Eurofound

Ethnic entrepreneurship

Case study: Strasbourg, France

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CLIP Network
Cities for Local Integration Policy

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About CLIP

In 2006, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, the city of Stuttgart and the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound) formed the 'European network of cities for local integration policies', henceforth known as CLIP.[1] This network comprises a steering committee, a group of expert European research centres and a number of European cities. In the following two years, the cities of Vienna and Amsterdam joined the CLIP Steering Committee. The network is also supported by the Committee of the Regions (CoR) and the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR), and has formed a partnership with the European Network Against Racism (ENAR).

Through the medium of separate city reports (case studies) and workshops, the network enables local authorities to learn from each other and to deliver a more effective integration policy. The unique character of the CLIP network is that it organises a shared learning process between the participating cities, between the cities and a group of expert European research centres, as well as between policymakers at local and European level.

The CLIP network currently brings together more than 30 large and medium-sized cities from all regions of Europe: Amsterdam (NL), Antwerp (BE), Arnsberg (DE), Athens (EL), Barcelona (ES), Bologna (IT), Breda (NL), Budapest (HU), Copenhagen (DK), Dublin (IE), Frankfurt (DE), Helsinki (FI), Istanbul (TR), İzmir (TR), Kirklees (UK), Liège (BE), Lisbon (PT), Luxembourg (LU), L'Hospitalet (ES), Malmö (SE), Mataró (ES), Newport (UK), Prague (CZ), Strasbourg (FR), Stuttgart (DE), Sundsvall (SE), Tallinn (EE), Terrassa (ES), Turin (IT), Turku (FI), Valencia (ES), Vienna (AT), Wolverhampton (UK), Wrocław (PL), Zagreb (HR), Zeytinburnu (TR) and Zürich (CH).

The cities in the network are supported in their shared learning by a group of expert European research centres in:

- Bamberg, Germany (european forum for migration studies, efms);
- Vienna (Institute for Urban and Regional Research, ISR);
- Amsterdam (Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, IMES);
- Turin (International and European Forum on Migration Research, FIERI);
- Wrocław (Institute of International Studies);
- Swansea, Wales (Centre for Migration Policy Research, CMPR).

There are four research modules in total. The first module was on housing – segregation, access to, quality and affordability for migrants – which has been identified as a major issue impacting on migrants' integration into their host society. The second module examined equality and diversity policies in relation to employment within city administrations and in the provision of services. The focus of the third module was intercultural policies and intergroup relations. This final module looks at ethnic entrepreneurship.

The case studies on ethnic entrepreneurship were carried out in 2010.

[1] See also **http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/areas/populationandsociety/clip.htm**

Acknowledgements

Researchers from the Forum for International and European Studies on Immigration (FIERI) in Turin are responsible for this report on Strasbourg. Together with the contact person from the Municipality of Strasbourg, Richard Sancho-Andreo (Conseil Consultatif des Résidents Etrangers – CUS), an enormous effort has been undertaken to find all necessary data on ethnic entrepreneurship in this city. Many officials and other parties involved with immigrant entrepreneurs have been interviewed, as the list at the end of the report shows. They have provided the author with reports, statistics and comments on the concept version of this report. The author is particularly grateful to all those who have cooperated in giving information, and in particular to Richard Sancho-Andreo for coordinating the field visit.

The author is completely responsible for the content of this report, the copyright of which remains with the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound).

Introduction 1

This report provides information on ethnic entrepreneurship in the city of Strasbourg, France.

As will be shown, the term 'ethnic' is not generally used in France, especially at a political and institutional level, because of its immigration policies and a citizenship model (the so-called universal or republican model) that do not recognise immigrant groups as ethnic groups, but rather focus on individuals and on assimilation (Brubaker, 2001). As such, in this report we will use the term 'immigrant entrepreneurs' or 'foreign entrepreneurs'.

Chapter 2 starts by by illustrating the evolution of the immigrant population in Strasbourg and in the Alsace region. With Strasbourg being the main city in the region, accounting for 26% of the total population living in Alsace (ORIV, 2005), it is unsurprising that data collected at a regional level often mirror the situation of the city itself. The Urban Community of Strasbourg (*la communauté urbaine de Strasbourg*, CUS), which includes 28 small municipalities and the city of Strasbourgh, is another important administrative and political level that has to be taken into account. The CUS area (the 28 municipalities and Strasbourg) accounts for more than one-quarter of the total population of Alsace.

As described on the official website, the Urban Community of Strasbourg is defined as a public entity of inter-town public cooperation, with a specific and autonomous budget.[2] The CUS was created in 1966 with Law 66-1069 of 31 December 1966 and is managed by a community board. The members of the municipal councils of the CUS towns are represented on the community board, and the community board members elect the president and the vice-presidents. But members of urban communities' councils are discussing changing the system to adopt the direct and universal election of the CUS president by the resident population.

The Urban Community of Strasbourg has several responsibilities regarding the management of the towns, which are conferred by the towns' members. The main responsibilities are the management of town policy, social housing, the environment and collective utilities (e.g. water). Town policy[3] (*Politique de la Ville*) includes a set of actions that aim to fight the exclusion of poor neighbourhoods' populations. The town policy is promoted by the government in partnership with municipalities and is a cross-ministry policy. It has four main aspects: security and prevention of delinquency; social and cultural development of poor neighbourhoods; employment development; and economic development of such neighbourhoods.

This report will consider both data that refer specifically to the city and to the CUS area. Chapter 3 gives a description of the urban economy of the city, the CUS area and the region. Since data at a city level was not always available, and since, for the reasons mentioned above, the region presents demographic, social and economic characteristics that are similar to those of the city, on specific issues we resorted to data collected at a regional level. Several sources are drawn on here, such as the Insee (National Institute of Statistics and Economy Studies), the local Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Chamber of Handicraft Professions.

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[2] Etablissement public de cooperation inter-communale à fiscalité propre. See **http://www.strasbourg.eu/services/communauteurbaine/cus/accueil?ItemID=3653354876**.

[3] **http://www.vie-publique.fr/politiques-publiques/politique-ville/index/**

In Chapter 4, an analysis of immigrant entrepreneurship in Strasbourg city and the CUS area is presented. This part of the report is based primarily on the interviews carried out with immigrant entrepreneurs as well as independent[4] and public institutions for finding out how immigrants organise themselves to open a business and the conditions they have to meet in order to do so.

Finally, Chapter 5 describes and analyses the rules and policies that regulate the creation of enterprises in general and those of immigrants when pertinent. It is based on interviews and on several websites[5] that provide such information.

[4] Boutiques de Gestion, which is an independent network working with the different levels of government in France.

[5] For example, see **http://www.auto-entrepreneur.fr**, **http://www.adec.fr** or **http://www.apce.com**.

Profile of Strasbourg 2

Before providing statistical data on the evolution of the immigrant population in the city of Strasbourg and in Alsace, some terminological clarification is needed. In the French case, statistics register two types of migrants: foreign citizens on the one hand and immigrants on the other.

'A foreigner is a person holding residency but who does not have French nationality'.[6] This definition is based on legal criteria of nationality. 'An immigrant is a person born a foreigner, in a foreign country and who lives in France and who could aquire French nationality during their lifetime'.

There are thus two types of migrants that have to be considered simultaneously (ORIV, 1992b). As one of the interviewees[7] explained, 'A foreigner in France is someone without the French nationality, although born in France. Nowadays, someone born in France with two foreign parents is a foreigner until he/she is 18 years old. Immigrants are those who have made a migratory movement, that is, someone born outside and who is now in France either as a foreigner or French. We have French immigrants and foreign immigrants. Therefore, the number of foreigners and immigrants is not the same.'

To get an overview of migrants in Strasbourg, one also needs to consider the regional situation. In fact, as intimated above, the Alsace region mirrors many of the city's characteristics. This is especially the case with data on the migrant population, which concentrates in the main urban areas of the region, namely Strasbourg, Colmar and Mulhouse.

The first point to be stressed is that the Alsace region has particularities compared with other parts of France, especially in relation to the origin of migratory stocks, as we can see in Table 1.

Table 1: *Main countries of origin of migrants in Alsace, 1960–99 (percentage of main countries of origin over total migrants)*

Nationalities/origin	1960–69	1970–79	1980–89	1990–99
Former Yugoslavia	3	3	-	-
Germany	7	5	8	22
Morocco	10	18	12	7
Spain	15	-	-	-
Portugal	16	16	3	3
Italy	17	3	-	-
Algeria	19	10	8	6
Tunisia	-	4	-	-
Turkey	-	21	29	14
Poland	-	-	3	-
Vietnam	-	-	4	-
United Kingdom	-	-	-	3
Switzerland	-	-	-	5
Rest of the world	13	20	33	40
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: *Insee (2009b)*

[6] The French definition says: '*un étranger est une personne qui ne peut se prévaloir de la nationalité française quel que soit son lieu de naissance. Un immigré est une personne, née étrangère, à l'étranger, qui s'est installée en France. L'immigré a pu, au cours de sa vie, acquérir la nationalité française*' (ORIV, 1992b).

[7] Interview with the director of the Observatoire Regional de l'Immigration et de la Ville (ORIV).

As Table 1 illustrates, countries of origin changed over time and diversified as well. In the 1960s, immigrants were mostly of European origin (Italy, Portugal and Spain) and from North African countries (Algeria and Morocco). Due to the proximity of Germany, there was also a flow originating from that country.

In the 1970s, we see that Moroccan migrants increased and that a new stock emerged from Turkey. Moreover, the percentage of Italians in the total foreign population decreased substantially. In the 1980s, the share of Turkish migrants continued to increase, becoming the first immigrant group in Alsace and in Strasbourg as well. Algeria and Morocco decreased while Germany increased after a decrease in the 1970s.

In the 1990s, two groups emerged as dominant: Turkish and German migrants. Data also show a relevant increase in the 'rest of the world' category, from 13% in the 1960s to 40% in the 1990s, pointing to increasing diversification of flows over time. This is the case, for instance, in increasing arrivals from south-east Asian countries such as Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, reaching 4,500 people in mid-2004, and from African countries such as Cameroon and Senegal, with a total of 12,000 migrants in 2004. Migrants from eastern European countries also appeared (especially Russia, Serbia and Ukraine),– some 7,000 individuals in 2004 – as well as migrants from new EU countries, such as Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and Romania, with more than 8,000 people (see Insee, 2009b). Currently, foreigners account for 10% of the total population of Alsace, which has the second-highest number of immigrants out of all the regions in France. It also ranks higher than the French average of 8.1% (Frey, 2009: 81).

If we consider the difference between foreigners and immigrants, different values can be underscored. In mid-2004 there were 139,500 foreigners and 179,000 immigrants (Insee, 2009b).

Table 2: *Population by nationality in the Alsace region and in France*

	1999		2005	
Nationality	**Alsace**	**% of Alsace population**	**Alsace**	**% of Alsace population**
Born French	**1,494,500**	**-**	**1,545,000**	**-**
French by acquisition	**73,900**	**-**	**85,000**	**-**
Foreigners	**123,300**	**7.3**	**133,000**	**7.5**
EU15 countries	*47,700*	*2.8*	*49,000*	*2.8*
Germany	15,600	0.9	18,000	1.0
Italy	11,400	0.7	11,000	0.6
Portugal	11,100	0.7	9,000	0.5
Spain	4,300	0.3	5,000	0.3
Non-EU15 countries	*75,600*	*4.5*	*84,000*	*4.8*
Turkey	28,500	1.7	29,000	1.6
Morocco	14,500	0.9	13,000	0.7
Algeria	11,000	0.6	12,000	0.7
Switzerland	3,200	0.2	5,000	0.3

Source: Population census 1999 and annual population census, 2004 and 2005 (Insee, 2009b)

As pointed out in Table 2, data regarding the main nationalities show an important presence of Swiss nationals, which is due to geographical proximity and the trans-frontier flows. The number of Swiss nationals increased by 30% between 1999 and mid-2004 (Insee, 2009b), while the old immigration (namely from Italy, Poland, Portugal and Spain) has decreased (Insee, 2006). New flows, namely from Bosnia, Russia and Serbia, have increased considerably and their presence is higher in Alsace than in the rest of the country. Finally, as stated above, there is a plethora of nationalities that are constantly increasing in the Alsace region, such as Armenian, Cameroonian, Chinese, Georgian, Indian, Iranian, Iraqi and Senegalese.

The diversity of Strasbourg's resident population is evident in the 85 different nationalities living in the city, according to one of our interviewees.[8] Strasbourg may be considered a special case due to the presence of EU institutions that attract many EU nationals.

Table 3 points out a sharp increase in the foreign population between 1982 and 1990 and between 1990 and 2006. An interesting point is the important increase of French by acquisition born outside France, from 6,228 in 1982 to 24,035 in 2006.

