yöneltilen soruların yanıtlandığını onaylarım.

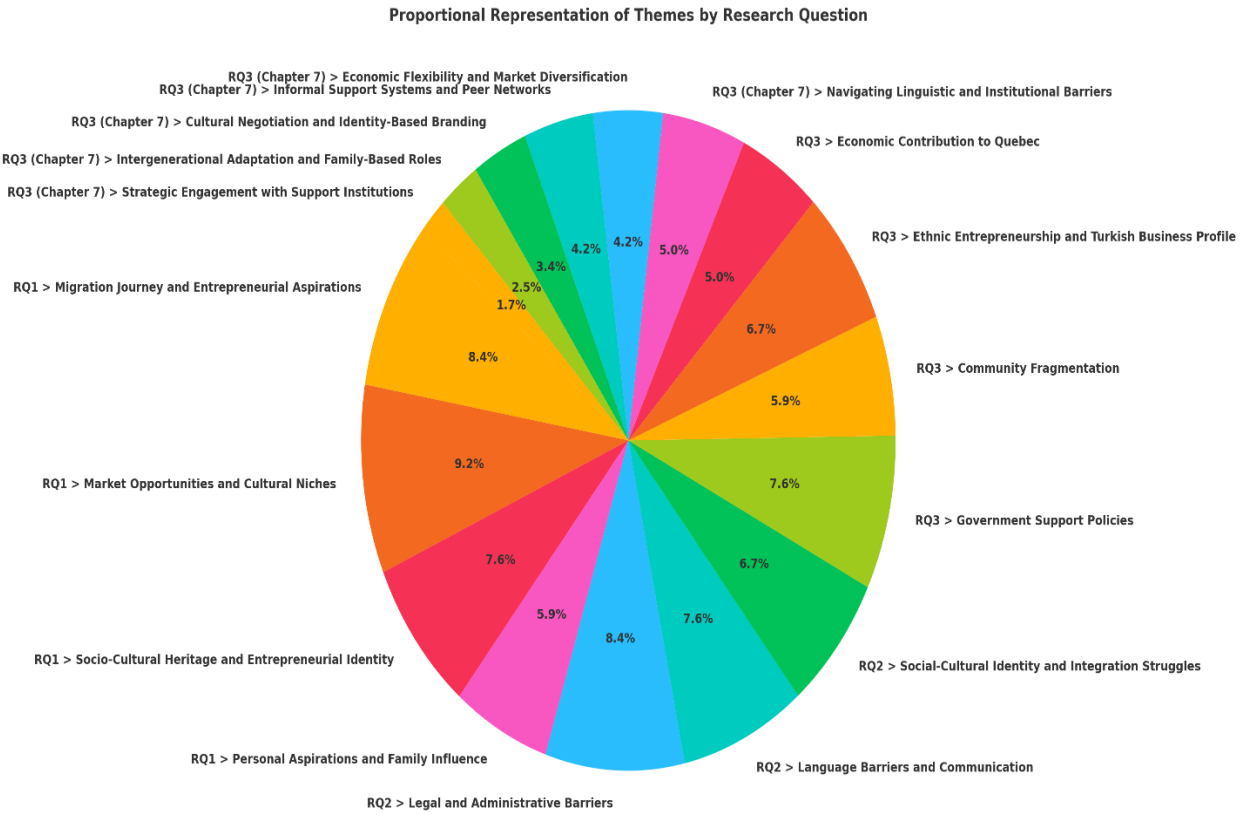
Araştırma ekibiyle birlikte, bilgi ve onam formunda mutabakata varılan hususlara saygı göstereceğimi taahhüt ederim.

Bu araştırma projesinden sorumlu araştırmacının adı ve imzası Tarih.

APPENDIX D-1 – THEMATIC ANALYSIS VISUALS (PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION)

This pie chart depicts the proportional significance of each thematic group found via NVivo coding.