Table 3: *French born, French by acquisition and foreigners in the city of Strasbourg*

	1982	1990	2006
French born	210,028	209,133	211,424
French by acquisition, born outside France	6,228	7,318	24,035
Foreigners	31,420	35,103	37,516

Source: *Insee (1982, 1990, 2009b)*

Table 4 provides data on the evolution of the foreign population in Strasbourg in 1982, 1990 and 2006. In general terms, there is a constant increase of foreigners over time, from 31,420 in 1982 to 37,516 in 2006. We also see that foreigners from traditional countries of immigration, such as Italy, Portugal or Spain, decreased over time. The same applies for foreigners from North African countries. There was also an increase of Turkish foreigners, from 6,169 in 1990 to 6,424 in 2006.

Table 4: *Evolution of the foreign population in Strasbourg*

Nationality of origin	1982	1990	2006
Italy	2,124	1,524	1,414
Spain	2,496	1,553	1,400
Portugal	3,148	2,612	1,480
Other EU27 nationalities	n.a.	n.a.	6,364
Other European nationalities	n.a.	n.a.	2,656
Algeria	3,612	3,444	2,833
Morocco	5,804	7,696	5,724
Tunisia	1,136	1,252	765
Other African nationalities	n.a.	n.a.	4,044
Turkey	n.a.	6,169	6,424
Other nationalities	13,100	10,853	4,413
Total number of foreigners	**31,420**	**35,103**	**37,516**
% of foreigners in total population	**12.7**	**14.0**	**13.7**

Source: *Insee (1982, 1990, 2009b)*

[8] Interview with the director of the Observatoire de l'Immigration et de la Ville.

In Tables 5 and 6, we see the distribution of nationalities by professions for 2006.

Table 5: *Distribution of population by French born, French by acquisition or foreigners in Strasbourg, 2006*

	Farmers	Skilled workers, businessmen/women, CEOs	Managerial staff	Intermediary professions	Employees	Blue-collar workers	Retired	Others without activity	Total
French born	30 (81%)	3,145 (66.9%)	21,807 (84%)	26,207 (84%)	27,106 (75.6%)	17,435 (61.6%)	35,358 (86.6%)	80,269 (75.2%)	211,357
French by acquisition	4 (10%)	806 (17.1%)	1,562 (6%)	2,421 (7.8%)	4,433 (12.3%)	5,062 (17.9%)	2,734 (6.7%)	7,024 (6.6%)	24,045
Foreigners	3 (9%)	749 (16%)	2,588 (10%)	2,557 (8.2%)	4,280 (12.1%)	5,790 (20.5%)	2,731 (6.7%)	18,842 (18.2%)	37,542
Total	**37 (100%)**	**4,700 (100%)**	**25,957 (100%)**	**31,185 (100%)**	**35,819 (100%)**	**28,287 (100%)**	**40,823 (100%)**	**106,135 (100%)**	**272,944**

Source: *Population census (Insee 2006)*

Table 6: *Distribution of population by professions and nationality in Strasbourg, 2006*

	Farmers	Skilled workers, businessmen/women, CEOs	Managerial staff	Intermediary professions	Employees	Blue-collar workers	Retired	Others without activity	Total
Portugese	–	31 (4.1%)	55 (2.1%)	95 (3.7%)	260 (6%)	396 (6.8%)	242 (8.8%)	405 (2.1%)	1,483
Italians	–	37 (4.9%)	201 (7.8%)	113 (4.4%)	128 (3%)	138 (2.4%)	350 (12.8%)	452 (2.4%)	1,418
Spanish	–	17 (2.3%)	143 (5.5%)	135 (5.3%)	193 (4.5%)	144 (2.5%)	278 (10.2%)	484 (2.6%)	1,395
Other nationalities EU27	–	95 (12.7%)	1,181 (45.6%)	852 (33.3%)	617 (14.4%)	270 (4.7%)	366 (13.4%)	3,025 (16%)	6,406
Other nationalities Europe	–	34 (4.5%)	231 (8.9%)	255 (10%)	312 (7.3%)	274 (4.7%)	119 (4.4%)	1,400 (7.4%)	2,626
Algerians	–	45 (6%)	79 (3%)	163 (6.4%)	409 (9.5%)	526 (9%)	372 (13.6%)	1,214 (6.4%)	2,808
Moroccans	–	79 (10.5%)	130 (5%)	222 (8.7%)	640 (15%)	1,301 (22.5%)	464 (17%)	2,895 (15.4%)	5,432
Tunisians	–	8 (1%)	29 (1.1%)	34 (1.3%)	100 (2.3%)	181 (3.1%)	55 (2%)	345 (1.8%)	751

	Farmers	Skilled workers, businessmen/women, CEOs	Managerial staff	Intermediary professions	Employees	Blue-collar workers	Retired	Others without activity	Total
Other African nationalities	–	62 (8.3%)	97 (3.7%)	253 (9.9%)	746 (17.4%)	531 (9.2%)	82 (3%)	2,287 (12.1%)	4,058
Turkish	3 (100%)	235 (31.4%)	55 (2.1%)	142 (5.5%)	457 (10.7%)	1,622 (28%)	268 (9.8%)	3,644 (19.3%)	6,425
Other nationalities	–	106 (14.3%)	388 (15.2%)	293 (11.5%)	417 (9.9%)	408 (7.1%)	136 (5%)	2,691 (14.6%)	4,438
Total	**3 (100%)**	**749 (100%)**	**2,589 (100%)**	**2,557 (100%)**	**4,279 (100%)**	**5,791 (100%)**	**2,732 (100%)**	**18,842 (100%)**	**37,240**

Source: *Population census (Insee 2006)*

The following conclusions can be drawn.

- There are almost no farmers amongst foreigners (with the exception of Turks), who account for only 9% of total farmers.
- The main skilled workers, businessmen/women and CEOs are French born (66.9%), French by acquisition (17.1%), Moroccans (1.7%), other African nationals (1.3%), Turks (5%) and other nationalities. The traditional southern European emigration countries (Italy, Portugal and Spain) are hardly active in these fields.
- The main nationalities in managerial staff and white-collar staff are French born (84%), French by acquisition (6%), other EU nationalities (4.5%) and other nationalities (1.6%).
- Intermediary professions (technicians, supervisors, teachers) are mainly composed of French born (84%), French by acquisition (7.8%), other EU nationals (2.7%) and other nationalities (1.1%).
- Traditional economic migrants are mostly employees and blue-collar workers[9] (qualified or non-qualified), a majority of whom are northern African nationalities, Turks and other nationalities.
- Other categories concern military staff, students aged over 15, people without a professional activity under 60 and people without a professional activity over 60. In this category, French born and French by acquisition dominate, though we still notice the presence of other EU nationalities, Moroccans, other African nationalities, Turks and other nationalities.

[9] In French, the term is '*ouvrier*', which means qualified and non-qualified workers performing a manual type of activity. This includes, for instance, workers in shops, construction sites or agriculture.

3 Strasbourg's urban economy

Historical development

To analyse and account for data related to Strasbourg's urban economy, preliminary attention must be paid to the development of the economy of the Alsace region. Indeed, the two are closely linked. Data presented in this section is based on Insee data (2009a, b and c).

Over the past several decades, Alsace has witnessed a change of activity in its economy: the tertiary sector has developed strongly and the industrial sector has decreased. During the industrial restructuring in the 1970s and 1980s, major companies catering to the industrial sector relocated their activity to increase their productivity and several functions traditionally performed by industry have been assigned to a third-party firm. The same can be said of tasks requiring specialised knowledge, such as legal advice, IT or accounting services. Moreover, services that brought few advantages, economically speaking, to the organisation, such as cleaning, were also delegated.

Furthermore, the intense process of urbanisation provoked a boom of new tertiary activities, particularly urban transportation and social services. Finally, the increase in the quality of life and the development of leisure activities favoured the creation of jobs providing services to individuals, namely the hotel and restaurant industries and the cultural, health and education fields.

More recently, while the industrial sector was reducing its number of employees, the tertiary sector continued to enlarge its activities, namely merchant services. Services to enterprises also increased their workforce due to the increase in interim work since the 1980s.

Nowadays, the distinction between the industrial and tertiary sector is rather blurred. Industrial enterprises consume more and more non-material goods, while the tertiary sector uses more and more material goods. The tertiary sector now ranks first in terms of the size of the workforce and of added value to the regional economy. As we will see below, this is also the case in Strasbourg's economy. We also need to consider the presence of European Union institutions in Strasbourg that are part of this new scenario. However, the economy of the region still has a large share of industries.

The tertiary sector developed strongly in the 1990s, with 461,000 people employed in it in 1999, which accounted for two-thirds of the employment in Alsace. Employment in the tertiary sector increased by 17% in the 1990s, whereas in France the percentage was 13%. The main increase was in the areas of education, health and social work as well as administrative jobs. There was also an expansion of services to enterprises and to individuals. Between 1990 and 1999, 18,000 new jobs (+31%) were created in the services provided to enterprises based on interim employment. Finally, trade activities and transport also saw an increase in jobs and workforce. Since the tertiary sector is mainly concentrated in the urban areas, services to enterprises are mostly present in Strasbourg.

The evolution of the regional economy can be evaluated by outlining the professions. Professions linked to the tertiary sector are growing, employing seven out of 10 active people, particularly in the fields of services to individuals, administration and trade. The professions linked to production, however, are decreasing, namely in agriculture and construction. During the last two decades, 12,500 jobs were lost in agriculture, while in industry, the decrease in the textile and mechanics sectors led to the loss of 24,000 jobs. Many non-qualified blue-collar workers were let go (around 25,000 non-qualified workers) due to innovative technology that resulted in the requalification and restructuring of employees, which led to the hiring of qualified blue-collar workers (+7,800) and technicians (+9,800). The diffusion of IT also led to the employment of many IT technicians and engineers (+5,000).

A particularly important aspect for the issue at hand – immigrant entrepreneurship – is the development of handicraft firms and the regional context for entrepreneurship. In Alsace, some 21,000 enterprises are handicraft enterprises. In accordance with the law of 5 July 1996 that regulates handicraft and trade, handicraft enterprises are defined as enterprises with no more than 10 employees that carry out an independent activity of production, transformation, repair and services of a handicraft nature.

The construction sector accounts for 37% of handicraft enterprises. The sector dedicated to services to individuals amounts to 12% of total enterprises and includes beauty institutes, hairdressers, etc. At the beginning of the 2000s, some 4,600 new enterprises were created each year in Alsace. In 2004 there were more than 6,000 new enterprises and in 2007 this number jumped to 8,200. There are several reasons that explain such a boom, such as the law of economic initiative of 2003 or the Accre device in 2002 (which helps unemployed people to create their enterprises).

The main handicraft enterprises created in the region in 2007 were construction, services to individuals and services to enterprises. The Strasbourg area is home to more than one-third of those enterprises as well as half of the newly created enterprises. The number of people employed in services to individuals and services to enterprises is rather important, with more than 80,000 employees in Alsace. Half of those employees are involved in the construction and food sectors. These employees are mostly blue-collar workers, namely bricklayers, mechanics, bakers, etc. The share of women employed in this sector is three employees out of 10.

Main industries and services

Table 7 provides an overview of the main activities and the number of companies in the CUS area, whose data do not differ much from the region. Data at the city level are not available on the Insee website.[10]

Table 7: *Employment in the CUS area, 2008*

	Employment	
Activities	2008	Female share
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	55	25.5%
Manufacture of food, beverages and tobacco	5,089	42.0%
Refining	276	13.4%
Manufacture of electric, computer equipment	3,967	25.2%
Manufacture of transportation material	1,777	14.4%
Manufacture of other industrial products	9,884	31.4%
Extraction industries	1,513	17.8%
Construction	11,213	12.4%
Auto trade and auto repair	31,834	48.7%
Transportation	9,229	25.5%
Accommodation and catering	10,232	51.1%
Information and communication	6,895	32.4%
Financial activities and insurance	10,749	57.8%
Real estate	1,989	57.6%
Science and technical activities	35,096	51.9%
Public administration, education, health and social work	23,885	76.8%
Other activities and services	6,645	65.7%
Total	**170,328**	**48.0%**

Source: *Insee (2009d)*

[10] http://www.insee.fr

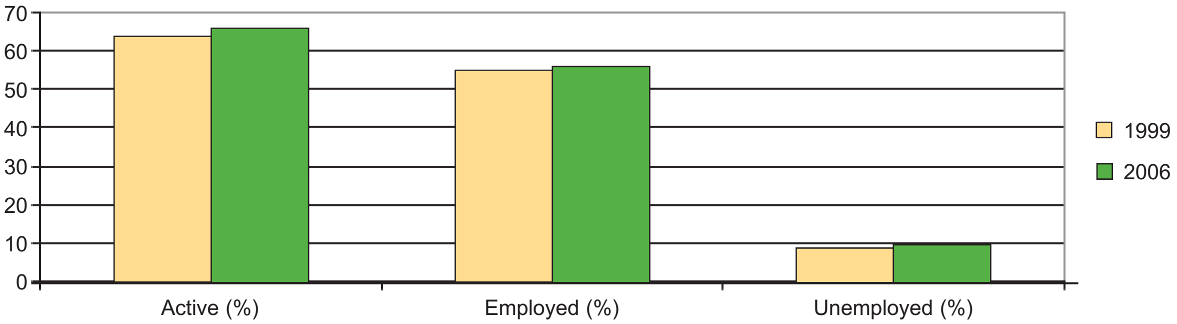
As Table 7 illustrates, the main activities are construction, auto trade and repair, accommodation and catering, financial activities and insurance, science and technical services, public administration and education, health and social work. Thus we can see that Strasbourg's urban community is characterised by a prevalence of jobs in the tertiary sector, with a significant share of science and technical activities that we can link to the important university and research centres in the city. The other sectors, particularly industry, are involved with transforming raw materials, such as the manufacture of food, beverages and tobacco or the manufacture of electric and computer equipment or the manufacture of other industrial products. We thus have two main sectors that operate in the urban economy, a manufacturing sector and a business service industry and tertiary sector, with the highest share belonging to the business service industry and tertiary sector. The evolution of the urban economy of the city and surrounding area has been similar to the region, and during the last two decades, there has been a growth in the tertiary sector.

Size of workforce

Before analysing Figure 1, some terminological clarifications are needed. For the 'active population', French statistics include people who have a job and people who are unemployed. Those who declare themselves not to be in search of a job are not included, even if they are of employment age. The activity rate describes the relationship between the active population as defined above and the total population.

Figure 1 describes changes in the size of the workforce, focusing on the population aged between 15 and 64 in 1999 and 2006. The total active population increased from 1999 to 2006. The employed population increased as well, from 55.6% in 1999 to 56.3% in 2006. However, the unemployed population also increased, from 8.8% to 10.1% of the total active population for the age group considered here.

Figure 1: *Population of 15- to 64-year-olds by rate of activity and occupational status*



Source: *Population census 1999 and 2006 (Insee, 2009b)*

Table 8 provides basic information on the workforce in the city of Strasbourg.

Table 8: *Active and employed population between 15 and 64 years old by gender and age in Strasbourg, 2006*

	Population	Active population	Activity rate (%)	Active population employed	Employment rate (%)
Total	**191,590**	**127,111**	**66.3**	**107,806**	**56.3**
15–24	54,324	19,172	35.3	14,920	27.5
25–54	112,884	96,510	85.5	82,587	73.2
55–64	24,383	11,429	46.9	10,299	42.2
Men	**92,296**	**65,569**	**71.0**	**55,780**	**60.4**
15–24	24,842	9,506	38.3	7,255	29.2
25–54	55,608	50,076	90.1	43,188	77.7
55–64	11,845	5,987	50.5	5,336	45.0
Women	**99,294**	**61,542**	**62.0**	**52,026**	**52.4**
15–24	29,481	9,666	32.8	7,665	26.0
25–54	57,275	46,434	81.1	39,398	68.8
55–64	12,538	5,442	43.4	4,963	39.6

Source: *Population census, 2006 (Insee, 2009b)*

In broad terms, 66.3% of the population is active in the labour market. This increases for men, at 71%, and decreases for women, at 62%. The employment rate for the total population is 56.3%. The rate for men is higher, at 60.4%, and is similar to the active male population. For women, the rate is lower when compared with men, at 52.4%. We also see interesting trends regarding age groups. Generally speaking, the group aged 25 to 54 is very active, at 85.5% and an employment rate of 73.2%. We can also see that 90.1% of men aged 25 to 54 are actively involved in the labour market, with an employment rate of 77.7%. The numbers are lower for women, with 81.1% of women aged 25 to 54 involved in the labour market and an employment rate of 68.8%. It is interesting to note the percentage of active people between the ages of 55 to 64 – they form almost half of the total population and have an employment rate of 42.2%.

Characteristics of the workforce

Table 9 provides an overview of the main sectors of employment of the active population in 2008 in the CUS area and of the share of women in the different sectors of activity. Data for the city level are not available from the Insee online database.

Women are dominant in the following sectors: accommodation and catering, financial activities and insurance, real estate, science and technology, public administration, education, health and social work and services. On the other hand, men are more involved in manufacturing, construction, extraction industries, transportation and information and communication. Comparisons between 2007 and 2008 show a reduction in employment in the manufacturing sector in general, financial activities and insurance, real estate activities and science and technical activities.

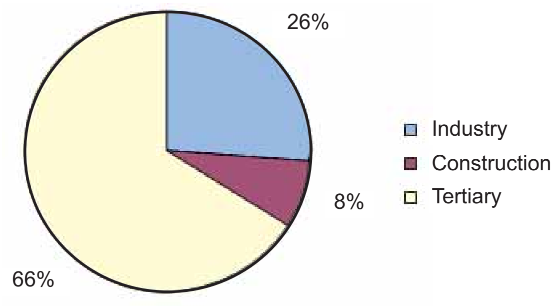
Table 9: *Employment by sector in the CUS area, 2008*

Activities	Employment	
	2008	Female share
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	55	25.5%
Manufacture of food, beverages and tobacco	5,089	42.0%
Refining	276	13.4%
Manufacture of electric, computer equipment	3,967	25.2%
Manufacture of transportation material	1,777	14.4%
Manufacture of other industrial products	9,884	31.4%
Extraction industries	1,513	17.8%
Construction	11,213	12.4%
Auto trade and auto repair	31,834	48.7%
Transportation	9,229	25.5%
Accommodation and catering	10,232	51.1%
Information and communication	6,895	32.4%
Financial activities and insurance	10,749	57.8%
Real estate	1,989	57.6%
Science and technical activities	35,096	51.9%
Public administration, education, health and social work	23,885	76.8%
Other activities and services	6,645	65.7%
Total	**170,328**	**48.0%**

Source: *Insee (2009d)*

As for the city of Strasbourg, in 2009 the workforce was distributed as follows: 8% in construction, 26% in industry and 66% in the tertiary sector (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: *Distribution of the workforce by sector in Strasbourg, 2009*



Source: *Insee (2009d)*

Table 10 highlights the gender ratio in the different professions in the city of Strasbourg in 2006. Men prevailed in the following professions: farmers, businessmen/women, skilled workers and CEOs, managerial staff and professions and blue-collar workers. Women are more present in the following professions: intermediary professions, employees, retired and others.

Table 10: *Evolution of the active population aged 15+ by type of profession and gender in Strasbourg, 2006*

Farmers	Men	26
	Women	11
Businessmen/women, skilled workers, CEOs	Men	3,434
	Women	1,266
Managerial staff, professions	Men	15,314
	Women	10,643
Intermediary professions	Men	14,184
	Women	16,991
Employees	Men	9,919
	Women	25,887
Blue-collar workers	Men	22,391
	Women	5,876
Retired	Men	16,674
	Women	24,149
Others	Men	22,975
	Women	36,227
Total		**225,966**

Source: *Population census 2006 (Insee, 2009b)*

Prior to analysing data on the educational level of the population of Strasbourg not enrolled in school, a brief description of the French school system is required to understand the types of diploma and their potential in the labour market.

Elementary school lasts for five years and leads to an elementary school certificate. Students then go to college for four years, which provides a college degree. After college, at the age of 15, young people have two options. The first one is the traditional secondary school, which after three years leads to the so-called *baccalauréat* and eventually to university. The second option is the professional secondary school – *lycée professionel* – that leads to several vocational diplomas. The professional secondary school awards three types of diplomas: the CAP, the BP and the BEP. The CAP (*certificat d'aptitude professionnelle*), which is awarded after two years, prepares the student for a specific occupation, such as carpenter, childcare provider, etc. The *baccalauréat professionel* (BP) is awarded after three years and certifies the student to carry out a professional activity that is highly qualified, with a total of 75 specialities. The *brevet d' études professionelles* (BEP) requires three years of study after college and leads to a professional qualification in a specific field, such as the restaurant industry or metallurgy.[11]

[11] For further details about the French school system, see **http://www.education.gouv.fr**.

Table 11: *Level of education of the population not enrolled in school aged 15+ by gender, 2006*

	Men	Women	Total
Population not enrolled in school	83,093	94,730	177,823
No diploma (%)	21.5	23.8	22.7
Primary school certificate (%)	4.3	8	6.3
Brevet des colleges (%)	3.9	4.6	4.3
CAP or BEP (%)	23.2	18	20.4
Baccalaureate (%)	13.8	13.9	13.9
Baccalaureate and two years of university (%)	10.5	12.9	11.7
University diploma (%)	22.8	18.8	20.7

Source: *Population survey (Insee, 2006)*

Table 11 shows that almost 29% of the population holds a primary school certificate or no diploma at all. This situation is higher in the case of women. Some 4.3% of the population has the *brevet des colleges*, with a higher share for women, at 4.6%. Men have more CAP or BEP diplomas than women, at 23.2% and 18%, respectively. The percentage of men and women with a baccalaureate is almost the same, as is the percentage of men and women with a university degree, at 33.3% and 31.7%, respectively.

Tables 12 and 13 give the employment status of French and foreigners in the city of Strasbourg. There are several trends that deserve our attention. In Table 12, we can see that foreigners are the least employed population compared with French born and French by acquisition, with only 33.8% of the total foreigner population employed. Unemployment is particularly high among the French by acquisition population and foreigners, at 14% and 10.7%, respectively. It is also possible to verify that there is a huge proportion of students among foreigners, even more than in the native population, at 28.5% of the total foreign population. The number of housewives/men is particularly high amongst foreigners when compared with the French-born population, at 8.2% and 2.6%, respectively. Finally, almost 12% of foreigners have ‘other types of activity’, though this activity is not specified in the database.

- The nationalities that have 40% or more people employed out of each nationality’s total population are French born, French by acquisition, Portuguese, Spanish and other EU nationals. Among those nationalities, the Portuguese have the highest share, at 51.5% of employed people.
- The number of unemployed people is particularly high among the French by acquisition, North Africans, Africans, other European nationalities and other nationalities, at 18.3% for Algerians to 11.5% for other European nationals. The Portuguese (4.8%), Italians (4%) and Spanish (5%) have fewer unemployed people than the French-born population (6%).
- Retired people among immigrants are those that came in the 1960s, namely the Portuguese, Italians, Spanish and Algerians.
- The share of students is more or less the same among the nationalities (around 25%), except for the French by acquisition or Portuguese, at 14.6% and 14.7%, respectively.
- The highest share of housewives/men is present in the Northern African countries and Turks, with some 9.7% to 14.2% of housewives/men, respectively. The lowest share is among the French born and Italians, at 2.6% and 3.9%, respectively.
- The ‘others’ category is particularly high amongst the North African, other African, other European nationals, Turkish and other nationalities.

Table 12: *Distribution of French and foreign population by activity in Strasbourg, 2006*

	Employed	Unemployed	Retired	Students	Housewives/ men	Others	Total
French born	84,571 (40%)	12,016 (6%)	35,387 (16.7%)	57,556 (27.2%)	5,489 (2.6%)	16,404 (7.5%)	211,424 (100%)
French by acquisition	11,297 (47%)	3,341 (14%)	2,717 (11.3%)	3,500 (14.6%)	1,550 (6.4%)	1,630 (6.7%)	24,035 (100%)
Foreigners	12,690 (33.8%)	4,007 (10.7%)	2,745 (7.3%)	10,709 (28.5%)	3,089 (8.2%)	4,277 (11.4%)	37,516 (100%)
Total	**108,558**	**19,364**	**40,849**	**71,765**	**10,128**	**22,311**	**272,975**

Source: *Insee, Population Census, 2006*

Table 13: *Distribution of foreign population by activity and nationality in Strasbourg, 2006*