Figure 7.1. Proportional Representation of Themes in All Participant Responses

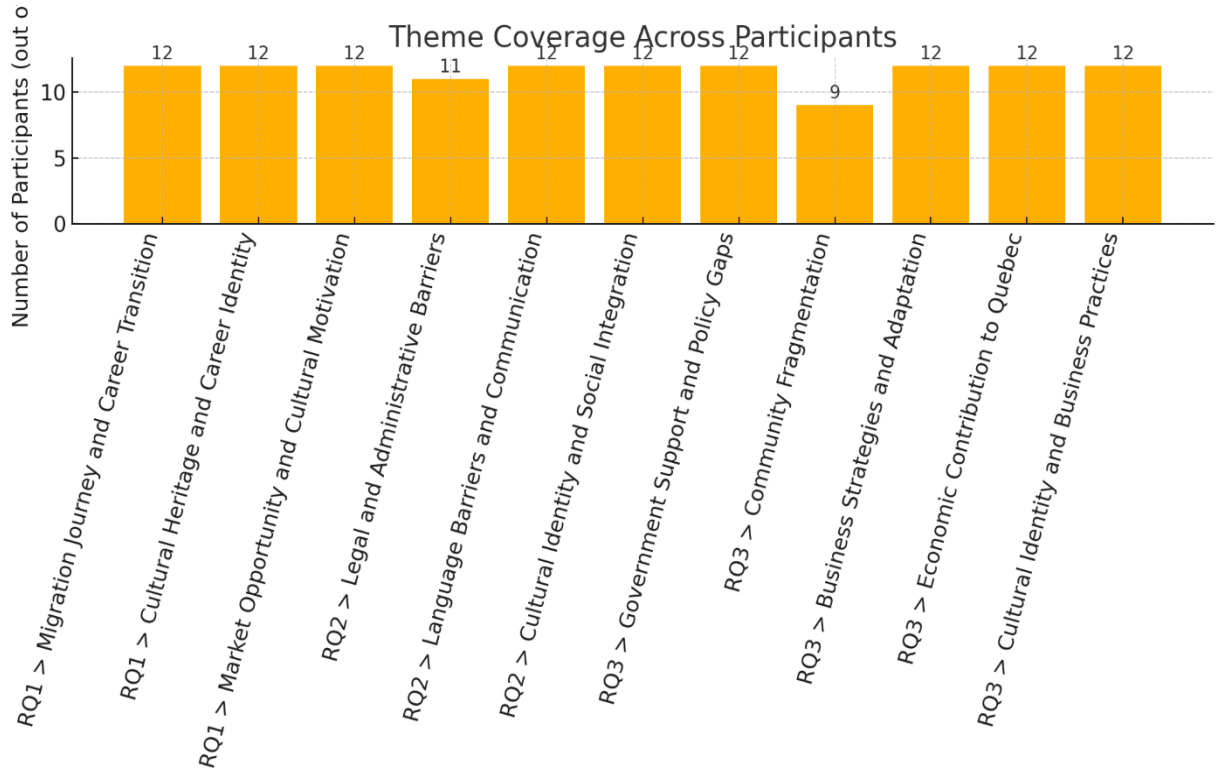


Source: Generated by the author using NVivo 15 (2025).

APPENDIX D-2 - THEMATIC ANALYSIS VISUALS (THEME DISTRIBUTION)

This bar chart depicts the frequency with which each major subject was addressed by the 12 participants, demonstrating the extent of involvement within the sample.

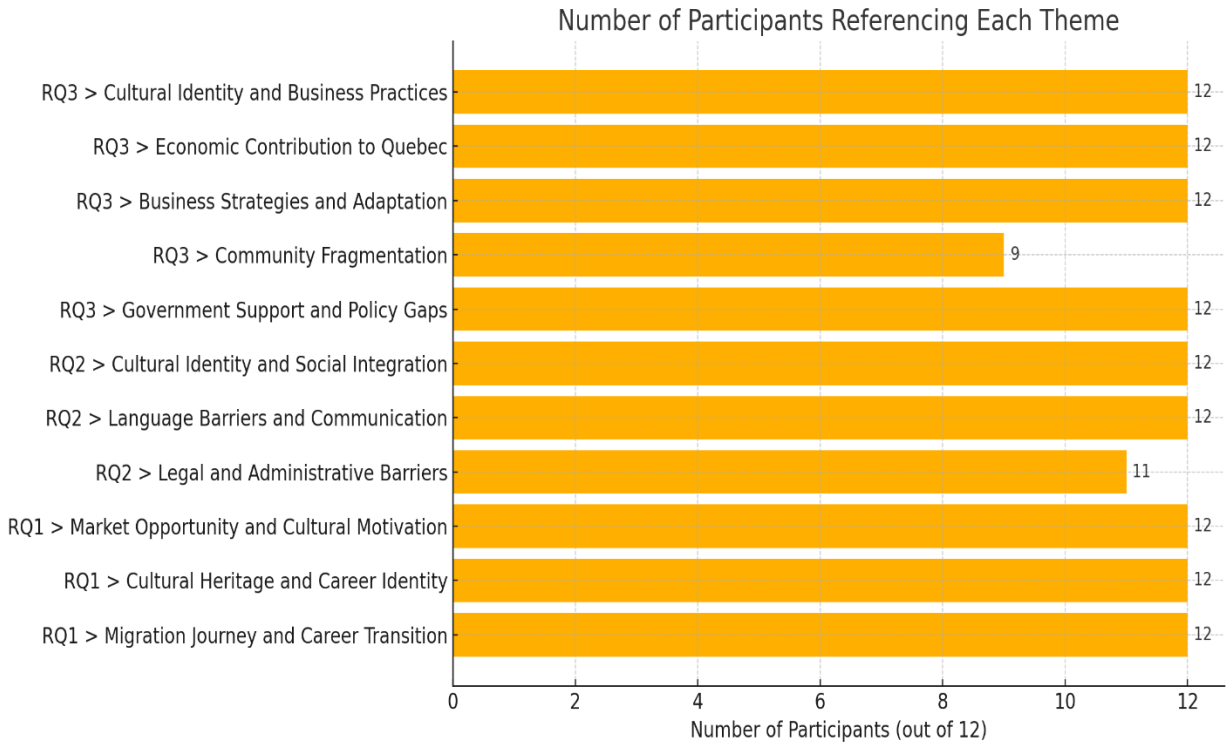
Figure 7.2 Theme Distribution Among Participants