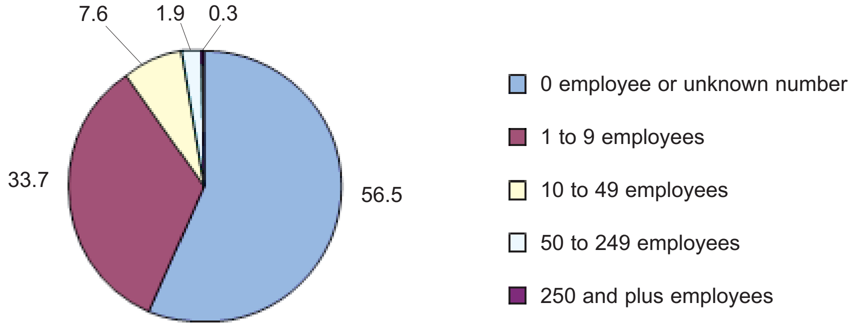
	Employed	Unemployed	Retired	Students	Housewives/ men	Others	Total
Portugese	763 (51.5%)	72 (4.8%)	240 (16.2%)	218 (14.7%)	65 (4.4%)	121 (8.4%)	1,480 (100%)
Italian	557 (39%)	59 (4%)	352 (24.9%)	303 (21.4%)	55 (3.9%)	88 (6.8%)	1,414 (100%)
Spanish	569 (40.6%)	71 (5%)	281 (20%)	295 (21%)	114 (8%)	70 (5.4%)	1,400 (100%)
Other EU27 nationalities	2,754 (43%)	299 (4.7%)	370 (5.8%)	2,259 (35.5%)	263 (4%)	420 (7%)	6,364 (100%)
Other European nationalities	886 (33%)	305 (11.5%)	119 (4.5%)	762 (28.7%)	112 (4%)	472 (18.3%)	2,656 (100%)
Algerians	795 (28%)	520 (18.3%)	377 (13.3%)	461 (16.3%)	301 (10.6%)	379 (13.5%)	2,833 (100%)
Moroccans	1,737 (30%)	786 (13.7%)	465 (8%)	1,343 (23.5%)	806 (14%)	586 (10.8%)	5,724 (100%)
Tunisians	246 (32%)	123 (16%)	52 (6.8%)	208 (27.2%)	74 (9.7%)	62 (8.3%)	765 (100%)
Other African nationalities	1,292 (32%)	542 (13.4%)	82 (2%)	1,389 (34.3%)	102 (2.5%)	636 (15.8%)	4,044 (100%)
Turkish	1,802 (28%)	822 (12.7%)	268 (4.2%)	1,831 (28.5%)	913 (14.2%)	789 (12.3%)	6,424 (100%)
Other nationalities	1,289 (29%)	408 (9.2%)	140 (3.2%)	1,639 (37%)	282 (6.4%)	654 (15.2%)	4,413 (100%)
Total foreigners	**12,690**	**4,007**	**2,746**	**10,708**	**3,087**	**4,277**	**37,517**

Source: *Insee, Population Census, 2006*

Development of small and medium businesses

According to the Insee definition,[12] the small and medium enterprises category refers to those enterprises with fewer than 250 employees and that have a turnover of less than EUR 50 million per year (decree n. 2008-1354).

Figure 3: *Percentage of enterprises by number of employees in the CUS area, 2009*



Source: *Insee (2009d)*

Figure 3 shows the size of companies in terms of number of employees. The majority of enterprises have fewer than nine employees and are thus micro enterprises, which account for 90.2% of the total enterprises in the CUS area. Small and medium enterprises account for 9.5% of total enterprises, while enterprises with more than 250 employees make up only 0.3% of total enterprises.

Table 14 provides data on the number of employees of the private firms operating in the different economic sectors in the city of Strasbourg.

Table 14: *Firms by sector of activity and number of employees in Strasbourg, 2007*

Number of employees	Industry	%	Construction	%	Trade	%	Services	%	Total	Total %
0	377	3.6	290	2.8	1,986	18.8	7,897	74.8	10,550	100
%	44.8		37.7		51.6		55.7			
1–9	322	4.5	413	5.7	1,605	22.2	4,891	67.6	7,231	100
%	38.3		53.7		41.7		34.5			
10–49	101	6.9	61	4.2	221	15.3	1,070	73.6	1,453	100
%	12		7.9		5.7		7.5			
50+	42	10.2	5	1.2	39	9.5	326	79.1	412	100
%	4.9		0.65		1		2.3			
Total	841		769		3,851		14,184			
Total %	100		100		100		100			

Source: *Insee (2009d)*

In industry, 83.1% of firms have fewer than nine employees. The same applies to construction (91.4% of firms), trade (93.3%) and services (90.2%). We can thus see that the economic sector is mainly composed of small enterprises. We can also see that of the total firms with 0 employees, 74.8% are in the services sector and 18.8% are in trade. The same distribution applies for other numbers of employees.

[12] http://www.insee.fr/fr/methodes/default.asp?page=definitions/petite-moyenne-entreprise.htm

The evolution of private companies in Strasbourg is positive. The data include small, medium and large companies. In fact, except for 2003, there has been a constant increase in the number of enterprises.

Table 15: *Evolution of enterprises in Strasbourg, 2001–2009*

2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
16,921	17,391	17,175	18,057	18,638	19,096	19,667	20,108	20,703

Source: *Insee (2009d)*

The rate of failure of private companies is not constant, as we can see between 2005 and 2006 and between 2008 and 2009.

Table 16: *Failure of enterprises in Strasbourg, 2004–2009*

2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	Total
244	236	226	255	302	159	1,422

Source: *Insee (2009d)*

The region in general and the CUS area in particular are specialised in terms of specific sectors and subsectors of activity. The main activities are the production of car products, mechanical equipment, electrical equipment and the processing of plastic material. One example is the establishment in 1998 of the Delphi Automobile Systems France enterprise. There are also other sectors with a significantly large workforce, such as pharmaceutical companies, publishing, printing and reproduction, and metalworking. The activities that have less importance in terms of workforce and that have seen a reduction in employee numbers are mineral chemistry, the food and beverage industry, spinning and weaving, organic chemistry, clothing and fur, and leather and footwear. Finally, there has been an increase in the size of the tertiary sector, with several specialities and subsectors: accommodation and catering, real estate, advertising and market research, and services to enterprises and to individuals. The services to enterprises include security (Securitas France), cleaning (Technique Française du Nettoyage), secretarial and translation, fairs organisations, IT and recruitment.

Figure 4: *Percentage of SMEs by type of activity in Strasbourg, 2005*

Source: *Insee (2006)*

Regarding SMEs, we must analyse small businesses in Strasbourg and the sectors they specialise in. There are two main types: retail trade and services. In the retail trade, business owners mainly dedicate their activity to personal equipment, food, culture and hobbies. The increase in the population's quality of life has provoked the spread of these types of activities. It has also enabled the development of services to individuals (beauty institutes, hairdressers, etc.), the tertiary sector and enterprises.

Finally, we must also consider skilled activities. Very briefly, we can describe a handicraft enterprise as one that employs no more than 10 salaried persons and that has an independent activity of production, transformation, repair or service delivery.[13] The definition and legal status (see Decree 98-247 of 2 April 1998) and the list of activities and professions within the handicraft field cut across all economic sectors: industry, construction, transport, trade and services. There is thus a particular status and place of craftsmanship in the French economy that we cannot ignore. Moreover, many immigrants who have an enterprise are handicraft employers or owners.

Table 17: *The distribution of handicraft establishments in Strasbourg, 2009*

Food	Production	Construction	Services	Total
232	439	859	1,089	2,619

Source: *Chambre des Métiers d' Alsace (2009a)*

Construction and services are well represented in the total handicraft enterprises in Strasbourg city, followed by production and food. We find many immigrant and/or foreigner handicraft enterprises in construction and food, especially amongst Turks.

Table 18: *Distribution of enterprises per number of employees and activity in Strasbourg, 2009*

	0	1–2	3–5	6–10	11–20	21–50	50+	Total
Food industry	16.1%	20.6%	24.7%	19.3%	10.9%	5.6%	2.6%	100%
Production	39.8%	22.3%	14.3%	10.5%	6.3%	5.2%	1.7%	100%
Construction	36.6%	29.6%	15.3%	8.9%	5.1%	3.4%	1.1%	100%
Services	42.6%	26.6%	16.7%	7.1%	3.5%	2.3%	1.2%	100%

Source: *Chambre des Métiers d'Alsace (2009a)*

Those handicraft firms are very small; few have more than 21 employees. This is particularly true for production, construction and services.

Sectoral and spatial distribution of SMEs

Our data from the Insee database do not allow us to be too specific about the sectoral and spatial distribution, but they allow us to say that major tertiary sector activities (mostly trade) are concentrated in the centre of the city in the following neighbourhoods: Quartier de la Gare, de l' hopital Civil, du Waken (financial activities), Krutenau, Esplanade (university and centres of research), Orangerie and the Quartier Allemand. Activities like industry and production are concentrated in the different small cities of the CUS, namely Bischheim, Hoenheim, Illkirch-Graffenstaden (centres of research and innovation park), Linglsheim, Ostwald and Schiltigheim. Two other parts of the agglomeration are important for those activities: Plaine des Bouchers (wholesale) and the Port du Rhin (industry).

[13] See L Artisanat en Alsace, Chiffres-clés 2009, Chambre des Métiers, 2009a.

Recent changes

The CUS area produced a report about the future economic priorities for the city and its surrounding area. One priority is to increase the number of international enterprises and to promote economic exchange with Germany. In addition, it is also intended to promote innovation in the social and solidarity economy, a field with a strong tradition in the CUS. Another goal is to develop and promote research in the field of medical technologies bio-medical research and new therapies. The area also aims to improve the creation of 'clean-tech' enterprises and promote a green economy. Priority is also given to culture. Indeed, it is intended to improve cultural production, art professions and multimedia and image enterprises.

4 Profiles of ethnic entrepreneurship

Definition of ethnic entrepreneurship

As stated before, there is no ethnic approach to immigration in France. There is an individual approach to the phenomenon and no affirmative action exists to help immigrants to develop their enterprises at the local or regional level.[14] As explained in Muller and Tapia (2005), very few studies have been conducted in France on this particular issue, so there are only partial analyses and descriptions. The term more often used is 'immigrant' or 'foreigner entrepreneurship', which is understood as, and according to our interviews,[15] an enterprise, firm or business owned and created by an immigrant or a foreigner. Moreover, and still relying on our interviews and on the literature (for example, see Muller and Tapia (2005)), there are no distinctions between the terms 'immigrant' and 'foreigner' and both are used in the same chapter or interview.

Development of ethnic entrepreneurship

Before analysing our statistical data, we must state again that this phenomenon has not been recently studied in France, so we can only rely on a few sources to develop this part of the report. Our statistical data are at regional level, but we can extrapolate for the Strasbourg case.

Since July 1984, when the law facilitated the independent work of immigrants, there has been a continuous increase of immigrant enterprises in Alsace. In 1938, the decree-law of 12 November 1938 established the foreigner trader card. In 1984, the new law of 17 July 1984 (law n. 84-622 of 17 July 1984) abrogated the foreigner trader card for foreigners with a residence permit. Until 2007, foreigners with a temporary stay permit had to apply for the foreigner trader card to open a business (decree n. 2007-750 of 9 May 2007).

At the beginning of the 1980s, there were 1,580 foreigners registered in the Chamber of Handicraft Professions as businessmen/women and heads of enterprises (CEOs) in Alsace. These were mostly Italians (44%) and Algerians (22.5%), which were also the most numerous foreigner populations in Alsace. The other nationalities had fewer owners of foreigner enterprises, e.g. Spanish (4%), Portuguese (3%), Tunisians (2%) and Moroccans (1.5%). At the beginning of the 1990s, a new factor was the substantial increase of Turkish nationals as heads of enterprises. In 1995, more than 8% of handicraft enterprises in the Alsace region were owned by a foreign citizen, which increased to 10.8% in 2008.

Table 19: *Evolution of foreign heads of handicraft enterprises in Alsace*

Year	Absolute number	% of total heads of enterprises
1980	1,580	n.a.
1989	1,503	7.1%
1995	1,781	8.9%
2000	2,218	no information
2004	2,435	no information
2008	2,748	10.8%

Source: *Chambre des Métiers d'Alsace (2009a)*

As Table 19 illustrates, there has been a constant increase of foreigner enterprises since 1989. In 2008, there were 2,748 enterprises whose owner was a foreigner, which accounted for 10.8% of the total handicraft enterprises in Alsace.

[14] See interviews with Tempo, Tumsiad, Stéphane de Tapia and Tunisian entrepreneur.

[15] Interviews conducted with the director of ORIV and a researcher, Stéphane de Tapia, who have a common understanding of the phenomenon.

Table 20 provides data on the nationality of entrepreneurs in the Alsace region, with a special focus on German and Turkish company owners. The increase of Turkish entrepreneurs is substantial, with a variation of 172% between 1992 and 2008. This is a significant increase when compared with French nationals; indeed, the variation between 1992 and 2008 for French nationals is 20.5%. If we consider the percentage of Turkish businesses of the total businesses, there is also an increase of 2.3% between 1992 and 2008, with Turkish businesses now accounting for 4.5% of the total businesses in Alsace.

Table 20: *Nationality of handicraft company owners in the Alsace region*

Nationality	1992	2004	2007	2008
French	18,755 (92.5%)	19,381 (93.6%)	21,866 (93.7%)	22,605 (89.4%)
EU	932 (4.6%)	–	–	1,191 (4.7%)
German	158 (0.8%)	346 (1.7%)	349 (1.5%)	348 (1.4%)
Turkish	423 (2.1%)	988 (4.7%)	1,132 (4.8%)	1,154 (4.5%)
Total	20,268 (100%)	20,715 (100%)	23,347 (100%)	25,298 (100%)

Source: *Chambre de Métiers d'Alsace (2009a)*

Apart from the increase in the number of Turkish company owners highlighted above, Table 21 points out that in 2008 in the Alsace region, foreign entrepreneurs originated from areas such as the Middle East, Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. This confirms the increase in the diversity of nationalities in the region in the last decade.

Table 21: *Nationality of handicraft company owners in Alsace, 2008*

Nationalities/origins	Total	%
French nationals	22,605	84.8
EU	1,191	4.5
Germany	348	1.3
Italy	336	1.3
Portugal	307	1.1
Spain	80	0.3
Others	120	0.5
Non-EU countries	102	0.4
Switzerland	47	0.2
Eastern European countries	55	0.2
Turkey	1,154	4.3
Maghreb	206	0.8
Sub-Saharan Africa	30	0.1
Middle East	20	0.07
Asia	24	0.09
North America	12	0.04
South America	11	0.04
Total	**26,648**	**100**

Source: *Chambre des Métiers d'Alsace (2009a)*

Data concerning bankruptcies and business closures of foreigners' enterprises are not available for the last 30 years. Nonetheless, and according to our interviews, the number of start-ups is greater than the number of closures. Still relying on our interviews,[16] in the Turkish case, there were 208 start-ups for 105 closures in the construction sector in 2006.

Foreigners' entrepreneurs are, generally speaking, aged between 30 and 40 years (Chambre de Métiers d'Alsace, 2009a). Around 75% of immigrant entrepreneurs are men, although when the owner is a woman, it is mainly in the food and bars activities (op. cit.).

Another important characteristic that is underscored in the Agency for the Creation of Enterprises (Agence pour la création d' Enterprises, APCE) report (2008) is the fact that before the creation of a business, immigrants have a precarious employment situation. Some 40% are unemployed, 29% have the *Revenu minimum d'insertion* (RMI) (special minimum unemployment benefit) and 24% are salaried blue-collar workers. Lastly, for the majority, they resided in France for 10 to 20 years before the creation of the business (op. cit.).

Sectoral and spatial distribution of ethnic enterprises

Immigrant entrepreneurs are present in all sectors of activity, e.g. construction, trade, restaurants and bars, production and services (APCE, 2008). However, they are mostly concentrated in construction and trade. In the case of construction, and in accordance with our interviews,[17] immigrant entrepreneurs are mainly involved in subcontracting activities. In the case of trade, they mostly operate in retail and sales. The sector where they are lessprominent is services, namely services to enterprises and to individuals, where their involvement is more in operational roles such as cleaning, translation or secretarial positions. Their prominence is also low in the sectors with specific regulations, such as real estate, legal work, health services or hairdressing. It has to be added that immigrants usually create their business in the sectors where previously they were employees.

According to the study of the Association Pour le Droit à l' Initiative Économique, (Association for the Right to Economic Initiative, ADIE)[18] (2006), immigrants choose activities that are required in the market due to, among other reasons, the ageing of the French population employed in the trade sector and the fact that French nationals do not prefer sectors such construction, retail trade or cleaning services (op. cit.). Finally, sectors of activities vary with the nationality of the owner. For instance, immigrants from the Maghreb are more present in trade, while Turks are predominantly present in construction.

Concerning spatial distribution in the city of Strasbourg, immigrant entrepreneurs are more present in the centre of the city (Sghaier, 2005: 193). However, and in accordance with some interviews,[19] a particular aspect of construction businesses is their presence in small villages and cities, especially in the case of Turkish construction businesses.

[16] Interview with the Chambre de Métiers d'Alsace.

[17] Interviews with the Chambre de Métiers d'Alsace and Stephane de Tapia.

[18] Association pour le droit à l' initiative économique.

[19] Interviews with the Chambre de Métiers d'Alsace and Stéphane de Tapia et Tumsiad.

Ownership of ethnic businesses

There are two main types of legal ownership status for businesses in France. The first is individual businesses with a single owner. The second refers to businesses with several owners. There is also a specific judicial status for enterprises that foreigners tend to use less, i.e. the so-called SARL – companies with a limited responsibility.

The majority of immigrants' enterprises are individual business. The second type, i.e. partnership, requires more knowledge of the legal regime and the use of specialists (lawyers, etc.), which implies a higher cost.

From our interviews[20] and from the literature (especially Muller and Tapia (2005)), one understands that co-ethnics and family members are required to join the company or to work with the owner. When there is a company with several owners or managers, they are co-nationals and, in some cases, family members.

Reasons for choosing entrepreneurship

We have relied on our interviews and on the ADIE report (2006) for mapping the reasons that lead immigrants to entrepreneurship. Generally speaking, there are three main reasons for becoming an immigrant/foreign entrepreneur:

- constrained choice;
- the existence of internal resources in the family or the community;
- an environment with opportunities.

'Constrained choice' refers to the wage crisis and to the high rates of unemployment among non-EU nationals. In other words, immigrant/foreign citizens decide to become entrepreneurs to cope with a situation of unemployment. Indeed, 36.6% of the immigrant population is unemployed, especially immigrants from the Maghreb, Sub-Saharan Africa and Turkey.

Entrepreneurship is also a way to escape precarious employment conditions. The majority of immigrant entrepreneurs were blue-collar workers or employees without any qualification. In addition, they are also employed in part-time or interim/temporary jobs more often than French nationals. The reasons for these precarious conditions are linked to closed jobs to foreigners, language difficulties, low levels of qualifications, no knowledge of the French labour market and discrimination. It has to be added that immigrants have also a savoir-faire acquired from many years of experience that is valuable in certain sectors.

The possibility of resorting to internal resources helps immigrants to develop their own economic project. Firstly, they may have experience as an independent worker in their country of origin. For instance, we find strong business traditions among certain nationalities or ethnicities (e.g. Berbers have a tradition of business activities in their country of origin). Secondly, the independent status in the economy seems to be appreciated in the co-immigrant group. Finally, the immigrant community may help to develop economic activity, namely through financing, customers or supply. For certain national groups there is an internal ethnic economy, as is the case for Turkish people. Indeed, they seem to rely less than others on bank loans or on other kinds of institutional assistance.

[20] Interviews with Tumsiad, Stephane de Tapia and with immigrant entrepreneur 'Durak'.

Lastly, opportunities in the French labour market and society have to be considered. Regarding the labour market, an important factor is the increasing rate of subcontracting in the construction and clothing sectors, in which many foreign/immigrant firms are involved. In addition, the ageing of the French population and immigrant groups such as the Italians or Spanish, previously active in trade and other business activities, leaves empty places for newcomers' enterprises. Last but not least, changing tastes and attitudes in French society play a role in creating ethnic enterprises: the search for exotic and ethnic products is a case in point.

Type of market

In accordance with the Alexis report (2005), immigrants are integrated in several types of markets. The majority of immigrant/foreign enterprises cater to all types of customers, be they French or foreign nationals. This is an assimilation type of integration in the local market. Enterprises and businesses directed towards ethnic customers are a minority, accounting for only 5% of foreigners' enterprises. Some 30% of immigrant/foreign businesses deal with ethnic or exotic types of products but are directed to all type of customers.

Most businesses have no transnational links with the country of origin or other countries. The businesses are embedded economically at the local level, that is, Strasbourg. Those that have transnational links with the country of origin or other countries, such as Germany in the Turkish case, are few. For instance, and in accordance with our interviews,[21] supermarkets and kebab restaurants sell products coming directly from Turkey or from Germany. There are also businesses whose customers are French enterprises or individuals. This is particularly the case for cleaning activities and construction. Many immigrant construction enterprises are subcontracted by big French firms. The same applies for cleaning activities.

Competition

Our interviewees report that competition is reasonably controlled by the fact that there are opportunities for all businesses. However, we have to be cautious with those sorts of statements. Indeed, the Insee report of 2002 (Insee, 2002) on enterprises owned by non-EU nationals states that 44.1% of non-EU entrepreneurs declare that there is strong competition in their sector of activity. Answers given to the same question by French nationals employed in similar positions and sectors of activity are more or less the same: 51% of French-born businesspeople state competition is tough and that they have difficulties in finding customers.

Workforce

The Chambre de Métiers d'Alsace report (2009b) gives an overview of the size and kind of workforce foreign entrepreneurs employ to develop their activities. Firstly, around 80% of foreign entrepreneurs have no employees or one to two employees. This applies to all nationalities. However, when it comes to more than three employees, it applies mostly to Italians and to a lesser degree to Turks.

Relying on interviews[22] and on Sghaier (2005), we can state that the workforce is mainly made up of co-nationals and owners' family members. As Sghaier explains (2005: 196), the family network is mobilised to provide the workforce, be it cousins, aunts or the owner's children.

[21] Interview with Stéphane de Tapia.

[22] Interviews with Tumsiad, Stephane de Tapia, Chambre de Métiers d' Alsace.

Employment conditions and labour relations

In general, business owners employ workers with a labour contract, as confirmed in the interviews.[23] In addition, they are mostly co-ethnics, which greatly facilitates labour relations. As an interviewed immigrant entrepreneur says, it is easier to work with co-nationals for linguistic and cultural reasons.

Specific traits in employment conditions emerge when we analyse immigrant entrepreneurship. As stated in the interviews and in Sghaier (2005), the business owner is free to work as long as they want, which is an economic advantage. The business, especially in trade, may be open from early in the morning until late evening: *'ils s' astreignent en moyenne à 11 heures de travail par jour. (…) Ainsi les entrepreneurs rencontrés ne connaissent ni dimanches, ni jours fériés'* (op. cit., 196). As the author explains, there is a process of self-exploitation. The owner works more than others to make some turnover and to set a work ethic for employees to follow. In addition, since owners have very few employees, they need to be committed to working long hours. Sghaier also suggests that immigrant owners prefer to employ members of the family or of the co-immigrant group because it gives more credibility vis-à-vis the client (op. cit., 197). The employment of family members also allows for more working hours, which remain undeclared and unpaid. For the author and for the interviews' actors as well, there is a high potential for a black market. Our interview with the French trade union CFDT (Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail) outlines that those work conditions can also be found in French enterprises and are not necessarily related to foreigners' enterprises. An interesting point concerning the level of union membership of foreigner entrepreneurs is the fact that they are simultaneously employer and employee, so they rarely engage in trade union activities. This situation is the same for French entrepreneurs in small enterprises. The trade union actor also stated that there is no difference in the application of the social rights law between French and foreigners.

Problems and barriers

General management

Our informants and interviewed immigrant entrepreneurs delegate general management issues to professionals, especially accountants. They rely on them to take over the human resource aspect, to pay taxes and to give immigrants information about facilities and information courses available in their city.

Financial management

As stated above, immigrant entrepreneurs rely on accountants to manage their financial issues. Concerning loans, the reports and studies on the issue (ADIE, 2006; Alexis, 2005; APCE, 2008, 2009; Descourriere, 2006) as well as our interviews claim that in general, non-EU immigrants do not rely on loans. A report published by the Agence pour la création d' entreprise (APCE, 2008) in 2007 states that only 27% of foreign entrepreneurs turn to a bank loan and 12% have difficulties opening a bank account. Many of them rely solely on their family or their community networks to find the necessary money to set up a business.

There are several reasons for the lack of loans among non-EU entrepreneurs. Practical reasons are commonly referred to, such as preparing a business plan, market research or the lack of personal assets as collateral.. Moreover, there are reasons that are linked to a fear of the banking system, which is seen as complicated, and a fear of bank credit for cultural reasons (ADIE, 2006). Finally, there is also an apprehension of their request being turned down. According to the ADIE study (2006), it is also true that banks show some prejudice regarding immigrant entrepreneurs.

[23] Interviews with Tumsiad and Tempo.

There are several types of loans (public or private) available to any potential entrepreneur as well as several levels of loans (public national, regional and local). Some immigrants turn to micro loans provided by specific institutions such as the ADIE . The ADIE is a private association, working at national level, created in 1989 and abiding by the principle of offering micro credit to help people excluded from the labour market or the traditional banking system. Between 2002 and 2004, one-quarter of the customers were non-EU immigrants, that is, 24.2% of loans were accorded to immigrants (14.7% were foreigners and 9.4% were immigrants with the French nationality). If we consider the nationalities, we see that 48.7% of those loans were given to Maghreb immigrants, 33.1% to Sub-Saharan African immigrants and 5% to Turks (ADIE, 2006). The Turks are a special case, as reported in our interviews, because they rely heavily on family and community loans.

There are public national institutions that give incentives to entrepreneurship, but immigrants do not seem to apply for them. Only 22% of foreign entrepreneurs in France benefited from a public support supplied by specific programmes, such as ACCRE (Aide aux Chomeurs Créateurs ou Repreneurs d' Une Entreprise – Help to Unemployed People to Create or Take Over an Entreprise) or EDEN (Encouragement au Développement des Enterprises Nouvelles – Support for the Development of New Enterprises). Moreover, we find alternative financing structures, such as the FIR (France Initiative Réseau[24]), which provides 'honour loans', and the FA (France Active[25]), which provides help in obtaining financial aid from banks, both of which have a national scope. Those structures are networks of several types of local independent and private actors and are financed by the government, banks, European Social Fund, collective entities and private actors.