Source: Generated by the author using NVivo 15 (2025).

APPENDIX D-3 – NUMBER OF PARTICIPANT REFERENCING EACH THEME

This horizontal bar chart visually presents the number of participants (out of 12) who referenced each major theme identified during NVivo-based qualitative analysis.



Source: Generated by the author using NVivo 15 (2025).

APPENDIX E – ETHICS APPROVAL

Comité d'éthique de la recherche - Société et culture (CERSC)

Bureau de la conduite responsable en recherche

Université de Montréal

06 juin 2024

Ahmed Hamila, professeur agrégé
Département de sociologie, Faculté des arts et des sciences
Université de Montréal

Karamo Faruk Konneh, étudiant à la maîtrise
Département de sociologie, Faculté des arts et des sciences
Université de Montréal

OBJET :	Projet # 2024-5601 - Approbation éthique finale Titre : Immigrant Entrepreneurship in Quebec: The Case Study of Turkish Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Montreal

Bonjour,

Le Comité d'éthique de la recherche - Société et culture (CERSC) de l'Université de Montréal a évalué votre projet de recherche. Suite à cette évaluation, une approbation conditionnelle vous a été émise en date du 15 avril 2024.

Nous accusons réception des précisions et corrections demandées via le formulaire de conditions F20 ainsi que des documents en vue de l'approbation finale du projet mentionné en rubrique. Suite à la révision de ces documents, le tout ayant été jugé satisfaisant, j'ai le plaisir de vous informer que votre projet de recherche a été approuvé par le CERSC.

Les documents que le CERSC a approuvés et que vous pouvez utiliser pour la réalisation de votre projet sont disponibles dans la section **Documents approuvés par le CER**, située sous l'onglet "Fichiers" de votre projet.

Cette approbation éthique est valide pour un an, à compter du 06 juin 2024 jusqu'au 06 juin 2025. Il est de votre responsabilité de compléter le formulaire de renouvellement (formulaire F9) que nous vous ferons parvenir annuellement via Nagano 1 mois avant l'échéance de votre approbation, à défaut de quoi l'approbation éthique délivrée par le CERSC sera suspendue.

Dans le cadre du suivi éthique continu, le Comité vous demande de vous conformer aux exigences suivantes en utilisant les formulaires Nagano prévus à cet effet :

- Soumettre, pour approbation préalable, toute demande de **modification** au projet de recherche ou à tout autre document approuvé par le Comité pour la réalisation du projet (formulaire F1).
- Soumettre, dès que cela est porté à votre connaissance, toutes **informations supplémentaires, nouveau renseignement et/ou correspondances diverses** (formulaire F2).
- Soumettre, dès que cela est porté à votre connaissance, tout **incident ou accident** lié à la réalisation du projet de recherche (formulaire F5).
- Soumettre, dès que cela est porté à votre connaissance, l'**interruption prématurée** du projet de recherche, qu'elle soit temporaire ou permanente (formulaire F6).
- Soumettre, dès que cela est porté à votre connaissance, toute **déviation** au projet de recherche susceptible de remettre en cause le caractère éthique du projet (formulaire F8).
- Soumettre une demande de **renouvellement** un mois avant l'échéance de la date d'approbation afin