At the regional level, Alsace has several structures to encourage the creation of enterprises. Help is given according to the type of activity and on the employment status of its creator. For instance, in 2006, the Alsace region spent EUR 11.6 million, almost half of its budget, to stimulate the creation of businesses. Support comes in three different forms: individual help to creators (such as the Grace programme), participation in the capital of finance societies and guarantee funds. The Grace programme has three types of activities: regional help for employment, regional help for investment and help for non-material investment (expertise). Still at the regional level, there is also the Ocre structure, which is funded with public funds. Ocre means operators of creation and recovery of enterprises in Alsace. Ocre has five types of help:[26] financial help, loans with privileged conditions, financial guarantees, interventions to venture capital and training for the creation of enterprises.

There are several kinds of financial help: help for the unemployed for the creation of enterprises (Accre), which is nationally structured by the Ministry of Work, Social Relations, Family, Solidarity and City; Grace; Grace Handcraftship; Nacre (for the unemployed and people with the minimum of social help), which is also developed at the national level by the Ministry of Work; a regional fund for the initial funding; a convention between the ADIE and the region; help for the recovery of enterprises with difficulties; help for the creation of activity by the disabled; and Defi Jeunes (help for the creation of enterprises by young people, organised by the regional public entity of youth and sports). The second type of help – loans with privileged conditions – also has several types: loans for the creation of enterprises (APCE); loans of honour for the platforms of local initiatives; loans of honour Alsace Entreprendre; and ADIE loans. The third type of help – financial guarantees – has the following elements: *fonds régional de garantie Alsace (*regional guarantee funds Alsace) and *fonds de garantie Alsace Active* (guarantee funds Alsace Active). For the interventions to

[24] http://www.france-initiative.fr/index.php/france_initiative/qui_nous_sommes

[25] http://www.franceactive.org/

[26] http://www.region-alsace.eu/dn_aide-creation-entreprise-financement-ocre/

venture capital, there are five kinds of help: Alsace amorçade (for high-tech enterprises); Alsace création (for small enterprises); Alsace Inter Regio Fonds d' Investissement; Sodiv; and Alsace Business Angels. Finally, there are regional public structures to give training to future creators: Periode pratique en entreprise (a traineeship in an enterprise to learn more about the management) and a regional offer of training for the creation/recovery of enterprises.

At the local level, the CUS aims at developing the economic sector. The CUS has a programme to help enterprises set up their business within specific geographical parameters. There are three types of geographical location where enterprises can be established: Hotel d'enterprises des Forge, SEMIA and Bioparc. The Hotel d'enterprises des Forge is a business centre that provides office space (some 54 offices) and a conference room. SEMIA is an association under the local law; it is a public incubator for innovative companies and is endorsed by the Ministry for Research. Its job is to oversee such innovators through setting up the new business creation project in technological, legal, managerial and marketing fields. The Bioparc is situated close to Strasbourg, in Illkirch. It was created to develop biotechnology in the Strasbourg region.

There are also financial supports given annually to several enterprises in all sectors. Currently, the Strasbourg Labboratoire Européen (Strasbourg as a European Laboratory) programme aims to create a French–German *pépiniére* (incubator) for new enterprises.[27] The ANRU (the National Agency for Urban Renewal) project operates in the more sensitive neighbourhoods where there are many immigrants and people with a low income. The CUS has so far developed the project in five neighbourhoods: Neuhof, Mienau, Hautepierre, Cronenbourg and Hirondelles. Support for the creation of enterprises is available within this framework.

Finally, the CUS offers financial support to two local associations: Créacité and Cap Création Initiative. The Créacité is a local association that works as an incubator. Thus, enterprises are tested to see if there are economically valid and profitable. The advantage for the creator is that they can leave the enterprise whenever they want. Additionally, during this period of enterprise testing, the entrepreneur enjoys social benefits and coverage in case of sickness or work injury. Cap Création was created in 1999 and sustains entrepreneurs who wish to open a business in Strasbourg or in the CUS in three ways: honour loans, sponsorship and counselling. Cap Création operates in all sectors of activity and all type of creation projects. Both local associations have the support of the CUS, Alsace Region, European Social Fund, Caisse des Dépots and the General Council of Bas-Rhin.

Marketing

When a firm's main customers are co-nationals, immigrant entrepreneurs use internal resources to advertise. They use community newspapers or flyers but they do not use marketing experts. Advertising is mainly through interpersonal contacts. Obviously this can limit the potential success of the company and may constitute a barrier for the development of the enterprise. In fact, many enterprises have failed after five years of activity. As stated by the report of the Ministry of Immigration, Integration and National Identity, 60% of non-EU enterprises do not reach the fifth year of activity (Breem, 2009). When the firm, such as a restaurant, cleaning services or construction, has a mix of French customers, immigrant entrepreneurs do not use marketing strategies but rely on social networks. As for the food industry, the restaurant's location is seen as an essential element. Bearing this aspect in mind, immigrant entrepreneurs in this area search for places where there is a good flow of people, which is often the case near secondary schools, hospitals, commercial streets, etc.

[27] http://www.invest-in-strasbourg.com/page.php/fr/397.htm

Rules and regulations

An important aspect that was brought up in the interviews[28] and in the literature is that there are no special provisions for foreign entrepreneurs (ADIE, 2006; Alexis, 2005; APCE, 2008, 2009). This translates as rules and regulations at national or local levels being identical for French and foreigners, although a turning point for foreigners was the law n. 84-622 of 17 July 1984 that abrogated the decree-law of 12 November 1938. The law of July 1984 established that foreigners with a residence permit could open a business without having the foreigner trader card. Nonetheless, those foreigners with a temporary stay permit still needed the foreigner trader card until 2007.

In broad terms, immigrant entrepreneurs comply with the rules, but as our interviews established, they express a feeling of dissatisfaction. They report that rules and regulations are extremely demanding and have a negative impact on their profit and on the possibility of employing more people. The main barrier is the lack of knowledge of the rules and regulations, which immigrants can only manage to overcome with the help of accountants.

According to our interviewees, certain rules, such as those concerning health and safety, may not be followed in certain sectors of activity. This is particularly obvious in the case of construction, due to, among other factors, subcontracting chains.

Generally speaking, labour contracts are individual based. In specific sectors of activity, there are collective agreements and the labour contract then has special provisions. This is the case for the construction sector.[29]

A specific rule in handicraft is the compulsory three years of professional experience in the field the immigrant wishes to open their business in. This may be an obstacle for foreigners if their experience in their home country is not recognised or because they are employed in the construction sector with another professional label, such as ‘blue-collar worker’.

To open a business in the handicraft sector, the Chamber of Handicraft Professions provides legal help and arranges for the necessary steps to open and register the business and the social rights contributions. The social rights contributions, often not used by immigrant entrepreneurs due to a lack of information or knowledge, are:

- the URSSAF (Union pour le Recouvrement de Sécurité Sociale et les Allocations Familiales – Uniting for the Recovery of Security and Family Allowances);
- the Caisse de Maladie (Sickness Fund);
- the Caisse de Retraite (Pension Fund);
- ASSEDIC (Association pour l’ Emploi dans l’ Industrie et le Commerce – Association for Employment in Industry and Commerce, for the Unemployment Fund);
- the CRAM (Caisse Regional d’Assurance Maladie – Regional Health Insurance Fund);
- DDTE (collective agreements);
- MSA (Mutualité Sociale Agricole – Agricultural Social Insurance Fund).

[28] Interviews with Tempo, Chambre de Métiers d’ Alsace or Clapest.

[29] Interviews with Chambre de Métiers d’ Alsace or Tempo.

An important factor to remember is that Alsace region has its own laws that differ from those of the rest of France.[30] At the legislative level, many fields are regulated by the local laws of Alsace and Moselle. Local laws have priority over national laws. The fields under the regulation of the local laws are religious cults, handicraft professions, the local law of work, welfare laws, justice regulation or municipality laws. In terms of social security contributions, for instance, they are higher than in the rest of the country. For instance, in Alsace the reimbursement of medical expenses is at around 90%, while in France it is 60%. However, as defended by Ortscheidt (1990), there over time gradual erosion of the local law.

A new national regulation was approved in January 2009 that substantially facilitates the creation of small enterprises. It is the 'auto-entrepreneur'[31] (self-entrepreneur) law – Loi de modernisation de l' économie n. 2008-776 of 4 August 2008 – which greatly encourages people to develop their own enterprise. This law was created to make the creation of small enterprises easier and to support individuals in creating their own job. The law creates a new judicial status: individual entrepreneur. It addresses those who do not wish to create a so-called company (*société commerciale*) in order to carry out their activity and who want to set up and terminate their activity easily. This status applies to anyone who aims to own an economic activity: students, retired, unemployed or employed. The registration of the individual status is made online. The status is dependent on the level of turnover, that is, it is restricted to those entrepreneurs with a maximum of EUR 80,300 of turnover for trading activities and EUR 32,100 for services delivery. The taxes and welfare rights contributions are the same as for micro enterprises, that is, between 12% and 21.3%. The main advantage is the fact that if there is no turnover for one month or more, there is no automatic debiting of taxes and welfare rights contributions. This new legal status of self-entrepreneur allows for testing the success of the activity with no excessive costs. If it is the case that the enterprise's turnover is more than the maximum levels established by the law, it is possible to change to another type of legal status. This new law has facilitated the creation of some 230,000 new small enterprises at the national level. There are no data concerning foreigners though.

Bureaucracy and intermediary institutions

There are several public institutions that an entrepreneur needs to contact in order to establish their activity. Firstly, the project must be presented to and registered at the Chamber of Commerce and Industry or the Chamber of Craftsmanship Professions. These institutions provide a five-day course on how to manage a business and how to get acquainted with the law's specifics. In basic terms, both chambers oversee all procedures. The main problems or barriers an immigrant may encounter during this process are mostly linked to their difficulty with the language or their own perception of business. In fact, as reported in the research of the ADIE (2006), many immigrants reproduce the business system of their home country, especially regarding informal structures and financing. Another reason for their lack of interest in public aids such as the Alsace region financial help has to do with a lack of information. Immigrant entrepreneurs we interviewed claimed they did not know about the kind of help available and that they end up relying on accountants for bureaucratic issues. This fact may hamper any active search by immigrants.

[30] http://www.idl-am.org/index.asp

[31] http://www.auto-entrepreneur.fr/

5 Policies, rules and regulations

Overall strategy, objectives and dimensions

A new advisory board of foreign residents was established at the beginning of 2009 in the CUS under a left-wing local government. It performs several functions: expertise to analyse immigration issues in the CUS area and to give advice to other CUS departments on immigration issues; awareness about the conditions and the means of political participation; information; and coordination among the different actors, namely with foreign associations.

There is no specific policy promoting foreign integration in the labour market or foreign entrepreneurship at local, municipal or CUS levels, which means, there are no objectives to promote foreign or immigrant entrepreneurship. This may be explained by two political factors: the delicate situation of immigration issues in Strasbourg and the national framework of citizenship and immigration laws. During an interview with a key informant[32] of the CUS political structure, it was stressed that the issue of immigration remains a hot one due to the constant attacks by the native population against Jews and northern Africans. The president of the CUS has also been the target of attacks and criticism from the resident native population. France also operates under a universalist paradigm and non-positive discrimination of foreigners. As one informant[33] states, after World War II, the French government in power forbade questions on one's religious background or nationality. This partly explains the lack of concrete, detailed data on immigration.

Main actors

A number of leaders of foreign associations[34] who promote individual businesses and give advice to foreigners who wish to start up their firms are represented on the advisory board established in 2009. However, the issue is not on the current agenda of the advisory board and our interviews state that such issues are not promoted on the local policy agenda.

Targets

As stated above, regional and local-level policies specifically target populations. As we have seen, there are regional and local public structures that help in the creation of an enterprise focusing on specific populations.

The Alsace region provides help for specific target groups defined on the basis of their employment status. They address different types of help for young, women, unemployed, seniors and disabled and in more general terms for employed people who want to add another activity to their current job or to change activity.

At the local level, the CUS area has a programme to develop the more problematic neighbourhoods, including those where there is a high percentage of immigrants. The ANRU supports the creation of enterprises in these neighbourhoods.

Institutions

As we described earlier, there are several institutions that coordinate and govern the creation and formal aspects of businesses.

[32] Interview with the CUS Conseil Consultatif des Résidents Etrangers (Consultative Council of Foreign Residents).

[33] Interview with the Observatoire Regional de la Ville et de l' Integration (Regional Observatory of the City and Integration).

[34] Those associations are, among others, ACATS (Association Culturelle des Alevis de Turquie), AFCS (Association des Femmes Congolaises de Strasbourg), Accueil et Formation pour Tous, Afrique Etoiles, AMES d' Afrique, Association Sportive et Eulturelle des Originaires de Karakay, Association de Solidarité des Familles Algériennes, Association des Congolais de Strasbourg, Centre Culturel Ibérique, Europe Cameroun Solidarité, Ligue Togolaise, Maison de l' Amerique Latine, Associations des Maliens de Strasbourg, Turquie 2009, Association TUMSIAD, Association Tunisienne des Méres de Strasbourg and Associations des Volontaires pour le Developpement du Tchad.

The main structures on a regional level are the Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Chamber of Craftsmanship Professions, where foreigners have to register and undergo specific training. Those chambers send the application to the regional prefecture, which validates the project. The URSSAF (Union Pour le Recouvrement de Sécurité Sociale et les Allocations Familiales – Unit for the Recovery of Security and Family Allowances) registers the professions, but a French diploma and the French nationality are required. The Mission Regionale de Création d'Enterprises[35] (Regional Mission for the Creation of Enterprises) also operates at the regional level, and gives financial aid to any potential business owner if they have the necessary qualifications, e.g. employment status, young people and disabled.

The NACRE programme[36] (Nouvel Accompagnement des Créateurs Repreneurs d'Enterprises – Accompanying the New Business Creators Buyers) is under the supervision of the Ministry of Economy, Industry and Employment and the Caisse des Dépots (fund deposits). This programme aims at helping specific categories of people who are less privileged in the labour market, such as the unemployed, young people, seniors and women, or those who want to open a business in the so-called Zone Urbaine Sensible (Sensitive Urban Area).

At the local level is the Maison de l'Emploi et de Formation'[37] (Employment and Training House), which gives support and advice for diploma and competence recognition. Competence recognition is one that is obtained in a foreign country by foreigners and that may be of interest to local enterprises. Since 2007, and with the help of Alsace region, there have been two programmes per year in two sectors: hotels/restaurants and health professions. Between 2008 and 2009, the trained group was made up of 15 people (three men and 12 women). Their nationalities included Afghanistan, Armenia, Bangladesh, Bosnia, China, Ossetia, Russia and Turkey. Among those 15 trained foreigners, one of them has created their own enterprise.

Finally, intermediary structures give advice and financial help, but not specifically to foreigners. The APCE[38] helps to start a business. This agency provides support on several levels and for several individuals involved, i.e. the creator, the buyer and the new head of an enterprise. The help differs according to the type of person involved and the position of the enterprise within the labour market. There are seven types of people that may benefit from specific help: young people, women, retired, employed, disabled, unemployed and foreigner creator. In the case of the foreigner creator, the agency explains what steps are needed to create the enterprise, particularly the legal status and the fact that the foreigner trader card is no longer required. In fact, law n. 84-622 of 17 July 1984 abrogated the decree-law of 12 November 1938 and allows immigrants with a residence permit to open businesses without the foreigner trader card. Finally, the decree of 9 May 2007 (decree n. 2007-750) and the decree of 15 May 2007 (2007-912) abrogate the need for the card in decree n. 95-58 of 28 January 1998 for temporary stay permits for immigrants.

Access and involvement in policy-making

On the local level, some 55 immigrant organisations are involved in the advisory board of foreign residents. However, there are no policies addressing labour market integration. In general terms, foreign entrepreneurs are not involved in policy-making at the local level. Immigrant organisations are the parallel structures that may advise foreign entrepreneurs. We have found, for example, the Tumsiad (Union des Industriels et Entrepreneurs de France – Union of

[35] **http://www.adec.fr/fr/creation-d-enterprises/creation-d-enterprises.html**

[36] **http://www.travail-solidarite.gouv.fr/regions/alsace/actualites/communiques-presse/IMG/ppt/NACRE_fiche.ppt**

[37] **http://www.maisonemploi-strasbourg.org/**

[38] **http://www.apce.com/**

Industry and Entrepreneurs in France), which works mainly with Turkish immigrants. This association is managed by Turkish immigrants and Turkish second-generation immigrants. There are Turkish second-generation immigrants with a French diploma in economics and business management, which enables them to advise Turkish immigrants about the creation of businesses. This association is open to all immigrants and has more than 200 Turkish enterprises as associates. The Tumsiad association is also an active member of the Consultative Council of Foreign Residents in the CUS.

Registration with the Chamber of Commerce and Industry or the Chamber of Handicraft Professions is compulsory, but according to our interviews,[39] foreigners do not play any relevant role in policy-making.

Formal access to entrepreneurship

Access to entrepreneurship is highly institutionalised and governed at a regional level, as stated by our interviewees. Depending on the type of activity, entrepreneurs have to register at a regional level in the Chamber of Commerce (for a commerce type of activity) or the Chamber of Handicraft Professions (for handicraft activities). Once they are registered, the prefecture analyses the business plan and proposal and decides whether or not it is valid and can go ahead. For the registration at the Chamber of Handicraft Professions, a CAP diploma is required or three years of professional experience in the field. Since 2007, the Chamber of Commerce no longer requires the foreign commerce owner card. Any non-EU foreigner, with the exception of Algerians and those foreigners with a residence permit, had to have the foreign trader identity card in order to create a business in the field of commerce, industry or handicraft professions.[40] Decree n. 2007-750 of 9 May 2007, which regulates the register of commerce and societies, eliminated decree n. 95-58 of 28 January 1998 and decree n. 2004-279 of 25 May 2004, which required the foreign trader identity card for temporary stay permits for immigrants (see above).

There are three types of temporary or resident permits[41] for foreigners that allow the development of a business:

- temporary permit with the reference of the specific profession;
- temporary permit with the reference '*vie privée et familiale*' (private and family life);
- resident permit.

These permit requirements do not apply to Algerian nationals. Moreover, those foreigners wishing to develop a business activity in marketplaces or as street vendors must have resided in France for at least five years to obtain the non-sedentary trader card.

In general terms, and in accordance with interviews with foreign entrepreneurs,[42] foreigners have no particular difficulties except for the recognition of their qualifications. Some professions are highly regulated, others are not. In the case of regulated professions, a French diploma and, in certain cases, the French nationality are necessary. The Maison de l'Emploi has a programme to recognise foreign diplomas, especially in the hotel/restaurant and health sectors, where there is a shortage of professionals in the French labour market. Handicraft qualifications are not directly recognised by the Chamber of Handicraft Professions. Foreigners have to work for at least three years in their field and undergo compulsory training in order to open a handicraft business.

[39] Interviews with Tempo, Tumsiad and the Chamber of Handicraft Professions.

[40] http://www.minefi.gouv.fr/formulaires/DECAS/ident/nident.htm

[41] Law n. 2006-911 of 24 July 2006.

[42] Interviews with the Durak construction enterprise and Durak retail trade business.

Finally, there are no specific programmes directed towards immigrants or foreigners at the regional or local levels. Immigrants have to comply with the same rules as French nationals.

Rules and regulations

The rules and regulations to the entrepreneurship issues have already been outlined above. The first main point is that there are no specific rules that apply to foreigners. As reported in our interviews, French and foreigners follow the same type of rules and regulations. The exception has been the abrogation of the foreigner trader card.

There are specific rules in the handicraft professions sector, namely to have three years of experience in the field or a CAP. Moreover, a five–day training course has to be completed to open the business. This applies in the case of handicraft professions and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

At the social rights level, there are many legal formalities that must be made. These social rights are the URSSAF (Union Pour le Recouvrement de Sécurité Sociale et les Allocations Familiales – Uniting for the Recovery of Security and Family Allowances), the Caisse de Maladie (Sickness Fund), the Caisse de Retraite (Pension Fund), ASSEDIC (Association pour l'Emploi dans l'Industrie et le Commerce), the CRAM (Caisse Regional d'Assurance Maladie – Regional Health Insurance Fund), DDTE (collective agreements) and MSA (Mutualité Sociale Agricole – Agricultural Social Insurance Fund).

Finally, since 2009 it has been possible to open a business with the self-entrepreneur status (law n. 2008-776 of 4 August 2008). There is also a new judicial status: the individual entrepreneur. Regarding welfare rights contributions, there is the advantage that if there is no turnover, there is no obligation to pay welfare rights contributions.

Finally, some professions are highly regulated, while others are not. In the case of regulated professions, the French diploma and, in certain cases, the French nationality are required. The Maison de l'Emploi has a programme to recognise foreign diplomas, especially in the hotel/restaurants and health sectors.

Zoning plans

Little data have been collected concerning zoning plans due to a lack of knowledge from our interviewees. Nonetheless, we find that the CUS has two specific programmes to implement businesses in different geographical areas. Firstly, the ANRU project has been developed by the National Agency for Urban Renewal in the most sensitive neighbourhoods with many immigrants and low-income people. Five neighbourhoods have been chosen: Neuhof, Mienau, Hautepierre, Cronenbourg and Hirondelles. The programme includes a project to help the creation of enterprises in those neighbourhoods.

The CUS has also targeted geographical locations for enterprises to be set up: Hotel d'Enterprises des Forge, SEMIA and Bioparc. However, as far as we know, there are no immigrant enterprises settled there because those areas are directed toward highly specialised businesses.

Sectoral rules and regulations

Some sectoral activities are regulated and some require the French nationality. To open a business in certain sectors, the person has to have at least one of the following: a diploma recognised by the state, a professional card, a license, an administrative licence or a minimum level of professional experience. Among these activities are architects, travel agency, butcher shop, bakery, drink shop (French nationality required), tobacco shop (French nationality required), accountant, hostel, beauty institute or bricklayer.

As a result of those requirements, we do not find many immigrants in these sectors of activity. As we described earlier (Chapter 4), immigrants are mainly found in the trade and construction sectors. In order to obtain the license for a beauty salon, one of our interviewed immigrants had to undergo training in a vocational training centre specialising in the field. She was able to apply for the license only after having successfully completed the training. She explained that these requirements are a barrier for many foreign women who want to work in the field of beauty care.

In the construction sector, where foreigners are a significant part of the workforce, there are specific rules for opening a firm, including the Fafsab (Fond d'Assurance), Formation des Salariés de l'Artisanat du BTP (Insurance Fund for Training for Craftsmanship Employees in Construction) and 10 years' insurance of the workplace. However, and in accordance with our interviews with foreigners, this is managed by the accountant and while it does not hamper the creation of an enterprise, it does result in an extra expense.

Support for new business creation

Support bodies

There are several institutions that support the creation and development of enterprises. In the Alsace region the two fundamental institutions that give authorisation to open a business are the Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Chamber of Handicraft Professions. Both require immigrants to attend compulsory training to start their business.

The Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Strasbourg and Bas-Rhin[43] was created in 1803 and provides services to some 30,000 enterprises. Registration is compulsory for opening a business. The services provided are information (legal information, German and French legislation and enterprise formalities), support and advice (creation of enterprises, commerce, tourism, industry, international services, innovation) and competence and employment (training).

The Chamber of Handicraft Professions[44] gives support to some 20,000 enterprises and some 6,000 apprentices. As outlined above, it is necessary to undergo specific training and to register to open a handicraft business. The chamber also provides a service that helps in the creation and development of enterprises.

Parallel to the two main institutions above, there are others that give information, training, transfer of knowledge and financial aid to future entrepreneurs in general. These other institutions are aimed at helping in the process of creation and development and are open to all potential entrepreneurs. The Employment and Training House in Strasbourg[45] was created in 2006 and is an initiative of several actors: the CUS, the city of Strasbourg, the Region Alsace, the state, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Chamber of Handicraft Professions. This organisation provides help in the process of the creation and development of enterprises.

The Pole Emploi (the National Agency for Employment) is a public service that provides information for those in search of a job as well as information on how to create an enterprise. It has a national scope and is open to all people seeking a job.

The ACPE (Agence pour la Création d'Enterprises – Agency for the Creation of Enterprises) was created in 1996 by public entities and is mainly financed by the state. As its name implies, it is aimed at helping people to create and develop an enterprise. Its scope is at the national level and is open to all future entrepreneurs.

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[43] See **http://www.strasbourg.cci.fr**

[44] See **http://www.cm-alsace.fr**

[45] See **http://www.maisonemploi-strasbourg.org/presentation.html**

Boutique Gestion is a national network created 30 years ago with the support of the Economy Ministry and the European Social Fund. Its aim is to support the creation and development of small enterprises and to give advice to heads of enterprises.

Multi-level public governance entities also provide services for those who wish to open up a business, including the General Council of Bas-Rhin[46] and the Region Alsace.[47] There are local authorities that manage the running of the department (Bas-Rhin) and the region (Alsace). They have several areas of responsibility, including providing help for the creation of enterprises. In the case of the General Council of Bas-Rhin, the provision of help is for the creation of handicraft and tourism enterprises. Also at the level of public governance entities, the CUS participates in some organisations that provide help for enterprise creation, such as the Employment and Training House in Strasbourg.

To sum up, there are two main institutions that require registration and training in order to open a business: the Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Chamber of Handicraft Professions. The other institutions provide help and information. Regarding the effectiveness of the other institutions, our interviews show that foreigners do not rely on such institutions in general due to a lack of information.

Financial aid

As already outlined, there are specific aids for several categories of the active population that wish to start a business: unemployed, young people, women, elderly people or people with a disability.

The institutions that provide financial help are:

- ADIE (Association pour le Droit à l'Initiative Économique – Association for the Right to Economic Initiative), which works at the national level and provides micro loans.
- ACCRE (Aide aux Chomeurs Créateurs our Repreneurs d'Enterprises – Help to Unemployed People to Create or Retake an Enterprise), which works at the national level.
- EDEN (Encouragement au Developpement des Enterprises Nouvelles – Support for the Development of New Enterprises), which works at the national level.
- FIR (France Initiative Réseau), which works at the national level.
- FA (France Active), which works at the national level.
- Alsace Region.
- OCRE (Opérateurs de la Création Reprise d'Enterprises d'Alsace – Operators of the Creation and Recovery of Enterprises in Alsace).
- CUS, through two local associations: Créacité and Création Initiative.
- CUS, with the ANRU project (National Agency for Urban Renewal).

[46] http://www.bas-rhin.fr

[47] http://www.region-alsace.eu

According to the interviews[48] and reports (ADIE, 2006; Alexis, 2005; APCE, 2008, 2009), there are no special bank advisors and immigrants do not rely very much on bank loans.

Finally, there is no financial help to foreigners or immigrants at the regional or local levels.

Business location

Immigrant businesses are mainly located in the centre of Strasbourg, such as in the Quartier de la Gare. However, there are also many businesses in different neighbourhoods (Sghaier, 2005). Foreigners try to locate in geographical locations where there are important facilities, such as secondary schools, hospitals, etc.[49]

The CUS offers a programme to help enterprise creation within specific geographical locations: the Hotel d'Enterprises des Forge, SEMIA and Bioparc. Moreover, every year, and with the approval of the CUS council, there are financial attributions to several enterprises in all sectors. Currently, through the Strasbourg Laboratoire Européen (Strasbourg as a European Laboratory) programme, there is a willingness to create a French–German pépiniére (incubator) for new enterprises.[50]

Access to employment with ethnic businesses

Under national law, if the owner of a business employs someone who is unemployed, young or unemployed for a long period, specific state allowances are given, e.g. loans up to EUR 5,000 and loans with 0% interest. However, there are no specific measures for the employment of migrants.

Staff matters

Owners of SMEs have several social duties vis-à-vis their employees.[51] The information provided in this section is based on the website **http://www.juritravail.com/**, which outlines the most important social and labour rights and duties. Workers are entitled to certain social rights that must be respected by the employer. Firstly, there is the unemployment social right. Employers have to pay a monthly contribution to the ASSEDIC (Association pour l'Emploi dans l'Industrie et le Commerce – Association for Employment in Industry and Commerce). It is also possible for an employee who is unemployed to avail of the partial unemployment allowance. When unemployed, the Revenu de Solidarité Active (RSA) (active solidarity income) provides financial help while the person is searching for a job. Secondly, there are several types of paid leaves, such as maternity or paternity leave, special leave and family days. Thirdly, there are health and sickness rights. The employer has to contribute to the Caisse Primaire d'Assurance Maladie (Primary Health Insurance Fund), which can support the employee in the event of sickness or professional illness with a certain allowance.

There is also the URSSAF (Union pour le Recouvrement de Sécurité Sociale et les Allocations Familiales – Uniting for the Recovery of Security and Family Allowances) and the CRAM (Caisse Régionale d'Assurance Maladie – Regional Health Insurance Fund).

[48] Interviews with Tempo or Tumsiad.

[49] Interview with Tumsiad.

[50] **http://www.invest-in-strasbourg.com/page.php/fr/397.htm**

[51] **http://www.juritravail.com/**

As far as working hours are concerned, the Code du Travail (Labour Code) (order n. 2007-329 of 12 March 2007 and decrees n. 2008-243 and 2008-244 of 7 March 2008) stipulate a working week of 35 hours (article 3121-10 of the Labour Code). However, it is not compulsory. In order to establish it, one needs to negotiate and come to an agreement over the reduction of working hours with the enterprises (article 3122-6 of the Labour Code). There are collective agreements in specific sectors of activity and in different types of professions. The collective agreements allow certain aspects that are missing in the Labour Code to be overcome and also allow certain aspects of the law that are more favourable to employees (articles l-2221-1 and l-2251-1 of the Labour Code).

If we look at the construction sector, which is favoured by foreigners entrepreneurs, there is the National Collective Agreement of Blue-Collar Workers of Public Construction (IDCC 1702). Besides the national agreement, there are also regional agreements in relation to wages and minimum income (see the endorsement of 19 December 2007 for Alsace). In the national agreement, for example, it is stated that the work week amounts to 39 hours.

Marketing

There are no specific measures for improving the marketing of foreign entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurs in general have to provide their market research to present their project to the chambers, but they do it on their own or rely on specialists.

Transnational economic connections

Reports (for instance, see ADIE (2006) and Letowski (2008)) state the difficulty in dealing with transnational types of projects, such as import-export or the export of cars to African countries. No special measures are implemented to favour the transnational connections of foreign entrepreneurs with their country of origin.

Training and management support

General training for any entrepreneur is available through several programmes, as stated above. There is no specific training for foreigners. The institutions involved in the Alsace region are the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Chamber of Handicraft Professions, the House of Employment and Training, ACPE (Agency for the Creation of Enterprises), ACCRE (Help for Unemployed People to Create or Retake an Enterprise), EDEN (inducement to develop new enterprises, Boutique Gestion (a national network to help start a business) or foreign associations that deal with the issue. These institutions provide training and management support. It has to be added that some immigrant associations, such as Tumsiad, provide help to create an enterprise. This help mainly consists of management support and the application of laws.

Entrepreneurs are trained to manage a business, to get better acquainted with the laws and regulations and to comply with tax and welfare rights contributions as well as learning about the necessary steps in hiring employees.

Illegal and informal practices

As reported in the interviews,[52] the creation of enterprises in Alsace is highly institutionalised and there is a good degree of work inspection is very present and control. However, as we have seen for the construction sector, and due to the subcontracting process, there are many small enterprises that may not comply with the rules, such as procedures for health and safety at work.

[52] See interview with Tempo.

Another aspect that can be seen as illegal is putting forward a person with the necessary requirements as the formal owner even though they are not the real manager. This is not illegal, but is a way to bypass the rules. In fact, many foreigners may not have the necessary requirements to open a business, as pointed out above.

Dialogue

Dialogue among several actors dealing with entrepreneurship is not established at the local or regional levels. There is a plethora of actors acting at the national, regional or local levels, but there are no platforms. There is no dialogue among actors in order to design policies or to focus on specific social groups.

As described throughout this report, there are no specific programmes to help and improve foreign entrepreneurship at the local or regional level. Incentives provided by institutions are directed towards all nationalities.

Key challenges and lessons for CLIP 6

In the last 15 years, Strasbourg and the Alsace region have witnessed an increase in the national diversity of foreigners. Today, we see the presence of many nationalities, with the noticeable presence of Turkish and German nationals. However, it has to be said that contrary to common assumptions, Turkish immigrants in France have no relations with Turks in Germany.[53] The Alsace region has a higher rate of foreigners than France in general. The presence of foreigners in the local and regional labour market is diversified as well. Some nationalities, mainly from EU, are part of managerial and semi-managerial professions, while foreigners from the south of Europe or North Africa are mostly qualified or non-qualified blue-collar workers. In the case of Turks, there is quite a substantial number of entrepreneurs. Employment rates of the immigrant population vary according to nationalities. Foreigners with higher rates of employment are the Portuguese, Italians and Spanish. Those who have higher rates of unemployment are North Africans, other Africans and other nationalities. Turks are found somewhere in between these populations.

At the economic level, the CUS and Alsace region have been undergoing major changes. While the industrial sector used to be prevalent, in more recent decades the tertiary sector has seen strong growth, and now employs a considerable proportion of the active population. Nonetheless, the region has witnessed an increase in unemployment from 1999 to 2006, which may be explained by the region having a lower percentage of unemployed when compared with the country as a whole. An interesting trend is the slowdown of the construction sector, a sector dominated by foreign entrepreneurs. In fact, the increase of foreign entrepreneurship is mostly in the construction sector. Parallel to this, a strong development in handicraft businesses has taken place in general. The economic structure of the CUS is mostly made up of small enterprises with fewer than nine employees (this is the case in all sectors). Moreover, we notice a positive evolution of handicraft enterprises throughout the years.

Regarding foreigners' entrepreneurship, there has been an increase in enterprises, from 7.1% in 1989 to 10.8% in 2008. Turkish immigrants have registered the biggest increase among foreigners. It is also important to remember that there is a high diversity of foreign entrepreneurs, with the following dominant nationalities: Germany, Italy, Portugal, Turkey and from regions such as the Maghreb or Asia. An interesting point is that, in general terms, foreigners start their business after 10 to 20 years of residence in France. Contrary to common belief, foreigners open businesses in all sectors of activity. They are mainly individual enterprises, and when there is a co-owner, it is generally a co-national or a family member. Another key point is that their presence is characterised by an assimilation approach, in the sense that they open a business in order to cater to a mixed clientele.

Employment conditions are very specific. Indeed, foreigners work longer hours in order to increase profits, and those working for the enterprise owner are, generally speaking, co-nationals or family members. There are cases of family members working for the collective good, thus they are not remunerated and have to work long hours.

Another element that emerges in this report is the fact that foreigners do not rely on bank loans or other types of help. This is explained by cultural factors, such as a high level of informality in businesses in the country of origin that is reproduced in the host country, and the fear of refusal from banks. A fact that needs to be highlighted is that 60% of foreign enterprises do not reach the fifth year of activity.

Concerning policies and regulations, there are two developments that have influenced the possibilities for foreigners to develop their own business. First, in 1984, a decree abrogated the requirement of the foreigner trader card for resident permits for foreigners. Secondly, in 2007, another decree withdrew the requirement for the foreigner trader card for those with temporary stay permits. At the regional and local levels, public institutions (with or without a national scope of action) and local associations provide advice or financial help to specific targeted groups.

[53] Interview with Stéphane de Tapia.

What emerges from this analysis is that there are opportunities and policies that aim to support the creation of businesses. In spite of this, foreigners are not aware and/or do not resort to those opportunities. Moreover, in 2009, the new law on self-entrepreneurship facilitated the process of starting a business with a legal status of self-entrepreneur that has not been popular among foreigners. The universalist approach of French authorities towards foreigners explains the lack of programmes and structures dedicated to foreigners at the regional or local levels.

Good practices

There are no good practices by local authorities addressing foreign entrepreneurs, whether through policies, measures or programmes at a local or regional level.

Final comment

An aspect that was referred to several times is the resilience foreigners have vis-à-vis difficulties and failures. Indeed, in some interviews, foreigners showed the ability to recover and restart new enterprises. Failures do not seem to discourage them.

As we have seen throughout this report, there are opportunities to get expertise and financial help from public structures as well as local or regional associations. However, immigrants do not rely on those opportunities. Foreigners are not embedded in the opportunities' structures provided in France and this could be improved with information campaigns aimed at foreigners' associations. Moreover, there could be some platforms of cooperation between public structures and local or regional associations with banks to provide custom-made loans to foreigners.

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Richard Sancho-Andreo, Conseil Consultatif des Residents Etrangers – CCRE, CUS, Strasbourg. Responsible for the CCRE.

Tumsiad, Association des Entrepreneurs Turques. President of the association that deals with entrepreneurship issues and immigrants, in particular Turkish immigrants.

M. Durak, Turkish entrepreneur, construction firm owner.

J. Durak, Turkish entrepreneur, retail trade owner.

M. Zinebuck, Tunisian entrepreneur, individual services firm (beauty services).

Jules Vanackere, Chambre de Métiers d'Alsace. This institution regulates the handicraft sector in Alsace and delivers the necessary requirements to start a business.

TEMPO, Boutique de Gestion Strasbourg. This is a private institution that provides counselling and training to start and manage a firm or business.

Murielle Maffessoli, Observatoire Regional de l'Integration et de la Ville Alsace, Strasbourg.

Clapest – Comité de Liaison d'Associations pour la Promotion des Immigrés en Alsace. Local association that works with immigrant issues, amongst others.

Adeus – Agence de Developpement, d'Environnement et d'Urbanisme de Strasbourg. Local agency that analyses and gives advice on the development of Strasbourg.

Stephane Tapia, researcher, University Marc Bloch. Senior researcher specialised in the field of Turkish studies, foreigners' entrepreneurship and immigration in France.

CFDT (Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail). Local person in charge – Bernard Marx.

Manuel Plantin, journalist of the regional newspaper *Derniéres Nouvelles d'Alsace*.

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